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THE

PICTORIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

REIGN OF GEORGE

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE

A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM

By C. L. CRAIK AND C. MACFARLANE

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Several Hundred Woodcuts.

VOL. I.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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BOOK I.

THE PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTEST WITH AMERICA.

A.D. 1760—1785.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1760 George III.

FRANCE.
1715 Louis XV.
1774 Louis XVI.

SPAIN.
1759 Charles III.

PORTUGAL.
1750 Joseph.
1777 Maria.

GERMANY.
1745 Francis I.
1765 Joseph II.

RUSSIA.
1741 Elizabeth.
1762 Peter III.
1762 Catherine II.

DENMARK.
1746 Frederic V.
1766 Christian VII.

SWEDEN.
1751 Adolphus Frederic.
1772 Gustavus III.

PRUSSIA.
1740 Frederic II. (the Great.)

POLAND.
1734 Augustus III.
1764 Stanislaus II. (Poniatowski).
1772 First Partition.

TURKEY.
1757 Mustapha III.
1774 Abdoul Hamed.

TWO SICILIES.
1759 Ferdinand IV.

POPES.
1758 Clement XIII.
1769 Clement XIV.
1775 Pius VI.

Great Seal of George III., the Purse, and Chancellor's Mace.

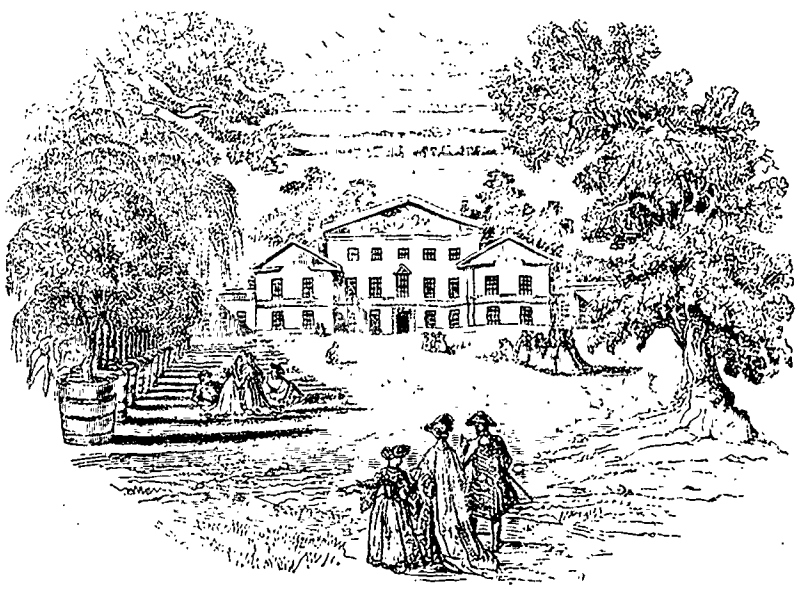
CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

GEORGE III.—A.D. 1760.

THE sudden decease of George II., on the morning of the 25th of October in this year, left the throne empty for his heir-apparent, the eldest son of the late Frederick, Prince of Wales. Prince George was riding out on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Kew Palace, with his groom of the stole and inseparable companion, Lord Bute, when news was brought him that his grandfather was dead, and that he was king. This important intelligence was presently confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Pitt, the real head of the government. They repaired together to Kew, where the new king remained during the rest of the day and the following night. On the morning of the 26th of October George went up to St. James's. When Pitt waited upon him there, he presented the sketch of an address to be pronounced at the meeting of the privy council; but he was told by his majesty that that business had already been thought of, and a speech prepared for the occasion. This seems to have convinced the haughty minister that Bute, of whose favour he had made sure, would not rest contented with a subordinate place, but would aspire to the highest offices through the favour of the young king and the warm predilection of the young king's mother. In the course of the day George was proclaimed with the usual solemnities. The next day was a Sunday, and allowed of no business; but on the Monday the Earl of Bute was sworn a member of the privy council, and Prince Edward, Duke of York, the eldest of the king's brothers, was also appointed to a seat at the table. It was given out that his majesty was satisfied and charmed with the brilliant performances of the existing cabinet, and would make no changes except a few that were absolutely necessary in the household and minor offices. The old Duke of Newcastle pretended to be deeply afflicted at the loss of his dear master George II., and even protested that he would retire from court and from the world; yet he soon consented to remain at his post, though overshadowed by his great and peremptory colleague, Mr. Pitt. Almost the first act of government of the new king was a proclamation "For the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality," which was issued on the 31st of October. This was generally taken as a token of his majesty's virtue and devotion; and, though the proclamation might have remained as useless as other documents of the same kind, it was enforced or recommended by George by the example he set, from the beginning, of a decent and moral life. It was observed that the king, though so young, paid the greatest attention to the dignitaries of the church, and that the

Archbishop of Canterbury was seldom out of the circle at court. Other circumstances, however, were not so generally admired. The name of the Duke of Cumberland, the king's uncle, was struck out of the Liturgy by an order of the king in council, and this gave great offence to the Whigs, who esteemed Cumberland as one of their party, and who, perhaps, did not very accurately examine the court and church etiquette which regulates the prayers for royalty. Emily, the late king's favourite daughter, who had shown the most sincere and passionate grief at her father's death, was soon deprived of the rangership of Richmond Park, which was bestowed upon Bute. It was rumoured and believed, upon strong presumptive evidence, that the late sovereign had, after all his vast private expenditure for the continental war, left behind him a secret deposit of from three to four hundred thousand pounds; and yet, after the payment of some ninety thousand pounds in legacies to his daughters Emily and Mary, to his son Cumberland, and to his mistress, Lady Yarmouth, nothing was ever heard of any remainder; and the creditors of Frederick Prince of Wales found that they had as little to hope from his son as they had had from his father. There was also an uncomfortable opinion abroad that the young king might be too subservient to his mother and her favourite, and too partial to the countrymen of Lord Bute; and a paper was fixed on the Royal Exchange with these words:—"No petticoat government—no Scotch minister—no Lord George Sackville!" It was observed, too, as something ominous, that many noble and decided Jacobites, who had never appeared at court, were now hastening to kiss hands, in the joyful forethought of a Tory resurrection. The countenance of Pitt, who was still the popular minister, was evidently clouded, and reports were spread of disagreements in the existing Whig cabinet.



GARDEN FRONT OF OLD KEW PALACE. From a Print by Woollett.

On the 18th of November the new king met parliament for the first time. One clause in his speech strongly excited the feeling of nationality. "Born and educated in this country," said George, "I glory in the name of Briton." He said it would be the happiness of his life to promote the happiness of a loyal and affectionate people; and that the civil and religious rights of his loving subjects were equally dear to him with the most valuable prerogative of his crown. He declared that, on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, he found the kingdom in a flourishing and glorious state, victorious and happy, though engaged in a necessary war, which (in the same language that had been used in the late reign) he called a war *for the Protestant interest*. He spoke not of peace or negotiation, but asked the cheerful and powerful assistance of parliament to prosecute this war with greater vigour. A tribute was paid to the spirit of union and good harmony which prevailed, and, by implication, this praise was made to extend to the existing cabinet, which had found the country in a ferment of faction and discontent, and had tranquillised it by their brilliant series of victories and conquests. Yet, at this very moment, the train was laying for the expulsion of Pitt and his colleagues; and Bute, better fitted to perform Lothario on a private stage,

was anxious to act the part of secretary of state, and was busily engaged with that old trimmer and intriguer Bubb Dodington. On the 29th of November Bute had a long conference with Bubb, who pressed him to act immediately, stating that it would be easy to get the place of Lord Holderness, one of the secretaries of state, who was disgusted with Pitt's overbearing, monopolising disposition; but, as a matter of course, he hinted that Holderness must be otherwise provided for. Bute said that he knew Lord Holderness "was ready,

John, Earl of Bute. From a Painting by Ramsay.

at his desire, to quarrel with his fellow ministers (on account of the slights and ill usage which he daily experienced) and go to the king, and throw up with seeming anger, and then he (Bute) might come in without seeming to displace anybody." A few days after this the Duke of Newcastle was again threatening to resign, not, however, in sorrow and grief, but in anger at some court appointments which had been made without his knowledge; yet the duke continued to flatter Lord Bute with the king, and offered to act with, or even *under* him. Before the king's speech to parliament was six weeks old Bute agreed with Bubb Dodington that his majesty ought to make a very different one to the new parliament, declaring that he found himself involved in a war to which he had no way contributed, and of which he could not approve,—that he was convinced the present method of defending Hanover would ruin England,—that he was determined to leave that electorate to take its own chance, and apply the money spent on the German wars in exertions more likely to reduce his enemies to a reasonable peace. Bute, however, intimated his doubts whether the king would consent to this system. It appears to us that such a consent would not have been very honourable to the young monarch. By withdrawing our troops from the continent, and stopping our subsidies, we should not merely have left Hanover to take its chance, but we should also have abandoned our great ally the Prussian king, and that, too, at a moment when he again seemed to be sinking under the weight of his numerous enemies. Frederick would have had some right to complain that England, having secured to herself the Canadas and other important conquests, was discovering, for the first time, that peace was a blessed thing, and by withdrawing her subsidies and support was leaving Prussia open to ruin;—that England had got all she hoped for from the war, and cared not what became of her ally who had, indeed, enabled her to conquer America through Germany. But Bute was also distressed with another doubt, which was, that the present ministers might themselves "have an eye that way," and recommend the very plan which he and Bubb Dodington hoped to have the credit of. His lordship, however, consoled himself with the certainty that ministers were not united in plans or feelings, and that while the Duke of Newcastle sincerely wished for peace at any price, and would go any lengths to obtain it, Mr. Pitt was resolved to stay in office no longer than the war should last, and was, in fact, already meditating a retreat. This difference of opinion upon so vital a point was matter of encouragement to the aspiring groom of the stole, and Bute moreover was satisfied that, whether Newcastle staid in or went out, he would not oppose his promotion, nor in any circumstances refuse him the benefit of his vast parliamentary influence. Yet he was not disposed to try the duke too much, nor to risk too bold a leap at once.*

A. D. 1761.—In the mean while great court was paid to Bute by all who longed for peerages, court

George Bubb Dodington. From an anonymous Print.

places, or promotion in the army or navy; and the business of parliament proceeded smoothly. The civil list was fixed at the clear annual sum of 800,000*l.*, payable out of the aggregate fund instead of the specific revenues previously devoted to that object. Nineteen millions were unhesitatingly voted

* Dodington's Diary.

as supplies for prosecuting the war. Two hundred thousand pounds were granted to our colonies in America as compensation for the expenses they had incurred and the efforts they had made in the present war—a war which laid some of the groundworks of the independence those colonies claimed a few years later. Towards the close of the session, on the 3rd of March, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, recommended an important improvement. By the act passed in the year 1701, under the reign of William III., the commissions of the judges were continued *quamdiu benè se gesserint*, or, the power of displacing them was taken from the crown, and their continuance in their important offices was made dependent solely on their own good conduct; but at the demise of the crown their offices determined and became vacant by law. George now declared his wish to render the bench still more independent, and the administration of justice still more impartial; and he recommended that provision should be made to continue their commissions and their salaries without any reference to the death of one king or the accession of another. A bill was immediately framed for *this* purpose and carried through both Houses: it received the royal assent on the 19th of March, when his majesty put an end to the session. On the same day Mr. Legge, whom we have seen co-partner with Mr. Pitt in patriotism or popularity, was dismissed from the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Barrington put in his place; and on the same day Lord Holderness was kept to the promises he had made to the favourite: having secured a pecuniary indemnification with the reversion of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, he resigned the office of secretary of state, which was immediately given to the Earl of Bute. It was reported that the king had said "he was tired of having two secretaries, of which one (Pitt) *would* do nothing, and the other (Holderness) *could* do nothing; and that he would have a secretary who both could and would act." Pitt had certainly been for some time inert and ill-humoured, and it was not supposed that this sudden change—made, it appears, without his previous knowledge—would either increase his alacrity or dispel his ill-humour. Horace Walpole, however, adds that he was somewhat softened for the present by the offer of the place of cofferer for James Grenville, one of his brothers-in-law. The Duke of Newcastle is said to have rejoiced in the fall of Holderness, and to have made his terms with Lord Bute. That favourite took for his under-secretary Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool, and consented to leave the management of foreign affairs in the hands of Pitt; but at the same time both he and his royal master intimated that an end *must* be put to the war.*

As the parliament could only exercise its functions for six months after the death of the late king, a proclamation was issued on the 21st of March, dissolving it and calling a new one. Bute made arrangements with Newcastle as to the management of elections, or, in the broad words of the craft, "he settled the new parliament with the duke."* The eyes of all the Tories were fixed hopefully upon the prevailing favourite, who had credit for far more energy and ability than he ever possessed.

John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, was originally a very poor Scottish nobleman. He had received a part of his education at Eton; and in 1737, when in his twenty-fourth year, he was first introduced to public life by being elected one of the sixteen representative peers for Scotland. In the course of the same year he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of police in his native kingdom, and was first introduced to Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III., who was charmed with his acting in the part of Lothario, in the Fair Penitent, and invited him to Kew and Leicester House. The warm favour of the prince was only exceeded by that of the princess his wife. His royal highness was accustomed to say frequently that Bute was a fine showy man, and would make an excellent ambassador in a court where there was no business to do.† His lordship is thus described by the Earl Waldegrave, who knew him well, and was fully competent to judge of him:—"Bute has a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance. There is an extraordinary appearance of wisdom both in his look and manner of speaking; for whether the subject be serious or trifling, he is equally pompous, slow, and sententious. Not contented with being wise, he would be thought a polite scholar and a man of great erudition; but has the misfortune never to succeed except with those who are exceedingly ignorant; for his historical knowledge is chiefly taken from tragedies, wherein he is very deeply read; and his classical learning extends no further than a French translation."‡ He continued to charm the prince's court by playing Lothario, and in 1738 he was made knight of the Thistle and one of the lords of Frederick's bedchamber. On the sudden death of the Prince of Wales he retired for a time into the country; but it was said, and universally believed, that he retained an unbounded influence over the princess dowager, and directed or prescribed to her the rules she was to follow in educating her son George, the heir to the throne. He soon returned to the "pouting-place of princes," Leicester House, where intrigues and schemes of opposition were organised against the old king. In the year 1755 his close intimacy with the princess dowager was one of the commonest subjects of scandal, and he was said to have co-operated with her royal highness in setting the grandson against the grandfather, and in inducing young George to reject absolutely the matrimonial alli-

* Hor. Walpole, Letters to G. Montague.—Dodington's Diary.—Annual Register.

* Dodington's Diary.
† Waldegrave's Memoirs. ‡ Memoirs.

ance proposed to him by the king with the charming Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbottel. Notwithstanding the rumours which must inevitably have reached her ears, the princess dowager continued her intimacy and her unlimited confidence, and by her good offices Bute also became the avowed favourite of the young prince, who was unsociable and shy from the united effects of temperament and education, but disposed to cling closely to the few persons that constantly surrounded him. When a separate establishment was formed (in the year 1756), the great point aimed at by himself and his mother was, to place Bute at the head of it. They had many difficulties to overcome, but eventually the old king's consent was forced from him, and the double favourite was made groom of the stole. From that moment Bute hardly ever suffered Prince George to be out of his sight, and all observers were convinced that in the new reign the groom of the stole would be prime minister. Even according to the least unfavourable portrait ever drawn of him, Bute was not the man either to correct the defects of the prince's education, or to use power with wisdom and moderation. His friend Bubb Dodington foretold that George, who did not like new faces, would adhere steadfastly to his favourite, and imbibe his notions of government, together with his partialities and antipathies; and it was considered by most men that these prognostics were afterwards verified to the full.

George III. at the period of his Accession.
From an anonymous Print.

On ascending the throne George was only in his twenty-third year; yet he presented few of the graces and none of the liveliness of youth. At the same time he was wholly free from the vices or irregularities which commonly attend that age with personages in his situation. Little, indeed, was known of his personal character, for he had shunned all intimacies except with Bute; but his manners were most decorous, his attention to religion was very apparent, and, though deficient in frankness and openness of behaviour, he was universally believed to be strictly honest, and to entertain the highest notions of honour and faithfulness to his word when once given. He was, however, accused of being fond of money from his earliest youth, and of entertaining lasting resentments against all who had once offended him. It was surmised, from the nature of his education and from the Jacobite or Tory character of some of his tutors, that he entertained a high abstract idea of the kingly power, and that though he was far too conscientious ever to attempt any invasion of the constitution he was sworn to defend, or any extension of the prerogative beyond its legal limits, he might yet be very much inclined to give the utmost extension to those limits where they were not, and could not be, strictly defined. Though so young, healthy, and robust, and though his predecessors had been so old, he was the first prince of his House to do without a mistress. A few months after his accession he married, and from that time his fidelity to his consort was as remarkable as his previous continence. The princess he selected,

Queen Charlotte at the time of her Marriage.
From a Print by Worlidge.

and who became the mother of his numerous family, was Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, second daughter of the late duke; and to this lady he was united on the evening of the 8th of September. The Queen's character resembled, or gradually assimilated itself to his own, both in its better qualities and in its less attractive ones. Like George, Charlotte was decorous, devout, rigid in the observance of the moral duties; and those who love or admire them least can scarcely deny that they contributed to a great and striking reformation of manners. Before their time the court of St. James's had much of the licentiousness of the court of Versailles without its polish; during their time it became decent and correct, and its example gradually extended to the upper classes of society, where it was most wanted. The polish and the grace, the refinement or brilliancy, perhaps were still wanting; for neither of the two royal personages was particularly distinguished as graceful or brilliant, and the king had a strong predilection for a quiet domestic country life, and the practical operations of farming.

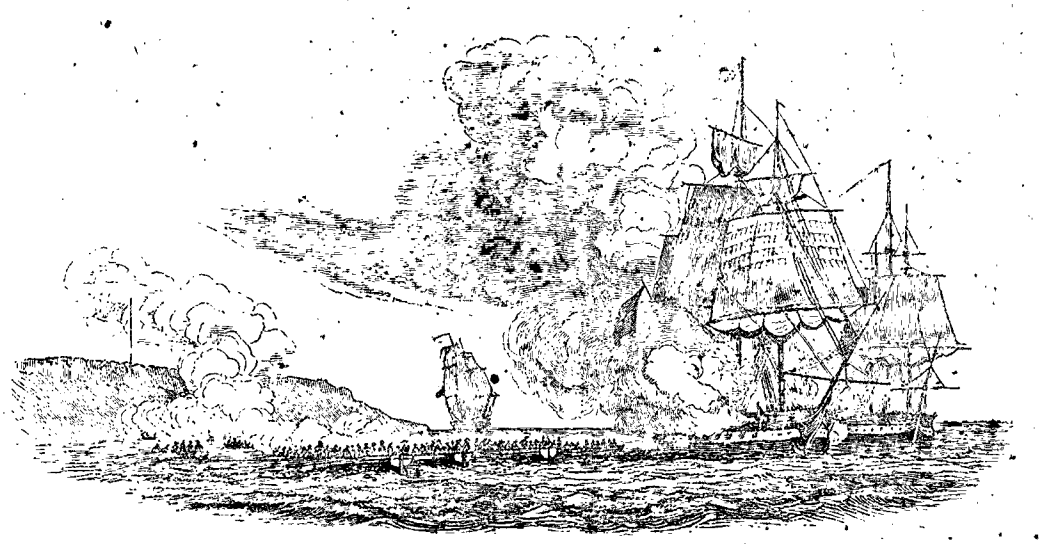
he death of the late king the events had been very various. Though he peedily driven the Russians and Aus- his capital, Frederick the Great had tend with those two powers on his own and with the French on the side of the hile the Swedes continued to threaten asions. But, shaking off a momentary ncy, this wonderful man was planning paigns when news arrived that George nd—that his successor was anxious for at some of his ministers or advisers were a separate treaty with France, and that every probability that the English subsi- not be continued, as Lord Bute was of a peace would be best brought about pplying the King of Prussia with the continuing the war. And, in effect, British Parliament in the month of (1760) had granted the subsidy, the slowly, reluctantly, and imperfectly paid, he last subsidy they ever voted for Fre- The Prussian monarch represented that et would not forward the desired peace; ld render his enemies more obstinate te, considering him as abandoned by hat Broglie and the French were de- whole of Westphalia and exercising nce on people who had been drawn r by the promises and subsidies of But all these representations pro- effect; and, as Prince Ferdinand of was unsuccessful on the Rhine, and ccused of rapacity and of arrogance British officers serving under him, he opular in this country, and contri- some discredit on his master, Frede- great battle of Torgau, the last in rick commanded in person, and in victorious, he lost, in killed, wound- ers, upwards of ten thousand men, wards the end of 1760. It gave him command of all Saxony, and before winter quarters he had the satisfac- ng that the Austrians and the Swedes out of Brandenburg, Silesia, and nd that the Russians had again re- he Vistula. But his losses in men ligious, his coffers were empty, his ficult, and he looked forward with iety to the campaign of the present This campaign was opened early in is general, Prince Ferdinand, who, tack, drove the French out of their Cassel. Soon after this advantage eneral Sybourg effected a junction erian general Sporken, took three h prisoners, and in the month of union with Sporken, defeated the empire under General Clefeld. d followed up these advantages by simultaneously to Cassel, Marbourg, ayn; but he failed in all these at- tempts, and was compelled to retire into the electorate of Hanover. At the same time the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had advanced towards Frankfort, was totally defeated by the French under Broglie. At this moment Frederick had certain information that the English were negotiating with the French, and he appears to have been for some time uncertain as to the turn these negotiations might take. Broglie remained inactive till the month of July, when he was joined by the Prince of Soubise with large reinforcements. He then endeavoured to drive Prince Ferdinand and the combined army of English and Hanoverians from their entrenched camp at Hohenower, which was defended by a river in front, and by rugged bushy ground on one of its flanks. He began a furious attack on Lord Granby's posts on the evening of the 15th of July; but though the

JOHN, MARQUESS OF GRANBY.
From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

English troops were left for some time without any support, to sustain by themselves the concentrated attack, he was repulsed with terrible loss, and driven into the woods. On the following morning, at an early hour, Broglie, with Soubise and nearly the whole mass of his forces, repeated the attack, beginning again with Lord Granby's posts. After a murderous fire, continued for upwards of five hours, the French gave way, fell into disorder, and retreated on all points, leaving behind them their wounded and several pieces of cannon. Their loss was estimated at five thousand men. Broglie and Soubise, who had never agreed, now accused each other, the first asserting that Soubise did not begin his attack till it was too late, and Soubise maintaining that Broglie had begun too soon, in the hope of forcing the allied camp, and gaining all the honours without his assistance. It was this fierce dissension and ill-will between the two commanders that checked the French much more than

Prince Ferdinand and Prussian Troops. From an Original Drawing by J. Franklin.

the defeat they had sustained; for their loss was soon made up, and the continual arrival of reinforcements made them far stronger than the allies. At length they determined to divide their forces and act separately: Soubise crossed the river Lippe, as if with the intention of laying siege to Munster, and Broglie marched off in the opposite direction, crossed the Weser, and threatened to fall upon Hanover. This compelled Ferdinand to divide his small army into two portions; and, whilst he himself with one half marched along the Weser to watch Broglie, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick with the other threw himself between Soubise and Munster. Broglie cautiously avoided a battle; but he was frequently attacked on his march and in quarters by flying columns of English and Hanoverian horse, who were almost universally successful. In one of these affairs, too insignificant to leave a name, the gallant young Prince Albert Henry of Brunswick, Ferdinand's nephew, fell mortally wounded. Perceiving that he could not stop the steady onward march of Broglie into the heart of Hanover, Prince Ferdinand marched into Hesse and cut off the communications of the French in that country, destroying their magazines there and menacing some of their recently acquired forts; upon which Broglie, as he had calculated, took the alarm, and retreated out of Hanover with all the plunder he could carry off. In the mean time the Hereditary Prince had saved Munster, checked Soubise, and destroyed many of his magazines. The rest of the campaign looked more like marauding than war: the French took and plundered some weak defenceless towns, failed in all their attempts upon fortified places, fought no battles, and went into winter quarters—Broglie at Cassel, Soubise on the Lower Rhine. Frederick, who had taken the field in the month of April, marched into Silesia, where the important fortress of Schweidnitz was once more threatened by an Austrian army under General Laudon. On the approach of his Prussian majesty Laudon halted, fell back, and then threw himself into Bohemia, intending to wait there until fresh columns of Russians under Marshal Butterlin should reach the frontiers of Silesia, and another Russian horde under Romanzow should re-occupy Pomerania. The Russians in both instances were true to their appointments; but when Butterlin was in Silesia, Frederick, though with only 50,000 men, threw himself between that marshal, who had 70,000 men, and Laudon, who had 60,000, and for some time, and with wonderful skill, prevented their junction. At length, however—but not before the 12th of August—Butterlin and Laudon joined near Striegau. They then conceived that they could hem in Frederick and prevent the possibility of his escape. But his Prussian majesty threw himself into his well prepared and admirably fortified camp of Buntzelwitz, and from behind its tremendous chain of works, its four-and-twenty enormous batteries, its deep ditches, its treble trenches, its mines, its pallisadoes and chevaux-de-frises, he laughed Russians and Austrians to scorn. The allies attempted to blockade him, but there was nothing for them to eat—the country, wasted by long war, was bare of everything, and men and horses soon began to feel the effects of famine. They expected, indeed, 5000 provision waggons, but these were all taken by a flying column of Prussians, led by General Platen, who, moreover, cut the troops that escorted the waggons to pieces, and destroyed three of the largest magazines the Russians had established on the borders of Poland. At this dismal news Butterlin and Laudon broke suddenly away from their blockade of the

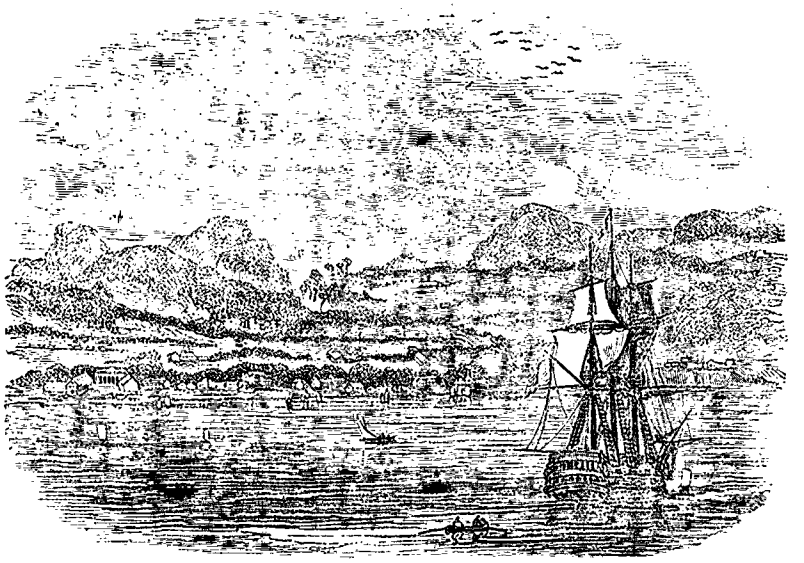


ACTION OFF BELLISLE—Troops attempting to land under cover of a fire from the ships.
From an Original Drawing by W. Huggins.

camp of Buntzelwitz, and, separating, the Russian marched into Pomerania, while the Austrian retired to an entrenched camp near Fribourg. It was now the middle of September. At the end of the month Frederick marched towards Upper Silesia—a most unfortunate move—for Laudon rushed from his entrenched camp, made by night a general assault upon Schweidnitz, and took that important place by storm. This enabled the Austrians, for the first time since the beginning of the war, to take up their winter quarters in Silesia. In another direction the Russians, assisted by the Swedes, took Colberg, which enabled them to winter in Pomerania and the new March of Brandenburg. Frederick seemed at last succumbing.

Without learning wisdom from the past Pitt had insisted on another paltry descent on the French coast; and, in the month of March, a secret expedition, under the command of Commodore Keppel, with troops on board under General Hodgson, sailed across the Channel. The point selected was Bellisle, on the coast of Brittany; and there the troops attempted to land on the 8th of April. They were foiled, and lost a considerable number of men; but a second attempt was more successful, and after a long siege of a petty fortress we remained masters of that useless island. The secretary's obstinacy was severely reflected upon, and people asked what we should do with Bellisle now that we had got it. The negociations between the courts of London and Versailles did not, during their progress, retard our military operations. Early in the year, Pondicherry, the capital settlement of the French in the East Indies, and their last stronghold surrendered at discretion to the British troops, under Colonel Coote, after the garrison and inhabitants had been reduced to live upon dogs, cats, rats, and other vermin. This left the British undisputed masters of the rich coast of Coromandel, and of the whole trade of the vast Indian Peninsula, from the Ganges to the Indus. In the West Indies the island of Dominica, which, contrary to treaty, had been fortified and settled by the French, was reduced by an inconsiderable armament under Lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas. With the exception of a few fights and skirmishes at sea, in which the English flag was generally successful, little else was done during this year.

France was rapidly sinking under the efforts made to sustain the war, the people were impoverished and discontented, the king wished for repose and peace. As soon as they knew that Pitt's influence was declining, and that Bute was obtaining the ascendancy, the French ministers fancied themselves that there would be no great difficulty in negociating. They were quite ready to make some sacrifices, and they trusted that Bute, as eager for peace as themselves, would not insist upon any very humiliating condition. After some private *pour-parlers* an interchange of memorials was commenced, proposing broadly to treat upon the *uti possidetis* principle, which, with some exceptions, should leave each of the belligerents in possession of what it had acquired during the war. In the month of July Mr. Stanley was dispatched to Paris, and the Count de Bussy came over to London, when preliminaries were mutually proposed and examined. The French offered to cede Canada, to restore Minorca in exchange for Guadaloupe and Marigalante, to give up Senegal and Goree, provided Anamaboo and Acra were guaranteed to them, to renounce all claim to Cape Breton, and to consent once more that Dunkirk should be



Roseau, Island of Dominica. From a Print after a Drawing by Lieutenant Campbell, an officer who served in the expedition.

demolished. They, however, absolutely demanded the restitution of all the captures made at sea by the English previous to the declaration of war, maintaining that such captures were contrary to all international law. We, on our side, as absolutely refused any such restitution, insisting, with good reason, considering how the war had begun, that the right of all hostile operations results not from the mere fact of a formal declaration of war, but from the hostilities which the aggressor has first offered. This alone was sufficient to break off the treaty, even without the question of Germany and our ally the King of Prussia. The French had made repeated proposals for a neutrality with the English in Germany, but even Bute considered these as inadmissible, as the French, instead of offering to withdraw all their troops from that theatre of war, merely proposed withdrawing twice the number of troops recalled by England. They were ready to evacuate what they occupied in Hanover, but they refused to restore Cassel, Gueldres, and such other places as they had conquered from his Prussian majesty, stating that such a cession would be directly against their treaty with the Empress Queen Maria Theresa, for whom they had conquered these places, and in whose name and behalf they were holding them. But, as if these differences were not sufficient, the French preliminaries came accompanied with a private memorial, demanding from England the satisfaction of certain claims advanced by Spain—a most undiplomatic and irregular procedure, as, though differences existed, we were at the time at peace with Spain and at war with France. Our cabinet positively declared to M. de Bussy that the King of Great Britain would never suffer his disputes with Spain to be interwoven with the negociations carrying on with France, and that the French had no right to interfere in pretensions and discussions between the English and Spaniards. They also called upon the Spanish ambassador in London to disavow this irregular procedure, and to state that his court had no intention of blending its comparatively trifling differences with the far more serious and complicated quarrels of France. At first the Spanish ambassador returned a verbal and evasive answer, but he was soon authorised by his court to declare in writing that the steps taken by the French envoy had the sanction and approbation of his Catholic majesty. In his memorial the ambassador declared that the Bourbon kings of France and Spain were united by mutual interest as much as by the ties of blood; and, though he said his master was anxious for peace, he wrote in a tone of haughtiness if not of defiance.

At this time the throne of Spain was no longer occupied by the pacific Ferdinand VI., who, through his wife Barbara of Portugal, had contracted a predilection for England. That sovereign died in 1759, about a year before George II., of hypochondria or absolute insanity, produced by grief for the loss of his beloved wife. As he left no children the crown of Spain devolved on his half-brother Charles, king of Naples. Leaving his Italian throne to his third son Ferdinand, for Don Philip, his eldest son, was epileptic and embecile, and Charles, his second, was destined to succeed his father in Spain, Charles repaired thither and ascended the Spanish throne as Charles III., at a critical juncture. Though by habit, natural disposition, and interest, disposed to be almost as peaceful as his predecessor, Charles had none of his brother's English predilections. The insult offered to him in his Neapolitan capital by an English fleet, in 1742, when Commodore

Martin forced him to sign a neutrality, and only allowed him an hour to decide, had rankled in his mind ever since. Instead of the strict and impartial neutrality which had hitherto been observed, he began to favour the French on all opportunities, and to listen to their adroit agents, who represented that, when England had swept their fleets from the ocean, they would not long respect those of the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon, and that, when the proud islanders had possessed themselves of all the French colonies in the East Indies, West Indies, and North America, they would assuredly covet and attack Mexico and Peru, and all the Spanish settlements in South America. It is possible, however, that Charles would long have avoided committing himself with England if France had not tempted him with the offer of Minorca and the prospect of recovering Gibraltar; but this latter lure was irresistible to a Spanish sovereign, and, with his eyes fixed upon it and dazzled by it, Charles III. consented not only to allow his name to be used in the diplomatic notes of France, but also to strengthen and give virtual efficacy to a Family Compact by preparing armies and fleets. And some months before M. de Bussy presented the note in question an unwonted degree of activity had been observed in the arsenals and dockyards of Spain. Immediately after replying to Bussy, Pitt as foreign secretary, commanded the British ambassador at Madrid, Lord Bristol, to inquire what these preparations meant. Mr. Wall, an Irish adventurer who had attained to be the leading minister in the Spanish cabinet, answered Bristol in a high or insolent tone, taking care, however, to aver that his Catholic Majesty's intentions were pacific. Immediately after this answer to the English ambassador the Family Compact was signed at Versailles. The French and Spanish monarchs agreed to consider *every power as their common enemy who might become the enemy of either*, and to guarantee the respective dominions, in all parts of the world, which they might possess *at the conclusion of peace*. They engaged to afford *mutual succours by sea and land*. The wars in which France might be concerned in consequence of her alliances in Germany were specifically excepted from the cases in which Spain was to furnish succours, *unless some maritime power* (meaning England) *should take part in those wars*, or France should be invaded *by land*. It was stipulated that no proposal of peace to their common enemies was to be made except by common consent; and that the two monarchies of France and Spain were to act as if they formed one and the same power. And, lastly, a clause was introduced allowing of the accession to the treaty of Charles's son, the king of Naples, and stipulating that no other power should be admitted into this Family Compact except a prince of the House of Bourbon.

Although the precise wording of the articles remained a secret, the nature and object of the treaty were thoroughly known to Pitt, and might also have been known to Bute. Full of the subject and its obvious consequences, Pitt represented at the council-table that Spain was only waiting for the arrival of her annual Plate Fleet from America, and for the completion of her preparations, to declare war; and he boldly proposed that we should anticipate her by declaring war ourselves, and by sending out a fleet to intercept her ships and treasures from the western world—treasures which, if allowed to arrive in Spain, would only be employed to our mischief. Nor did his scheme end here: he pressed for an immediate attack upon their colonies, for the capture of the Havannah, for the occupation of the Isthmus of Panama, and for an expedition thence against Manilla and the Philippine Isles, which should intercept the communication between the South American continent and the rich regions of the East. But Bute felt or pretended an easy incredulity as to the determined hostile intentions of Spain and the real meaning of the treaty signed at Versailles: all the other members of the cabinet, with the exception of Lord Temple, Pitt's brother-in-law, considered the bold measures recommended as much too precipitate; and the king himself declared that he had the strongest objections to the scheme. Thus finding himself thwarted, Pitt indignantly declared that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide, and, delivering his reasons in writing, he begged permission to resign the seals of secretary.* Lord Temple followed his example. On the 6th of October when Pitt delivered up his seals into his sovereign's own hands he was affected even to tears by the young king's kindness of manner. George lamented to him the loss of so valuable a servant; declaring, however, again that he was averse to the sudden declaration of war against Spain, and adding that he himself should have found great difficulty in consenting to any such measure, even if his cabinet had been unanimous for it. His majesty made

* According to Burke (in Annual Register) old Lord Granville, the president of the council, who had himself been as bold a minister as ever directed the affairs of the nation, replied to Mr. Pitt's announcement, "I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him; but, if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that, at this board, he is only responsible to the king. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes." Bubb Dodington thus congratulated Lord Bute on Pitt's resignation:—"I sincerely wish your lordship joy of being delivered of a most impracticable colleague, his majesty of a most imperious servant, and the country of a most dangerous minister. I am told that the people are sullen about it. . . . . Your lordship may remember some months ago I said I thought Mr. Pitt would never make peace, *because he could never make such a peace as he had taught the nation to expect.* I suppose he now sees that we are within a year or two of an impracticability of carrying on the war upon the present footing, and may think, by going out upon a spirited pretence, to turn the attention and dissatisfaction of the public on those, who, at a ruinous expense, are to carry on his wild measures, and whom they have been taught to dislike by a total abandonment of the press to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will now think proper to employ better." *Adolphus, History of England, from the accession of George III. to the conclusion of peace in the year* 1783; *Appendix.*—These letters, with others equally curious, were furnished to Mr. Adolphus by Mr. Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, the candid editor of Bubb Dodington's famous Diary.

him a gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow; and the very next day intimated to him, through Lord Bute, that he would confer on him the sinecure government of the Canadas, with a salary of 5000*l.* a-year; or the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster with an equally high salary. Pitt instantly penned a strange but meaning letter to Bute. He requested his lordship to lay him "at the royal feet, with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and respectful gratitude;" declared that he was penetrated, overwhelmed, confounded with the extent of his majesty's gracious goodness and bounteous favour—but doubted whether he ought to accept either of the offices mentioned, or whether, considering that which he had resigned, he ought to go again into any office whatever. But in the next paragraph of his letter he more plainly suggested the nature of the reward he wanted, which was a pension that should not die with him, but survive in his family, and a title for his wife. "I am too proud," wrote Pitt, "to receive any mark of the king's countenance and favour, but above all doubly happy could I see those dearer to me than myself comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness, with which his majesty shall condescend to distinguish me."* No time was lost in gratifying him in his own way: a pension of 3000*l.* a-year was settled on Mr. Pitt

William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham.

for three lives, and a peerage was conferred on his wife Lady Hester and her issue: and the Gazette the next day announced the resignation and the honours and rewards together, publishing at the same time a letter from our ambassador at Madrid, brim full of the pacific intentions and friendly assurances of Spain. "It must be owned," says Burke, then a humble recorder of transactions in which he was soon to take an active part, "that this manœuvre was very skilfully executed: for it at once gave the people to understand the true motive to the resignation, the insufficiency of that motive, and the graciousness of the king, notwithstanding the abrupt departure of his minister. If after this the late minister should choose to enter into opposition, he must go into it loaded and oppressed with the imputation of the blackest ingratitude; if on the other hand he should retire from business, or should concur in support of that administration which he had left, because he disapproved its measures, his acquiescence would be attributed by the multitude to a bargain for his forsaking the public, and that the title and his pension were the considerations. These were the barriers that were opposed against that torrent of popular rage which it was apprehended would proceed from this resignation. And the truth is, they answered their end perfectly."* The title and the pension did, indeed, obscure the popularity of the patriot minister with many mists and clouds, but a few of his thunder storms in opposition soon cleared the atmosphere, and he was not, like ordinary minds, to be borne down by any weight of gratitude to royalty, or by imputations or suspicions of any kind. His friends and partisans began at once to raise the most violent clamours against Bute for displacing a minister who had carried on the war with such signal success, and elevated the nation from the most abject state to the pinnacle of glory. They set on foot addresses, resolutions, and condolences in London and the greater corporations, trusting that the example would be followed by all the other cities and boroughs of the kingdom: but their progress was more slow and languid than they anticipated; and in some instances they found people disposed to criticise the temper and the conduct of the retired secretary.

The year, however, had not closed ere the ministers who remained found that a rupture with Spain was inevitable, and that by not following Pitt's scheme they had enabled that power to strengthen herself for war. The first intimation was detected in the loud and threatening tone of the court of Versailles. Lord Bristol, our ambassador at Madrid, was again instructed to demand the real intentions of Charles III. and the objects proposed by the Family Compact. Wall replied much more insolently than before;† but he did not commit himself openly till the Plate ships had safely arrived at Cadiz with all the wealth expected from Spanish America:—then, complaining of the spirit of haughtiness and of

* Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq. and Captain John Henry Pringle, executors of his son, John, Earl of Chatham.

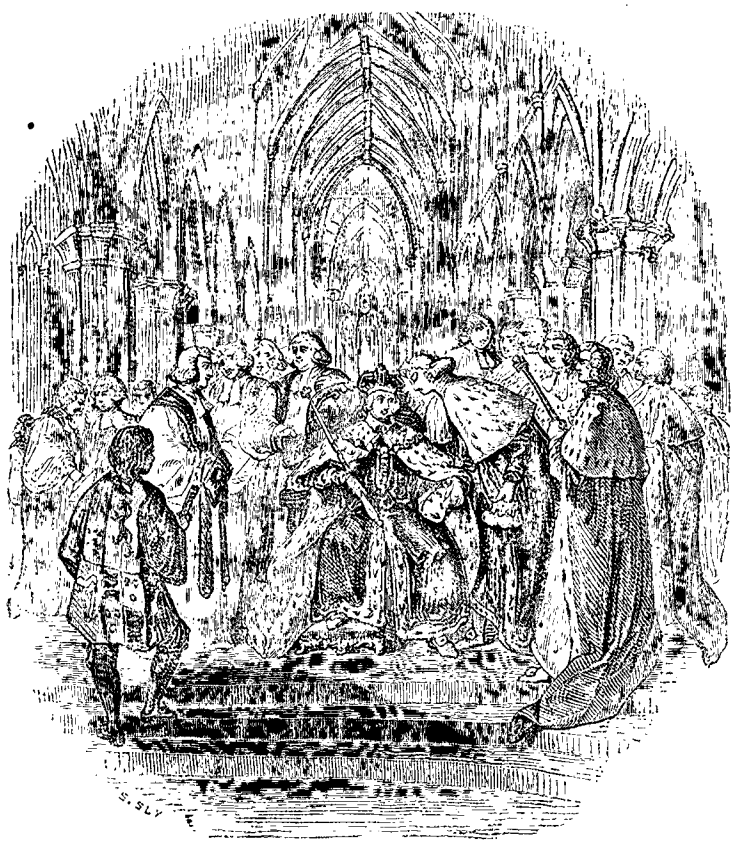
* Annual Register, 1761.

† The Irishman told Lord Bristol—"You English are intoxicated with your successes, and aim to ruin the power of France, that you may afterwards crush that of Spain! Since the dominions of his Catholic Majesty, my master, are to be overwhelmed, I shall be the first to advise him to put arms in the hands of his subjects, and not fall a passive victim to England. You have set the Spanish power at defiance: you have attacked and plundered our ships; you have insulted our coasts; you have encroached upon our dominions in America by cutting logwood and forming settlements in the Bay of Honduras; you have extorted from the subjects of Spain the right they long enjoyed of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. It is time to open our eyes."

discord which reigned in the British cabinet, and of insults offered to the dignity of the king, his master, he told Bristol he might leave Madrid when and in what manner he pleased, issuing at the same moment an order to detain all English ships that might happen to be in the ports of Spain. Bristol came home, and on the 25th of December the Count of Fuentes, after delivering an insulting memorial in which the insufferable pride and unbounded ambition of England were assigned as the cause of the rupture, quitted London. Our cabinet then issued a formal declaration of war, to which Spain immediately responded.*

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon: Correspondence of the Earl of Bristol, as quoted by Coxe.—Ann. Reg.

The British parliament had assembled on November the 6th. The Speech from the throne had contained no allusion to the Spanish quarrel or to the probability of a war with that power: his majesty had still spoken warmly of his good brother and ally the King of Prussia, and of his magnanimity and ability in resisting so many armies and surmounting such great difficulties; he had mentioned the continued vigour and success of our own army, and had declared his fixed resolution of adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with his allies. But the Prussian subsidy was neither asked for nor voted, and Frederick, in a state of great depression and poverty, was left to write begging letters which were never heeded.



CORONATION OF GEORGE III.—THE ENTHRONIZATION AND DOING HOMAGE.
From a Drawing by J. Franklin from Prints, &c. Additional MSS. Brit. Mus. 6307.

The coronation of their majesties took place at Westminster Abbey, on the 22nd of September of this year. Though described as solemn and magnificent, it did not materially differ from preceding ones; but it could boast of one very unusual and curious spectator. This was Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, who had come over in disguise, obtained admission into the abbey, and, mixed with the crowd, witnessed all the ceremonies consecrating King George on the throne which he considered to be by right his father's or his own.* It has been said that George knew that he was in the capital, and that he gladly let him go without molestation. And, indeed, by this time the Chevalier, the idol and the beau ideal of princes with certain Jacobites fifteen years before, had fallen into universal contempt. Eleven years before the coronation of George III. he had hazarded another journey to London, being then impelled by a few desperate partisans who had not lost all love for him, or all hope for his cause.

* Letter of Hume, the historian, in Gent. Mag.

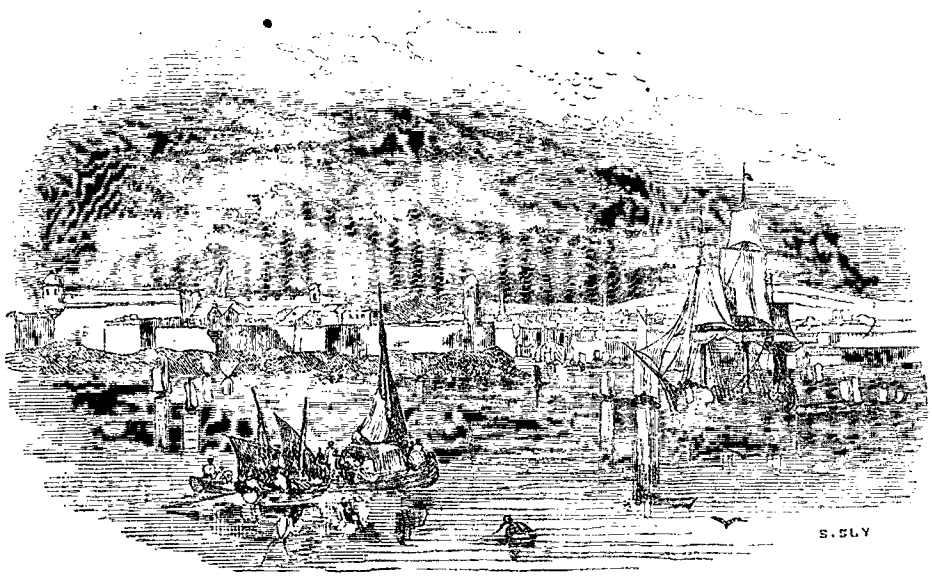
Doctor King, the well known Jacobite Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, saw him more than once on that occasion, and held some long conversations with him.* The doctor found him even deficient in genteel manners, utterly ignorant of literature as of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences, and wholly unacquainted with the history and constitution of England. "I never," adds the doctor, "heard him express any noble or benevolent sentiment, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. But the most odious part of his character was his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be urged in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should always be open, as long as there is anything in it, to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles II., during his banishment, would have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little court. But I have known this gentleman with 2000 Louis d'ors in his strong box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. . . . . To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependants, very unbecoming a great prince, *and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power.*" At the same time he was far from being a zealous Catholic like his father and his grandfather James II. He had adopted the free-thinking which was prevalent in France, and which was not unknown in Italy and Rome itself: to serve any end on which he had set his heart, he would probably have adopted with equal indifference the doctrines of Calvin and Luther, the Liturgy of the church of England, or the Khoran of Mahomet. "With the Catholics," says King, "he is a Catholic; with the Protestants he is a Protestant; and, to convince the latter of his sincerity, he often carried in his pocket an English Common Prayer Book, and sent to Gordon, a non-juring clergyman, to christen the first child he had by his mistress, Mrs. Walkenshaw." This mistress occasioned the complete defection of his few remaining friends and adherents in England. When he was in Scotland in 1745, Mrs. Walkenshaw was with him, and her sister *was at the time, and continued long after to be, in the service of Frederick, Prince of Wales, as housekeeper at Leicester House.* In 1748, soon after being liberated from the castle of Vincennes and conducted out of France, he sent for this woman, who acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes and entrusted with his most secret correspondence. Those whose necks were concerned became greatly alarmed, imagining that Walkenshaw had been placed about him by English ministers, and that she was in the habit of corresponding secretly with her sister at Leicester House. But no representation, no entreaties could induce him to break this connexion. Mr. Macnamara was sent over to him by his English friends to tell him that an immediate interruption of all correspondence, and the certain ruin of his interest, would be the infallible consequence of his refusal; yet he continued inflexible. As this agent and partisan left him he exclaimed—"What has your family done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages?" He told Macnamara that he had no violent passion for Mrs. Walkenshaw, but that he would not receive directions in respect to his private conduct from any man alive. The northern mistress, indeed, was not a very attractive person; she had no elegance of manners, and, like her royal lover, was much addicted to drink. It is said they very often quarrelled, and sometimes fought; and that these drunken scenes occasioned the report, current at one time, that he was gone mad. When Macnamara returned to London all correspondence was broken off.* It appears, however, that he was tempted by some desperate vision to visit England again in 1754. He was permitted to return to France and to take up his abode with his generous friend the Duke de Bouillon, or at the Duke's chateau, in the forest of Ardennes, where he amused himself with hunting boars and wolves. His father urged him to marry, but he refused, upon the very reasonable ground that he had no home of his own to offer to a wife.† It is said that he had sense enough to refuse being made again an *épouvantail* or scarecrow for France; but it may be doubted whether the French government ever again tempted him with the offer of commands and armaments.‡ The disrepute he had fallen into in England must have been well known to the French cabinet, and Pitt, by enrolling the Highlanders and employing them in his brilliant and successful war, had rooted out the only dangerous Jacobitism in Scotland. At the time of the coronation of George III., when many who had never been to the court of his two immediate predecessors hastened to pay their duty

* The doctor notes—"September, 1750, I received a note from my Lady Primrose, who desired to see me immediately. As soon as I waited on her, she led me into her dressing-room and presented me to *the Prince*. . . . . He came one evening to my lodgings and drank tea with me. My servant, after he was gone, said to me, that he thought my new visitor very like Prince Charles. 'Why,' said I, 'have you ever seen Prince Charles?' 'No sir,' replied the fellow, 'but this gentleman, whoever he may be, exactly resembles the busts which are sold in Red Lion-street, and are said to be the busts of Prince Charles.' The truth is, these busts were taken in plaster of Paris from his face."—*Political and Literary Anecdotes of his Own Time.*

* Dr. King's Anecdotes.

* Stuart Papers, as cited by Lord Mahon, Hist. Eng.

‡ Dr. King, however, says, that if any such offer had been made, it would certainly have been refused. "He had often declared to his friends, after the ill treatment which he had received from the court of France, that he never would accept of any offers which that court might hereafter make him, *which never had any real intention to serve him, but only to use him occasionally as their instrument, and to sacrifice him to their interest.*



HAVANNA—FORTS MORO AND PUNTAL. From an anonymous Print.

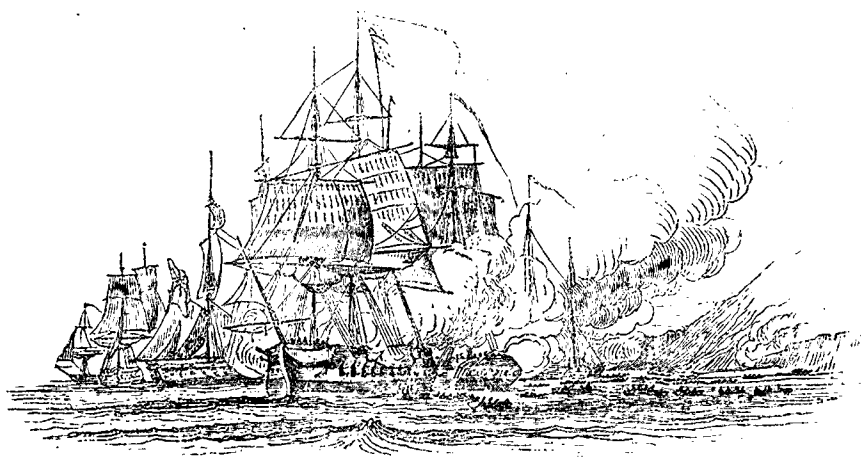
and allegiance to the young English-born and English-bred sovereign, the projects and person of Charles Edward Stuart were scarcely more important than the performances upon the stage of a worn-out actor in a worn-out part.

In the month of December the king went down to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the Bill for settling Queen Charlotte's dowry. When the act passed, her majesty, who was present, and placed on a chair of state on the king's right hand, rose up and made her obeisance to the king. The grant, in case of her majesty's surviving the king, was liberally fixed at 100,000*l.* per annum, with Somerset House and the Lodge in Richmond Park.*

A.D. 1762.—Lord Egremont, who had been appointed by Bute to the vacant secretaryship, was forced for some time to walk in the very steps which Pitt had chalked out;† and the cabinet

* Ann. Reg.

† Bubb Dodington writes to Lord Bute in the month of April:—"The people are intoxicated with conquests: his partisans take effectual care to combine the idea of Mr. Pitt with it. His party rises; they attack you publicly in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the most audacious manner, reproach you with following his example."—*Adolphus, Appendix.*



STORMING OF HAVANNA. From an Original Drawing by W. Huggins.

generally had to follow that minister's mutilated scheme against Spain—mutilated by themselves, because they would not begin in time. Early in the year an expedition was prepared against the Havanna, and on the 5th of March it sailed from Portsmouth under the command of General Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke. It was joined in the West Indies by a strong squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas, and, sailing through the Bahama Straits, it arrived off the Havanna on King George's birth-day (4th of June). It presented an imposing total of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and smaller vessels, and 150 transports, having on board 10,000 land troops. A landing was effected with little or no opposition, and siege was laid at once to the Moro —the strong fort which defended the harbour, and which was considered impregnable. Great difficulties were encountered in making the approaches on a hard, rocky soil; and the English troops suffered severely from fatigue, sickness, and the fire of the enemy. But fresh reinforcements arrived from New York and our West Indian islands; a detachment of seamen and 800 marines were landed from the fleet; three ships of the line (the Dragon, Cambridge, and Marlborough) bombarded the place one day from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon: the fort was isolated from the town, and on the forty-fourth day of the siege it was stormed through a narrow and perilous breach, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The defence of the Spaniards was as heroic as the assault. Don Louis de Velasco, the governor, and his second in command died in the breach. The city of Havanna held out a fortnight longer; but on the 13th of August it capitulated, and was yielded up with 180 miles of country to the westward, or all the best part of the island of Cuba. Nine Spanish ships of the line, fit for sea, and three frigates, were taken in the harbour; three ships of the line and a galleon had been sunk previously, and two destroyed on the stocks. The booty that fell into the hands of the victors was estimated altogether at 3,000,000*l.* sterling. The occupation of the Havanna gave us the absolute command of the passage pursued by the Plate fleets of Spain, and seemed to lay the wealth and glory of that empire at our feet.* The isthmus of Panama was not seized, but the Philipines were attacked. Admiral Cornish, with a small fleet, took on board at Madras 2300 men commanded by Colonel William Draper,* and appeared suddenly off Manilla, the capital of Luconia and of the surrounding isles,—a place almost as important in the east as was Havanna in the west. Draper threw his forces on shore, and took possession of the suburbs of Manilla before the Spaniards were well aware that their king was at war with the English.† The archbishop was governor and supreme head of the islands; and, like ecclesiastics of earlier ages, he could fight as well as say mass. He put himself in the most warlike attitude that circumstances would permit, called up the native Indians to harass the assailants in their rear, and with about 800 Spanish regulars opposed their approaches in front. But his poor Indians, armed for the most part with bows and spears, were cut to pieces;‡ and the works of Manilla were carried by storm on the 6th of October, the twelfth day after the landing. Draper's forces, in which there were more Sepoys and Lascars than native British, began to plunder and destroy, and to subject the unfortunate place to all the horrors of war. But the inner citadel, in which the archbishop had thrown himself, still remained untaken; and, in treating for its surrender, his eminence proposed that, in consideration of a fixed ransom, the lives, liberties, and properties of all private parties should be spared by the conquerors. Draper, who piqued himself on his scholarship, drew up the terms of capitulation in Latin, agreeing to accept as a ransom for the inhabitants two millions of dollars in an assignment on the Spanish treasury at Madrid. This paper was signed by the governor-archbishop; but doubts seem to have been entertained from the beginning whether the two millions of dollars which Draper had latinised would ever be paid. Several ships, some artillery, and a considerable quantity of military stores, with all public property whatsoever, became the immediate prize of the captors, who, moreover, succeeded in taking a great Manilla and Acapulco galleon, the Santa Trinidad, valued at three millions of dollars.§ Without further resistance the whole group of islands submitted to the English flag.‖

* Despatches from Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, in Ann. Reg.—The Hon. Captain Harvey, in the Dragon, who was the bearer of Lord Albemarle's despatches, on his passage home took a French ship valued at 30,000*l.*—*Schomberg, Naval Chronology.*—Our loss, in the reduction of the Havanna, exceeded, in men and officers, 1790—but the greater part died of sickness, which raged to a dreadful degree, both on shore and on board ship. The distribution of the prize money was shamefully managed, and gave occasion to many complaints, and, afterwards, to a great reluctance among seamen to enter the king's service. In the quiet language of Captain Schomberg—"The distribution of the prize money for the capture of the Havanna *was by no means made conformable to the established rules hitherto observed.* The inferior officers, seamen, and soldiers received a very unequal and undue reward for the bravery they had shown, and the hardships they had endured on so perilous and fatiguing a service." The admiral got for his share 122,697*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; the captains 1600*l* each; the lieutenants 234*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* each; the petty officers only 17*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* each; and the poor sailors and marines only 3*l.* 14*s.* 9¼*d.* each. The general, Lord Albemarle, got the same as the admiral, or 122,697*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*; the field officers 564*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* each; the captains only 184*l.* 4*s.* 7¼*d.* each; and the poor privates no more than 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* per man.

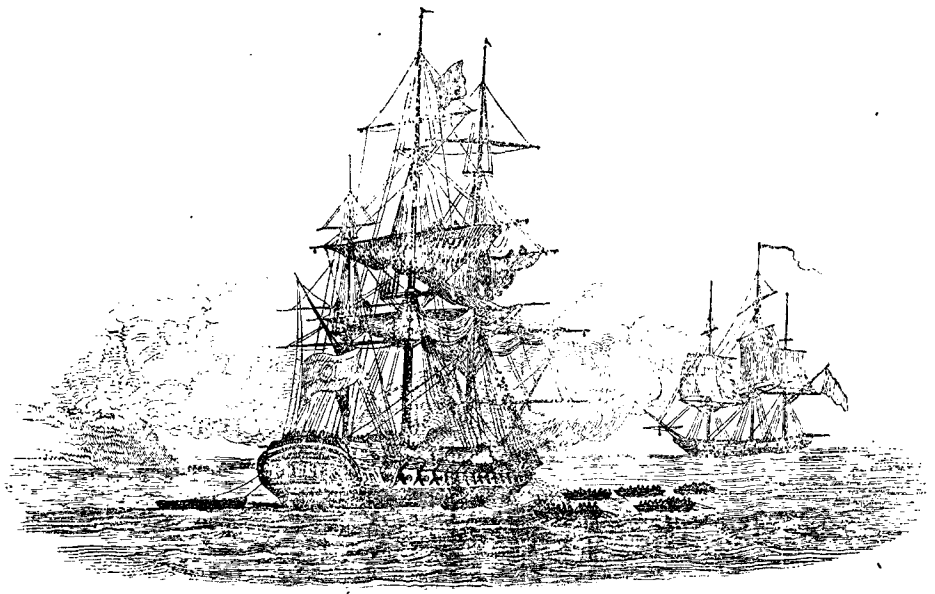
* Vice Admiral Cornish was on the East India station, but Draper, who had been patronised by Pitt, was sent out from England, as an officer on whose intelligence and bravery government could depend.

† The landing of the troops was covered in beautiful style by Captain Parker, afterwards Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, and by Captain Kempenfelt, who afterwards became Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and was lost in the Royal George off Portsmouth.

‡ According to our official accounts, "the Indians, armed only with bows and arrows, with savage ferocity rushed on to the very muzzles of our pieces, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets."

§ They, however, missed the richer galleon, the Santa Philipina, after beating after her, in the teeth of the monsoon, for three months!

‖ Official Letters from Sir William Draper.—Schomberg.—Naval Chronology.—Ann. Reg.—Captain Kempenfelt brought home Admiral Cornish's despatches, and the colours taken at Manilla, which Draper rather vain-gloriously requested might be sent to Cambridge to be hung up in the chapel of the college he had studied in. The admiral was made a Baronet, Draper a Knight of the Bath, and both received the thanks of parliament.

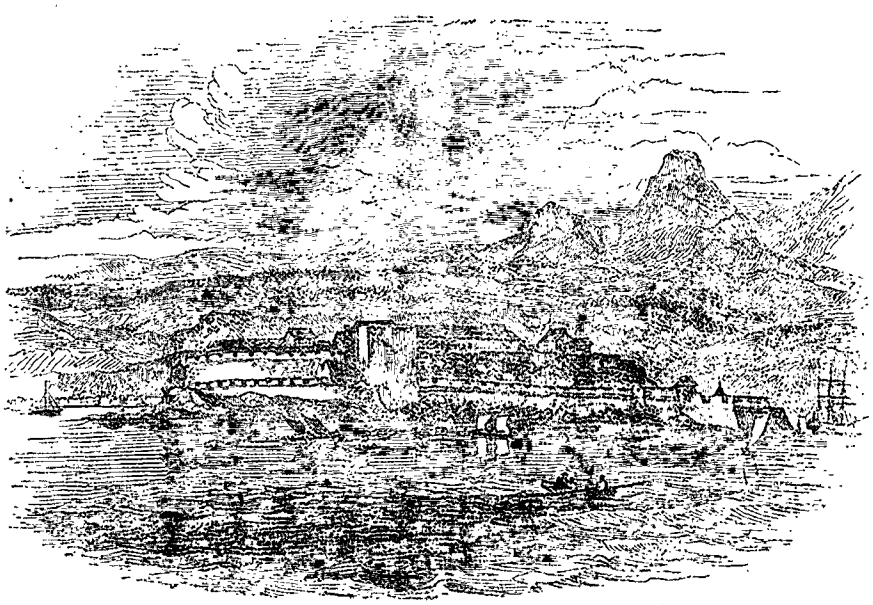


CAPTURE OF A SPANISH TREASURE SHIP. From an Original Drawing by W. Huggins.

A series of attacks on the remaining French West India islands was equally successful. Martinique, the chief of the French Caribbees, an important point in a naval and military view, was reduced, in the month of February, by an army under General Monckton and a squadron under Admiral Rodney; and this conquest was speedily followed by the surrender of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and thus we remained in possession of the entire chain of the Caribbees. The French, in that part of the world, had been completely paralysed by the suddenness of the attack and the hopelessness of any succour from their mother-country. Our naval force, besides, was overpowering in the West Indies; and, when Rodney appeared off Martinique, he had under his command one ship of 84 guns, five of 74, two of 70, five of 64, one of 60, four of 50, three of 44, eleven ranging from 32 to 20, five sloops and brigs, and four bomb-ships.

But, long before Madrid was thrown into consternation by the arrival of the news of the loss of the Havanna and Manilla, the Spanish court had begun a land campaign on the continent of Europe with a seeming prospect of most brilliant success. The close alliance between England and Portugal had been subject to fewer accidents and interruptions than any treaty of the same kind in modern diplomacy—a steadiness no doubt arising, in good part, from the weakness of the Portuguese government and its dependence on the power of Great Britain. Then, as at a later period, both France and Spain chose to consider the King of Portugal as the creature of the King of England, and to advance, as a principle, the necessity and propriety of compelling the Portuguese to renounce their English alliance. That country had taken no part in the war, and was at the moment observing a strict neutrality; but she was thought to be weak as the lamb, and Spain and France quarreled with her in the fashion of the wolf. There were certain circumstances which ought to have disarmed even a justifiable hostility: Portugal had not yet recovered from the effects of that terrible earthquake which, in the year 1756, had reduced a third part of her capital to ruins; and the reigning sovereign, Joseph Emanuel, was the near relation of his Spanish majesty. But, though Charles III. was considered as a devout, upright, and conscientious prince, his morality in these matters did not rise above the common morality of kings; and, overlooking the claims of misfortune and of kindred, he seems to have entertained the notion of profiting by his relative's weakness, so as to render himself master of the whole Iberian peninsula, by seizing and keeping Portugal. Though so often foiled and frustrated in the attempt, the statesmen of Spain had never given up the hope of incorporating Portugal politically, as it was geographically, with the larger kingdom. While military preparations were making for an invasion by France as well as by Spain, the ambassadors of those two powers presented a joint memorial to the court of Lisbon, inviting the king of Portugal to join the Bourbon alliance against Great Britain, "the common enemy of all maritime nations;" insisting upon his expelling the English merchants and others from his kingdom, and closing his ports to English shipping; and courteously offering to garrison his fortresses and sea-ports with French and Spanish troops, who would protect them from the vengeance of England. They de-

manded an answer within four days, declaring that any delay would be taken as a negative on the part of his Portuguese majesty, who must be answerable for the serious consequences. The heir of the House of Braganza had spirit enough to declare that he would never submit to such conditions: on which the French and Spanish ambassadors quitted Lisbon, and their armies on the frontiers put themselves in motion to visit, if possible, that fair but unfortunate capital. At this crisis the kingdom of Portugal was impoverished and disheartened; her army—if such it could be called—did not exceed 20,000 men, badly disciplined and miserably equipped; her fortresses were in ruins; her fleet was reduced to six ships of the line and a few frigates. Charles III. began the attack on the north of the Douro with an army of 22,000 men, commanded by the Marquis of Saria, who presently took Braganza, Miranda, and Torre de Moncorvo. But, on drawing nearer to Oporto, Saria was checked by the militia and the brave peasantry, who, assisted and directed by some British officers, maintained an incessant and destructive war of posts. Another body of 8000 Spaniards, however, succeeded in penetrating south of the Douro into Beira, and in taking post near Almeida. But succour was at hand: the court of Lisbon, in the depth of its distress, had applied to England for money, arms, ammunition, stores, and troops; and the prayers of an old and faithful ally were promptly attended to, the House of Commons voting 1,000,000*l.* sterling to enable his majesty to assist the Portuguese. Eight thousand British troops, commanded by Lord Tyrawley, the Earl of Loudon, General Townshend, Lord George Lennox, and Brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne, landed in Portugal. Lord Tyrawley soon grew disgusted with the service, the people, and the country, and retired in a very lordly rage: the Earl of Loudon was of much more use; and the native Portuguese army consented to submit to the command of the Count de la Lippe, an active and experienced German officer, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Germany. Lippe collected the principal part of the Portuguese forces at Puente de Marcello, to prevent the advance of the Spaniards in the north; and, while the Spaniards south of the Douro were occupied in the siege of Almeida, he detached Brigadier Burgoyne to fall upon Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Spain, where large magazines were said to be collected for the purpose of an invasion along the Tagus. Burgoyne, who displayed activity and gallantry, struck across the mountains by Castel da Vida, and, making a forced march of five days through a most rugged and difficult country, he carried Valencia d'Alcantara by a *coup-de-main*, taking a Spanish major-general with all his staff, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and all the flour and forage in store there. He also levied a considerable contribution in money; and then, without impediment and with inconsiderable loss, retraced his steps to Lippe, at Puente de Marcello. Almeida surrendered to the Count d'Aranda after a siege of nine days; but Burgoyne's expedition kept the Portuguese in heart, divided the attention, and baffled the plans of the Spaniards. Having left garrisons in Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, the Count d'Aranda marched away for Castel Branco, with the evident intention of crossing the Tagus at Villa Velha into the Alemtejo. But Lippe, moving with greater rapidity, got to Abrantes, the key of Portugal on the Tagus, and posted strong detachments under the Count de St. Jago and Burgoyne



Fort Royal, Martinique. From an anonymous Print.

SPANISH TROOPS SURRENDERING TO BRIGADIER BURGOYNE. From an Original Drawing by J. Franklin.

at the pass of Alvite and at Niza, to obstruct the passage of the river at Villa Velha; and, when the Spaniards came up, they found these positions occupied. D'Aranda attacked the old Moorish castle of Villa Velha, and got possession of it in a few days in spite of Burgoyne's protecting fire of artillery across the river; and the Count de St. Jago was driven from the pass of Alvite. But, while the Spaniards were pursuing the count and his Portuguese across the mountains towards Codigos, thus weakening their corps at Villa Velha, Burgoyne threw a detachment under Colonel Lee across the Tagus in the darkness of night; and, while the Spaniards there were amused by a feigned attack in front from Niza, Lee entered their quarters in the rear without being perceived till his own musketry and bayonets told the secret. They were routed at once with terrible slaughter, and, having destroyed their magazines and spiked or taken their guns, Lee and his men returned to the other side of the Tagus loaded with booty and surrounded by helpless prisoners. After this brilliant affair there was little more fighting: the French invading forces, which d'Aranda had expected to co-operate with him, were nowhere seen or heard of, his provisions began to run short, the autumnal rains to descend in torrents, the peasantry to block up every road and massacre all his outposts; and, dismantling the few fortresses he had taken, he retreated with little honour to his own country. Such, within ten short months, were the bitter fruits derived by Spain from the war into which she had so unnecessarily thrown herself; and to all these serious reverses and losses was added the capture by the English of the Hermione, a register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, with treasure on board that amounted to nearly a million sterling. She was taken off Cape St. Vincent, when near the end of her voyage, by two of our frigates. It was ships and prizes like these—it was the traditions of former times, and the tales of dollars and doubloons—it was the certainty of most abundant prize-money, that always rendered a war with Spain so popular in our navy; and it was the knowledge of these circumstances, the sad recollection of past losses, and the conviction that the English fleets, like a wasp's nest broke loose, could sting in a hundred places at once, that rendered a war with England so unpopular with the Spanish people, and gave origin to their constant cry—"Peace with England, and war with all the world!" The only one of our enterprises against Spain which failed this year was a paltry, ill-conceived expedition to Buenos Ayres—a place which seems destined to be a black spot in our military annals.*

* Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon; Despatches and Official Accounts.—Annual Register.

Our ally, Frederick of Prussia, was relieved when his fortune seemed at the lowest ebb by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, one of the most powerful of his enemies, and certainly the bitterest, as she had carried a woman's piques and passions into the quarrel, having been incensed by his Prussian majesty's witty sayings and sarcasms at the expense of her person, her habits, her drinking, and her amorousness. Her nephew and successor, Peter III., entertained, on the contrary, the most ardent admiration for the great Prussian soldier, and was anxious to enrol himself as his friend, disciple, and imitator. Elizabeth died on the 5th of January: by the beginning of February Peter III. had opened negotiations with Frederick; by the 16th of March a treaty of peace was concluded between them; and by the 5th of May a close alliance was contracted, by which about 20,000 men of the Russian army which had been serving with the Austrians against the Prussians were put at the disposition of Frederick to serve with the Prussians against the Austrians. As soon as the English cabinet, or that part of it which submitted to Bute, knew that Frederick was freed from the dangerous enmity of Russia, they pretended that that circumstance alone ought to excuse them from the payment of any further subsidies; and they reminded his Prussian majesty that he had himself assured

Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle.
From a Painting by Hoare.

them that if once he were secured by the neutrality of Russia he should have *little occasion* for any further assistance from England. And now he had not merely the neutrality but the friendship of Russia, together with every prospect of the neutrality of Sweden.* The old Duke of Newcastle, however, would not admit the validity of this reasoning, maintaining that Frederick ought to have the money he was demanding, and that England was bound in honour to make a new subsidy. We believe, at the same time, that for other obvious reasons this aged minister was sick of office and tired of changes and subterfuges, which seemed to leave him more and more in dependence on the favourite, and in the utter inability of helping himself or his own friends or party. At the end of April, before he knew that the Czar Peter had joined his arms to those of Frederick, but when he might have known that a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two potentates, Newcastle waited on Lord Bute and declared his intention to resign unless the subsidy were granted. Bute—as his manner was with all men except the sovereign—answered coolly and drily, saying, "that if the money were granted the peace might be retarded;" but he never requested him to continue in office, nor said one of those civil things which the advanced age, the long services, and the high rank of the duke seemed to entitle him to. Yet in former days Bute had bowed to Newcastle as to a god. His grace went forthwith to St. James's, demanded an audience of the king, who was much more civil than the favourite had been, resigned his office, and refused a pension which was offered as a reward for his services, and for the large sacrifices made out of his private fortune since he had been minister. He then retired, a comparatively poor man, to find how solitary and deserted could be the mansion of an ex-minister.* We shall find him re-appear for a short season; but at this time Newcastle had sate for more than forty-five years in the cabinet. Few have sate there so long with so great an indifference to money-making; and, assuredly, the age in which he lived was not that in which the virtues of disinterestedness and self-abnegation have most flourished. Enchanted with his ministerial importance, charmed with the game of politics which he had played so long that he knew none other, clinging to office with all his heart-strings, in part because he could find excitement nowhere else, and partly, no doubt, because he loved to bestow upon others what he disregarded himself, he had maintained a most costly struggle year after year, and at last left everything, some hundreds of thousands of pounds poorer than he began.† Lord Bute instantly stepped into his post of first lord of the treasury, or prime minister, leaving the secretaryship he had held to Mr. George Grenville, who had separated his interests from those of his brother, Lord Temple, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt. Bubb Dodington, who had been the go-between for Newcastle and Bute, died about this time, having obtained from George III. or

* Lord Dover, Life of Frederick II.—Voltaire, Louis XV.

* Horace Walpole, Letters to the Earl of Hertford and G. Montague.—Chatham Correspondence.

† When, in 1768, the old Duke of Newcastle quitted life and politics together, Lord Chesterfield thus noticed his decease:—"My old kinsman and contemporary is at last dead, and, for the first time, quiet. . . . . After all the great offices which he had held for fifty years, he died 300,000*l.* poorer than he was when he came into them. A very unministerial proceeding."—*Letters.*

from the favourite the peerage which had been so long the object of his ambition, but not having worn his blushing honours of Baron Melcombe of Melcombe Regis quite a year, and leaving no son to succeed him.

FREDERICK THE GREAT. From a Portrait by Cunningham.

Backed by Russia and in friendship with Sweden, which concluded a peace with him towards the end of May, Frederick boasted that he was in possession of more advantages than he could have derived from gaining three pitched battles; and, without the English subsidy, though bitterly complaining of the want of it, he took the field. But, before his columns defiled to go to the re-conquest of Schweidnitz and Silesia, the admiration and imitation which he had excited in Peter III. had proved fatal to that unhappy prince, or had, at least, very materially contributed to precipitate Peter from a throne to a dungeon and mysterious grave: another revolution had happened in Russia, sudden, treacherous, and bloody, and with a mixture of womanly intrigue and lust, in the manner of that country. After making peace with Frederick, and sending 20,000 of his troops to serve under him, Peter, in the fulness of his admiration and enthusiasm, insisted upon introducing the Prussian discipline and even the Prussian uniform into his own army. He himself appeared constantly in the dress of a Prussian general, and he was accustomed to say that, if he had remained Duke of Holstein, he would have commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, and have had the honour of serving personally that great monarch—an honour which he esteemed superior to any that Russia could give him. At the same time he offended the bigoted clergy by building or dedicating Protestant chapels, by ordering many painted images of saints to be removed from the churches, and by checking the entrance of novices into convents. Many of the reforms he proposed were wise in themselves; but he drove them on with unwise haste, before his seat was assured on that always slippery throne, and when every third man he admitted into his confidence or into his presence was a conspirator and traitor. His tragical catastrophe, however, might have been far distant but for his own wife, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who had the fortune to charm the Russians as much as he disgusted them. This most able and remorseless woman was induced to believe that Peter had discovered her adulterous connexion with Count Gregory Orloff, and entertained the design of divorcing and imprisoning her, and raising to the imperial throne his own favourite mistress, Elizabeth Countess of Woronzow. It was even believed that a small brick house he was building within the fortress of Schlusselburg was intended for her perpetual prison. Hence, and probably from her innate ambition to reign, and her sense of her own ability and vast popularity, she gave a ready ear to the complaints of the army, the clergy, the nobility; and, aided by the Princess Dashkow, she entered into a conspiracy with the Chancellor Bestuchef, Count Panin, Count Razamofski, Prince Wolkonski, Prince Baratinski, Gregory Orloff, and others; and on the 27th of June (o. s.), habited like a man, Catherine harangued the guards and proceeded with them to the church of the Virgin Mary of Casan, where the clergy welcomed her as a deliverer, and where a vast concourse of troops and nobles joined her. The archbishop of Novogorod performed divine service, and administered to Catherine, as sole empress, the oath usually taken on the accession of Russian sovereigns. Her oath was succeeded by precipitate oaths of allegiance from all present in the church. She then repaired to the senate, which acknowledged her right, and swore allegiance at once. To facilitate the first movements of the revolution, and to prevent that surprise and bewilderment in which it is difficult to judge how popular masses may act, a report was industriously circulated that the Emperor Peter had just been killed by a fall from his horse. But this invention was merely to serve the purpose of a moment, and in the course of the day Catherine boldly put forth a manifesto declaratory of the reasons which had induced her to ascend the throne.* All the adherents of her husband were arrested, and Peter

* It was to this effect:—"Catherine II., by the grace of God, Empress and Autocratix of all the Russias, to all our faithful subjects, &c. All the true sons of Russia have clearly seen the danger which threatened the whole Russian empire. First, the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has been shaken, and its tradition exposed to total ruin; so that it was to be feared that the faith which has been established in Russia from the earliest times would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place, the glory which Russia had acquired at the expense of so much blood, and which was carried to the greatest height by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with her greatest enemy. And, lastly, the domestic regulations which are the basis of the country's welfare have been totally overturned. For these causes, overcome by the imminent dangers with which our faithful subjects were threatened, and seeing how sincere and express their desires were on this head, we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his divine justice, have ascended the imperial throne of all the Russias, and have received a solemn oath of fidelity from all our faithful subjects. Petersburg, June 28, o.s. 1762."

himself, betrayed by his nearest connexions, and even by his own mistress, after making some vain attempts to escape by sea, fell into the hands of his enemies, and on the 29th of June, o. s. was made to sign a formal act of renunciation and abdication, loaded with the humiliating avowal that he had learned from experience that his abilities were insufficient to support so great a burden, and that he was not capable of governing the Russian empire in any way. Catherine then made a triumphal entrance into the capital, dressed in the uniform of the old Russian guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted upon a white charger. Her lover, Orloff, rode by her side, and she was followed by counts, princes, archbishops, bishops, and priests innumerable. But the dethroned and imprisoned emperor had still many warm friends, a part of the army seemed devoted to him, meetings and consultations were held, and a civil war seemed inevitable, when, on the 6th of July, the seventh day of his captivity, it was announced that he had died at Robscha. No doubt was entertained as to the violent manner of his death; and it was universally believed that Gregory Orloff or his brother Alexey, assisted by Prince Baratinski, was the principal assassin. The dark business, however, is still involved in mystery, and is not likely to be explained in its details. The unfortunate Peter was in his thirty-fourth year, Catherine was in her thirty-second; and the only living issue of their marriage, the Grand Duke Paul, who became emperor after her death, was seven years old. The dead body of Peter was boldly exposed in the convent of St. Alexander Nevski, at Petersburg, and people were freely admitted, according to the custom of the country, to kiss his hand while he lay there in state. The body was then buried in the church of the convent without any stone or inscription to mark the spot.* Europe wondered at these strange transactions; but in Russia they seemed to pass as matters of course, and the magnanimity of Catherine in sparing the life of her husband's mistress, and in shedding the blood of none of his friends, was applauded to the skies.† No sovereign was so deeply interested in this sudden revolution as Frederick, who apprehended that he should find in the Empress Catherine an enemy as implacable as her predecessor Elizabeth. In effect, the Russian troops serving with him were instantly recalled; but here all signs of difference or enmity ceased, and Catherine restored the Prussian territories which had been occupied by Elizabeth, and promised a strict neutrality. Breathing again, Frederick sent the Duke of Bevern and the Prince of Wurtemberg to defeat Marshal Daun at Reichenbach, and he wound up the campaign by taking Schweidnitz, gaining by the means of his brother Henry the crowning victory of Freyberg, and driving the Austrians into Bohemia. The campaign of the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand and the Marquess of Granby had led to the reduction of Cassel, the salvation of Hanover, and the expulsion of the French from Hesse—events that were followed by the thorough despondency of the French cabinet.

The successes of the war had not rendered Lord Bute a whit the less anxious and impatient for peace; and his pacific intentions were certainly at this moment encouraged by the feeling and voice of the English people, who complained loudly of the increased taxation, the expenses and burdens imposed on them by this long war. Having sounded indirectly some of the French cabinet, Bute ventured to engage the neutral King of Sardinia to propose to the court of Versailles a resumption of the negotiations; and Louis XV. no sooner had a hint of these propositions than he embraced them and clung to them like a drowning man to a spar. After the interchange of a few notes, it was agreed that a minister of the highest class should be appointed on either side. At this stage of the proceedings Bute sent notice to the lord mayor of London that a negotiation for peace was about to be opened! He then selected the Duke of Bedford as his plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary to Paris; and the high-born, high-bred, and gallant Duke de Nivernois came over to London with the same character. This was in the month of September, and the negotiations proceeded so rapidly that preliminaries for peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November, the negotiators leaving the affairs of Germany to be settled separately by the King of Prussia and the Empress Queen. By this treaty of Fontainebleau France formally ceded Canada with all its dependencies, together with Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, stipulating that the French Roman Catholics of Canada should enjoy the right of exercising their religion under their English rulers, and that such of them as chose should be at liberty to quit the country within a limited time: she resigned all pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadia, where the quarrel which led to the war had begun: she relinquished all that part of Louisiana in which she had hitherto a disputed possession, and she recognised the limits and lines of demarcation carefully drawn by the English negotiators, so as to preclude any future misunderstanding. In the West Indies she resigned the islands of Tobago, Dominique, St. Vincent, and the Grenadas, upon condition of getting back Mar-

* When, on the death of his mother, Catherine, the eccentric and half-crazed Paul ascended the Russian throne, he caused the body of his unhappy father to be disinterred and gave it a public and pompous funeral. By order of the new emperor, Count Alexey Orloff and Prince Baratinski, two of the reputed assassins, were stationed one on each side of the body while it lay in state, and were compelled after that long and dismal ceremony to follow the funeral procession. The already mouldering remains of the Emperor Peter III., who had been dead more than thirty years, were put in the same costly tomb in the cathedral of St. Petersburg with those of his wife and murderess, who had been dead only a few weeks.—*Coxe, Travels in Russia.*

† Rulhière, Anecdotes sur la Revolution de Russie. Rulhière was at St. Petersburg at the time, and an eye-witness of many of the scenes he describes. Coxe was there eight or nine years after the event; but he knew personally several of the principal actors in the strange revolution, and enjoyed excellent opportunities for acquiring information.

tinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and St. Lucie: on the coast of Africa she ceded Senegal and its dependencies, to get back Goree; in the East Indies she bound herself to acknowledge the native rulers set up by the English, and never to erect any fortifications in Bengal; but on these conditions her factories and settlements were all restored to her, to be held merely as depôts and places of trade: in the Mediterranean she restored Minorca to England, upon condition of our giving up our short and useless conquest of Bellisle; and she submitted to the introduction in the treaty of the old diplomatic formula, the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk. France was permitted to catch and dry fish on part of the bank of Newfoundland, and to fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the shore (off Cape Breton she was not to approach within fifteen leagues of the shore); and she obtained the small isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon to serve as a shelter to her fishermen, under the express covenant of never erecting batteries or keeping more than fifty soldiers there. Spain, crippled by a war which to her had been a very short one, and too happy to be admitted into the treaty, and to recover the Havanna and the Philipines, consented to overlook the grounds of her old quarrels with England, and to refer her maritime disputes about prizes, &c., to the adjudicature of the British Court of Admiralty: she bound herself to erase her jealous prohibitions, the cause of such frequent quarrel, in the Bay of Honduras, and consented that British subjects or their workmen should have full liberty to cut logwood and to build houses and warehouses, provided only they erected no new forts and demolished those which had been built: she gave up her ancient pretensions to a right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland: and she ceded in totality the Floridas and all the countries east and southeast of the Mississippi—a most important cession, and which, together with the acquisition of Canada, left the colonies of North America rounded and safe from any foreign foe—an advantage of which the most was made by the drawers and admirers of the treaty, who could scarcely be expected to foresee that it would accelerate a revolution and the independence of those colonies. Spain, which had derived nothing but loss and disgrace from her invasion of Portugal, finally consented to withdraw all her troops from the territories or frontiers of that kingdom, and to restore the colony of Sacramiento, on the Rio de la Plata, which she had taken from the Portuguese.*

The British parliament assembled on the 25th of November, and the preliminaries of peace were laid before both Houses for their information and approbation. But it was soon found that the opposition, organised and led by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, were in no humour to approve a peace of Bute's making. A fierce war of words ensued. Bute, who was no orator—whose words fell from him slowly like minute-guns—undertook to defend the work of his own hands in the House of Lords; and Mr. Fox, Pitt's old rival, who had gladly remained in his lucrative place of paymaster of the forces, led in the House of Commons. The prime minister gave a full detail of the negotiations, and concluded his speech with declaring that he wished for no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than, that he was the adviser of this peace. He was seconded by the Earl of Halifax, and supported by a great majority. Pitt, suffering from the gout and wrapped up in flannels, went down to the Commons and denounced the whole tenor of the treaty as derogatory to the honour of England, as unsafe, impolitic, unsound. He said, afflicted as he was with illness, he came at the hazard of his life to attend the House that day—to raise up his voice, his hand, his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies. Fox replied with less eloquence but with better arguments; and he might have reminded Pitt that a treaty of peace had never yet been made so to give satisfaction on all points, and that Pitt himself when at the height of his power had repeatedly confessed that, however competent he might be to carry on the war with success, he was not ambitious of the honour of arranging the treaty which should put an end to it. Fox was supported by George Grenville, and the ministerial majority was certain and large. The definitive treaty was therefore signed, and commercial communications were opened with France. Pitt had declared that the desertion of the King of Prussia, the most magnanimous ally England ever had, was insidious, base, and treacherous; yet we had stipulated in the preliminaries

GEORGE GRENVILLE. From a Painting by Wm. Hoare.

* Koch, Histoire des Traités.—Annual Register.

that the French should evacuate Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres; and, left with scarcely any other enemies than Austria and Saxony, Frederick, who had baffled nearly all Europe, might well be considered in a condition to take care of himself. In fact, Frederick was so powerful as to induce all the princes and states in Germany to sign a declaration of neutrality; and this compelled the Austrians to propose an armistice. The truce was followed by a congress, and the congress by a treaty of peace between Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Poland. This treaty of Hubertsburg was not signed till the 15th of February of the following year (1763), but its terms were agreed upon before the close of the present year. Frederick retained possession of Silesia and of all other territories whatsoever that belonged to him before the war; and the other powers, who in the beginning of the struggle had hoped to deprive him of everything except the barren sands of Prussia Proper, or Brandenburg, were forced to rest satisfied, each with what he had before the war, without any reparations or reimbursements for the terrible damages they had suffered and the enormous sums they had spent.* A better assurance for the continuance of tranquillity than any promises or diplomatic pledges was found in the state of exhaustion to which the belligerents were reduced. And, thus, at last, terminated the famed Seven Years' War, which had cost some million of human lives, devastated no inconsiderable part of Europe, and carried carnage into all the four quarters of the globe. England was the party that gained most by it; but whether her acquisitions were worth the price paid for them may remain a matter of reasonable doubt. Mr. Pitt, resolutely bent upon driving Bute from office, told the people that the best advantages had been thrown away in the treaty of peace; and the people soon believed him.

A. D. 1763.—The old Duke of Newcastle made common cause with Pitt; meetings were held at his grace's residence, and the Dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburnham, Hardwicke, and Besborough, the Lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers, Mr. James Grenville, Sir George Saville, and other Whig commoners of rank, talent, or influence, concerted together the means of making the peace odious and the downfall of the favourite certain. Former differences of opinion, whether upon minor or capital points of policy—previous quarrels, slights, and insults—were all to be forgotten (none of them had so much to forget as old Newcastle!), and coalesced and unanimous they were to fight one battle, and never treat with the enemy till his power was annihilated. Pens, active, pointed, and dipped in gall, were set to work to demonstrate to the nation that in the treaty of Fontainebleau we ought to have retained, at the least, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and St. Lucie, in the West Indies, Pondicherry and all that we had conquered in the East Indies; that the Havanna ought not to have been restored to Spain, though to keep it we had risked another seven years' war; that by consenting to demolish the forts erected in Honduras we had deprived our subjects of the log-wood trade, and left them open at all moments to the jealous rage of the Spaniards; that we ought to have received compensation in money both from France and Spain; that we had thrown away an opportunity, which might never occur again, of so humbling the House of Bourbon as to prevent her raising her proud head for ages to come, &c. Some of these party writers, moreover, took care to hint that such vast sacrifices in diplomacy had not been made without considerations paid by France to the English negotiators; and the hardiest among them intimated very plainly that Lord Bute, the king's mother, and the Duke of Bedford, had all touched French gold. Strictures, which from the beginning of the reign had never ceased, upon the close connexion between the Earl of Bute and the princess dowager, and upon the secluded, shy, retiring habits of the sovereign were now made with more point and bitterness than ever; and the island rang from end to end with epigrams, scandals, and stories. It cannot, in candour, be denied that there were facts and circumstances which gave probability and credibility to some of these tales. Except at short, cold, formal levees, and once or twice in the course of a session in the House of Lords, his majesty was rarely seen: the court and all the avenues to it were crowded with Bute's relatives, connexions, and dependents; so much so, that the palace was styled "Holyrood House." Bute, in concert with the princess dowager, precluded as much as possible all access to the king, and even after his marriage they kept him constantly under their eye. Bute's imprudence, moreover, gave to his intercourse with the princess dowager the air of an intrigue, for his visits to her royal highness were almost always made in the evening, and with ridiculous precautions and attempts at concealment. He used on these occasions the sedan-chair of a lady of the princess's household, the curtains of which were close drawn! All this gave rise to indelicate caricatures, lampoons, and most odious comparisons, the princess being put on a level with the Queen Dowager Isabella, the mother of Edward III., and Bute being painted as her paramour Mortimer.* Between facts and surmises, truth and scandalous exaggerations, this prime minister and double favourite of royalty, was certainly made the most odious and unpopular man in the three kingdoms; and, proud, cold, stiff, and unconciliating, Bute had

* Koch, Hist. des Traités.

* John Wilkes, at the beginning of the present year, 1763, had written an ironical dedication to the Earl of Bute of Ben Jonson's historical play, entitled "The Fall of Mortimer." It was excessively severe, and was Wilkes's *second* political essay. He always considered it his master-piece.—*Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, Esquire, with Memoirs of his Life, by John Almon.*— Wilkes had published in the preceding year a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Papers relative to the rupture with Spain laid before both Houses of Parliament on Friday, January 29th, 1762." Much of his information on this subject was derived from his friend Lord Temple, whose policy and the policy of Chatham the pamphlet extolled.

no art or faculty to undo the mischief and set himself right in public opinion. In the midst of this storm he was compelled to propose a loan of three millions and a half, and a new tax to enable government to pay debts contracted during the war. The business of the loan was doubly unfortunate, for, instead of throwing it open to competition, he disposed privately of the shares, which rose almost immediately to 11 per cent. premium; and hence it was inferred that, at the public expense, he had gratified himself or his own creatures with 350,000*l.* Nor was he more fortunate in his new tax, which came in the shape of a duty of 10*s.* per hogshead on cider and perry, to be paid by the first buyer. The country gentlemen, without reference to party, were violent in their opposition, and Bute then condescended to alter both the sum and the mode of levying it, proposing 4*s.* per hogshead, to be paid, not by the first buyer, but by the grower, who was to be made liable to the regulations of the excise and the domiciliary visits of excisemen. Mr. Pitt, as leader of the coalesced, thundered against this cyder bill, inveighing against the admission of excise officers into private dwellings, quoting the old proud maxim, that every Englishman's house was his castle, and showing the hardship of rendering every country gentleman, every individual that owned a few fruit trees and made a little cider, liable to the intrusion of officers. The city of London petitioned the Commons, the Lords, the throne, against the bill: in the House of Lords forty-nine peers divided against the minister, and two protests were entered on the journals. The cities of Exeter and Worcester, the counties of Devonshire and Herefordshire, rather more nearly concerned in a question about cyder than the city of London, followed the example of the capital, and implored their representatives to resist the tax to the utmost; and an indignant and general threat was made that the apples should be suffered to fall and rot under the trees, rather than be made into cyder, subject to such a duty and such annoyances. No fiscal question had raised such a tempest in the land since Sir Robert Walpole's excise bill in 1733. But Walpole, in the plenitude of his power and abilities, and with wondrous resources at command, bowed deferentially to the popular feeling, and let the scheme sleep: Bute, on the contrary, with a power that had lasted but for a day, and was already undermined, with slender abilities and no resources, was resolutely determined that *his* bill should pass. And it was passed with all its imperfections; and, though there were four different sorts of cider, varying in price from 5*s.* to 50*s.* the hogshead, they were all taxed alike—the poor man having thus to pay as heavy a duty for his thin sour beverage as the affluent man paid for the choicest kind.

But the cider bill had scarcely passed into law when Bute surprised friends and enemies alike by his suddenly and decidedly tendering his resignation. It is said that the king's astonishment was the greatest of all, and that his majesty requested and implored his prime minister to remain in office, assuring him that no desire of change or submission to that desire in others, no weakness or timidity should ever induce him to withdraw his honest and strenuous support. But, whatever arguments were used, or whatever were the conduct and feelings of the king, Bute threw up everything, and without asking for pension or sinecure proudly and silently withdrew on the 8th of April, 1763. When people recovered a little from their surprise, they speculated very freely on the motives which had led to his retreat. Some of the most passionate admirers of the great orator of the day said, that Pitt had killed him politically. Others gave the credit of the victory over him to Mr. Wilkes and his paper, the North Briton. Others again fancied that the moral king, and equally correct queen, had at length taken umbrage at Bute's intimacy with the Princess Dowager, while others were confident that he abandoned his post out of a fear of impeachment, in conscious guilt and under the apprehension that his enemies were in possession of dangerous secrets. On the other side his friends, who appear to have been ardent, though not numerous, began to assert that his retirement was no matter of surprise to them; that they knew that he had never loved the toils, struggles, and intrigues of a public life, that his natural taste was for books, retirement, the country, gardening, and botany; and that he had too noble a pride to tolerate the humiliations and drudgery of an official life; that he had taken office with the sole purpose of serving his king and country, by bringing the long expensive war to an end; and that, having happily accomplished this difficult task and made a good peace, he now, in retiring, only followed a determination which he had formed, and avowed to his friends, from the beginning. But Bute's own account is entitled to most credit; and the reason he gave for resigning was simply this—he found himself powerless in his own cabinet. He said to a friend—"Single in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me, except two peers (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord chief justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid, not only of falling myself, but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire!" He was followed by Sir Francis Dashwood, his incompetent chancellor of the exchequer,* and by Mr. Fox, his leader in the House of Commons, who had led a very short time, but who, under various ministerial changes, had kept his most lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, a long time, and thereby built up a large fortune. Soon after their retirement both Dashwood and

* "Sir Francis Dashwood," says Wilkes, "afterwards my Lord le Despencer, who, from puzzling all his life at tavern bills, had been called by Lord Bute to administer the finances of a kingdom above one hundred millions in debt, and styled by him, in the royal manner, *my Chancellor*."

Fox were elevated to the peerage, the former as Baron le Despencer, the latter as Baron Holland. Mr. George Grenville, who had forsaken Pitt and his family connexions to hold office under Bute, now succeeded both to the premiership and to the place which had been occupied by Dashwood, becoming at once first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. From these and other indications it appeared plainly that Bute, though retired from office, still retained the confidence of his sovereign. He had undoubtedly nominated his successor. What followed was inevitable:—Grenville and all the rest of the cabinet were considered as mere puppets that mechanically answered to the strings pulled by Bute. George Grenville, notwithstanding indisputable abilities and much moral worth, certainly proved a fatal legacy: he began an inglorious seven years' war with Wilkes, and, by originating the stamp act, he led to the ruinous war with our American colonies. On first entering into office, Lord Bute, at the earnest recommendation of his principal adviser, Bubb Dodington, set up a newspaper styled "The Briton," to break the complete ascendancy which Pitt and his party were said to hold over the public press, to advocate the peace, and to justify generally the measures of Bute's administration. Richard Glover, the author of the heavy epic poem of "Leonidas," and of a deal of patriotism in blank verse, appears to have entered into Bute's party, and to have written in his newspaper;* and a staff of other writers was hired to support administration and vilify its opponents. To oppose the Briton, a paper styled "The North Briton" was set on foot and conducted by John Wilkes, Esq., member of parliament for Aylesbury and colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, who had been hitherto known as a man of pleasure, wit, and repartee, not very exemplary in his life and morals, but active, enterprising, and daring.† If Wilkes's reputation for wit rested solely upon what he wrote, it would be little worth; but his weapon of force was the tongue, not the pen; his success in conversation and society was immense, and some of his repartees were perhaps the smartest and sharpest things said in that day. In the North Briton his hardihood and scurrility were far more conspicuous than his wit or genius. Not satisfied with abusing Bute in a style, and to a degree in which minister or public man had never been abused before, he reviled, stigmatised, and heaped curses upon that earl's country and countrymen. According to Wilkes the river Tweed was the line of demarcation between all that was noble and all that was base—south of that river was all honour, virtue, and patriotism—north of it was nothing but lying, malice, meanness, and slavery. He painted every Scot as a time-server and traitor, and a hungry beggar. Unfortunately at this period civilization and active intercommunication had not sufficiently advanced to efface old national prejudices and antipathies. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great moralist and scholar of the day, was in the constant habit of amusing or startling the societies he frequented with very unwise paradoxes and distinctions between people and people, acknowledging that he entertained a strong antipathy to the Scotch, though he was unconscious of its cause. Moreover the ancient prejudice was exasperated by recent circumstances, for Bute in coming into power had thought it expedient to make a thorough clearing in all the offices of government, removing even the humblest clerks and functionaries to introduce others of his own nomination; and in his choice of new hands there was found to be a very disproportionate number of his own countrymen. It must also be confessed that the political conduct of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland was not, generally, entitled to much respect. But, not contented with defaming Bute and all Scotland, Wilkes pointed his pen at the royal family and at the king himself. In the *forty-fifth* number of the North Briton, which was published about a fortnight after Bute's resignation, he accused his majesty of uttering a direct falsehood in the speech he pronounced in proroguing parliament. Whether George Grenville were more sensitive than the retired prime minister, or whether the king or Bute set him in motion against this last outrage, was not known; but on the 26th of April a general warrant (that is, a warrant in which no person was named, and by authority of which the messengers might seize whomsoever they suspected) was issued from the secretary of state's office, signed and sealed by Lord Halifax, and directing four messengers in ordinary to make strict search for the authors, printers, and publishers of the seditious and treasonable paper, and apprehend and seize them together with their papers, and bring them before the secretary of state. The messengers began by committing a blunder, for they seized one Leach, a printer, who had nothing to do with the North Briton. But on the 29th Kearsley, the avowed publisher, was taken into custody, and confessed before Lord Halifax that one Balfe was the printer, and Mr. Wilkes the author, of the paper. Balfe was presently seized, and confirmed Kearsley's confession. The crown lawyers were then consulted, and in conformity with their opinion the messengers were directed to seize Wilkes, and bring him before the secretary of state that very night. When the messengers found Wilkes, they were terrified by his threats and assurances that they were acting upon an illegal warrant, and they went away that

* We guess at this fact from the following entries in Bubb Dodington's Diary:—"Lord Bute called on me, and we had much talk about setting up a paper. . . . Mr. Glover was with me, and was full of admiration of Lord Bute: he applauded his conduct and the king's saying, that they would beat everything; but a little time must be allowed for the madness of popularity to cool. He was not determined about political connexions, but, I believe, *he will come to us.*"

† Wilkes had, at one time, respectable *collaborateurs*. Lord Temple is said to have written in the paper, and the North Briton has been called *the joint publication* of his lordship, Wilkes, and Churchill the poet. Of the respectability of the *poet* little can be said. His acquaintance with the *patriot* began in 1762, and Wilkes induced him not only to contribute to the North Briton but also to write "The Prophecy of Famine; a Scots Pastoral," and other bitter satires.

night without him. But, on the following morning, they returned and arrested him, and, without showing him a copy of the writ, which he demanded, and which they were bound by law to produce, they carried him before Lord Halifax. In former times Wilkes had enjoyed the countenance and favour of Mr. Pitt; with Lord Temple his intimacy continued, and at this moment his lordship paid him a visit, and at his request went down to the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of habeas corpus in his favour. But before the clerks could prepare the readily granted writ, Wilkes, having refused to answer all questions, was hurried in a coach from the secretary's office to the Tower, and committed to close imprisonment. His papers were seized and sealed; and his friends and even his counsel and solicitor were refused admittance to him. This happened both to Lord Temple and the Duke of Bolton, who went to see him. His confinement, however, was very short, for on the 3rd of May a second writ of habeas corpus, directed to the constable of the Tower, threw open the strong gates of that fortress, and brought Wilkes before the court in Westminster Hall. In that learned presence he affirmed that there was a dark plan on foot against the liberties of the nation, and that he had been selected as a victim, because ministers could not buy or corrupt him. The court required time to consider the important question; but three days after (on the 6th of May), when he was brought up a second time, Lord Chief Justice Pratt, delivering the joint opinion of the judges, declared that, though the commitment of Mr. Wilkes and the general warrant were not in themselves illegal, being justified by numerous precedents, yet Mr. Wilkes was entitled to a discharge by virtue of his privilege as a member of parliament—for the privilege of parliament could be forfeited only by treason, felony, or breach of the peace, and Mr. Wilkes stood accused only of writing a libel, which did not come under the head of any of the crimes defined, but which, at most, had but a tendency to disturb the peace. The prisoner was therefore discharged; but a prosecution was immediately instituted against him by the attorney general for the libel contained in the 45th number of the North Briton. The king deprived him of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, dismissed his backer, the Earl of Temple, from the lord lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and struck his lordship's name out of the roll of privy councillors. The lord lieutenancy was at once given to Dashwood, now Lord le Despencer, who had retired from office with Bute. Wilkes had no sooner obtained his liberty and the use of pen, ink, and paper, than he wrote a letter to the secretaries of state, complaining of the treatment he had received, and accusing them of holding in their hands stolen goods, of which his house had been robbed.* He printed and circulated this letter; and government committed the folly of writing a reply to it. Considerable and respectable portions of the opposition in parliament rallied round the author of the North Briton, more or less openly; and, overlooking various and notorious irregularities of conduct, and many loud accusations, one of which was, that he had dissipated his fortune in extravagance and vicious indulgences, and that his hostility to Bute and the ministry originated in their refusal to employ or pension him, the popular body began to hail, in all places, John Wilkes as the greatest, and bravest, and purest patriot that had blessed the land since the days of Algernon Sydney or of Hampden. Some hundreds of newspaper writers and pamphleteers wielded the pen in his behalf; and, counting from the beginning down to the end of this inky war, the matter printed and published would fill a good-sized book-case.

WILKES.
From a Medal in the Private Collection of C. Hawkins, Esq. Brit. Mus.

In the month of August the death of Lord Egremont, one of the secretaries of state, deprived George Grenville of the best supporter of his administration. It was evident to himself and to every one else that his government could not stand. *Lord Bute*, therefore, on the 25th of August, waited upon *Mr. Pitt* by the king's commands, and endeavoured to mediate the return of the formidable orator to his majesty's service. This was not done in concert with the members of the existing cabinet, but without their knowledge and against their views. Pitt would only engage upon his own conditions, and was greatly alarmed lest a report of secret intercourse and underhand dealing with Bute and the court should injure his popularity. Thus, when he consented to wait upon

* Wilkes, of course, did not mince the matter; his letter was simply this:—"My Lords, on my return from Westminster Hall, where I have been discharged from my commitment to the Tower under your Lordships' warrant, I find that my house has been *robbed*, and am informed that the stolen goods are in the possession of one or both of your Lordships. I therefore insist that you do forthwith return them to your humble servant, JOHN WILKES."

According to Wilkes, Lord Temple and Sergeant Glynn were present when he wrote this letter to the secretaries of state, and both approved of it. The expression of *stolen goods* alluded more particularly to some property that, it was alleged, had been seized or purloined exclusive of his letters and papers, as—a silver candlestick missing in his bedchamber, his pocket-book, containing some bills, and a quarto paper-book consisting of private accounts. Egremont and Halifax told him, in their reply, that his expressions were indecent and scurrilous; that his papers had been seized in consequence of his being the author of an infamous and seditious libel, &c.

the king at Buckingham House, he resolved to deprive his visit of all appearance of privacy, and he went through the Mall in his well-known sedan chair at noon-day. His majesty gave him a most gracious reception; and, in an audience which lasted three hours, seemed to consent to his proposals, the foremost of which was, that the Duke of Newcastle and all the great Whig families should be gratified and restored to court and office. This was on Saturday, the 27th of August. On Sunday Pitt went down to Claremont, where Newcastle was residing, and told his grace that his majesty was acquiescent—"that the thing would do." The two politicians spent the Sunday in arranging the new administration; and at parting Pitt engaged to apprise the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquess of Rockingham—Newcastle to prepare Lord Hardwicke. But on the Monday morning, when Pitt waited a second time on his majesty, the whole project was blown into thin air. His majesty had promised certain places and appointments; Pitt resolutely opposed these nominations; and the important conference ended in the king's saying, "This will not do: my honour is concerned, and I must support it." Lord Hardwicke, who was privy to the whole negociation, intimates that the king's chief anxiety was to provide for Grenville by allotting him the profitable place of paymaster of the forces. His majesty said "Poor George Grenville; he is your near relation, and you once loved him." Pitt objected, with a cold and silent movement of the head. Nor was he at the moment more inclined to the promotion of his other brother-in-law, Lord Temple. Notwithstanding all that had so recently passed on the subject of Wilkes, the king proposed placing Temple at the head of the treasury: Pitt returned another negative, observing "that the alliance of the great Whig interests which had supported the Revolution government was indispensable." It is, by some, assumed as incontrovertible that Bute had asked for nothing, and expected nothing; that he was sorely hurt at the failure of the negociation he had set on foot; and that henceforward he wholly abstained from interfering in ministerial affairs. George Grenville thus remained in office. To gain strength somewhere, overtures were made to the Duke of Bedford, who from the part he had taken in treating for the peace was little less unpopular than Bute himself. His grace accepted the post of lord president of the council, and brought in his ally or dependent Lord Sandwich as secretary of state, in lieu of the deceased Lord Egremont. Lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty.

On the 15th of November parliament met, and directed its first attention to Mr. Wilkes, whose popularity had been raised by the attempt of a Scotch gentleman to vindicate the honour of his country in fighting a duel with him.* Mr. George Grenville related what had passed in the arrest and liberation of Wilkes, and laid the libel on the table of the House of Commons; and the House, by a majority of 237 against 111, resolved that the paper entitled "The North Briton, No. 45," was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that the said paper should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Wilkes, standing up in his place, declared that the rights of all the Commons of England and the privileges of parliament had been grossly violated in his person; and he requested the House to take the question of privilege into immediate consideration. The House adjourned the case of privilege for a week. On the same day Lord Sandwich, the new secretary of

John, Earl of Sandwich. From a Painting by Gainsborough.

state, whose character for morality and religion stood quite as low as that of Wilkes, produced in the House of Lords the copy of a burlesque, indecent poem, entitled "An Essay on Woman, with notes by Dr. Warburton," and attributed to the same pen which wrote the North Briton.* Lord Sandwich, Sir Francis Dashwood, now Lord le Despencer, their friends, and Thomas Potter, Esq., member for Aylesbury, and son to Archbishop Potter, Sir William Stanhope, Sir Thomas Stapleton, with other men of fashion and dissipation, had notoriously led Wilkes into his worst private excesses, had lived with him, and occasion-

* This was Forbes, a young Scotch officer, who appears to have been rash without being bold, and to have only wanted to fight when he thought that Wilkes would not fight.

* The name of Warburton seems to have been introduced on account of his having copiously annotated Pope's Essay on Man; and a little, perhaps, on account of his not bearing a high character for orthodoxy. Sandwich was made to figure for St. John (Bolingbroke). We never heard or read more than a very few lines of the Essay on Woman: and that sample appeared to us as dull and pointless as it was gross. As we have said before, Wilkes's wit—and wit he certainly had in abundance—was rather on his tongue than in his pen. Other publications, quite as indecent, had certainly been permitted; and the Essay on Woman, be it remembered, had never been published at all. We believe the character of that production was correctly given by Thomas Townshend, junior, in a debate on Wilkes's petition for redress in 1769:—"As to the Essay on Woman a jocular man would deride it, a serious man would detest it, and both would throw it into the fire, as devoid both of wit and decency." —*Cavendish's Debates.* Lord John Cavendish said truly—"This Essay on Woman was first published by those who chose to make it the instrument of revenge."

ally upon him, as boon companions and brethren in debauchery. They had initiated him into the frowsy indecencies of the Dilettanti Club held in Palace Yard, and into the more recondite mysteries of Medmenham Abbey, Bucks, where a society—an imitation or revival of the Hell Fire Club of the Duke of Wharton's days—revelled in obscenity and made a mockery of the rites of religion. Over the grand entrance of the house which had once been a Cistertian monastery, was inscribed, "FAYS CE QUE VOUDRAS" (*Do what you will*), and the principal jokes of the members consisted in dressing themselves like monks, and drinking wine out of a communion cup to a certain Pagan divinity.* It was chiefly to entertain these men that Wilkes had taken a dear house at the court end of town, and had incurred expenses which his fortune, crippled by electioneering contests, could ill support. These heroes of profligacy, with Sandwich and Dashwood at their head, had been in the habit of dining at his table, drinking his claret, and encouraging his licentious wit. Yet now Sandwich, as if he had been a very saint, declaimed and exclaimed against the sad profaneness and obscenity of his poetical production. Lyttelton begged that the House might not be polluted by reading so much blasphemy and indecency. The House was amazed: nobody ventured even to ask a question, and the thing was voted everything that was bad, and a breach of privilege into the bargain. Lord Sandwich then informed their lordships that Mr. Wilkes was indisputably the author. Lord Temple then objected strongly to the underhand manner in which ministers had obtained their copy of the poem. "The Essay on Woman" had not been published—only fourteen copies had been printed at a private press, and the ministry had bribed a journeyman in Wilkes's employment to purloin the copy they held.† Dr. Warburton, who was now sitting in the House as Lord Bishop of Gloucester, was perfectly furious at the burlesque use which had been made of his name, and, after commenting on the outrageous infidelity of the production, he declared that "the blackest fiends in hell would not keep company with Wilkes when he should arrive there." Lord Sandwich moved to vote Wilkes the author; but Lord Mansfield hinted to the House that it would be necessary first to hear what Wilkes could say in his defence. A near day was therefore appointed for bringing John Wilkes to their lordships' bar; but in the interval a hot member of the House of Commons rendered it impossible for Wilkes to appear at the time appointed.

In the course of the debate in the Lower House Mr. Samuel Martin, member for Camelford, who had been secretary to the treasury during Lord Bute's administration, and who had shared abundantly in the satire and abuse of the North Briton, exclaimed, "Whoever stabs a reputation in the dark, without setting his name, is a cowardly, malignant, and scandalous scoundrel." Looking across the House at Wilkes, he repeated these words twice with infinite rage and violence.*

* Wilkes was accustomed to say at a later period that, with the exception of Dashwood, who had some imagination, the members of the Medmenham Abbey society were but dull dogs after all; daring without any imagination, and profligate without any wit. Some account of their orgies is given in vol. iii. of Almon's Correspondence and Memoirs of Wilkes. Medmenham Abbey, situated near Marlow, was hired by the fraternity; but a subterranean passage and chamber at West Wycombe, on Dashwood's estate, and just under the church he built, is pointed out as the occasional scene of these English Eleusinian mysteries. The tradition on the spot is, that the Hell Fire Club used to meet there; but this appears to be a mistake, as Dashwood's society never took that name, but called themselves, after his christian name, the *Franciscans*.

† This dishonourable fact was proved pretty clearly in the course of subsequent proceedings. The fellow's name was Curry—his price only five guineas! "It is evident," says Thomas Townshend, junior, "that Curry received five guineas *as a security for the copy being returned to him*; but this word 'security' does not wipe off the imputation of a bribe." Wilkes, however, was unable to bring the charge home to ministers or to the solicitor of the treasury. It appears they had employed a needy parson named Kidgel to obtain the copy of the Essay on Woman. Kidgel, speaking in his clerical capacity, said he felt it his bounden duty to denounce such immorality and wickedness; but, as might be expected from the way in which he had gone to work, Kidgel's own morals would not stand a close examination.

* Martin, who was not considered much of a fighting man, and who had long borne many insults from Wilkes, seems to have fallen into the mistake, rather common at this moment, that the author of the North Briton was an arrant coward. The circumstances which led to this mistake could hardly have justified the imputation, if they had been candidly stated. Wilkes, though twice or three times challenged, had never really fought, but the fault was none of his. We believe that Lord Talbot was no more a coward than was Wilkes; but their quarrel was so ridiculous that it would have been madness to have been serious and sanguinary about it. At the coronation of their majesties Talbot, as lord steward, had appeared on horseback in Westminster Hall to perform a part which would have been better done by one of the actors from Astley's, but which has been repeated since his time by other right honourable and gallant men. At one part of the ceremony his lordship's horse, which had been carefully trained to march backwards, went backwards at the wrong time and place, and approached their majesties *tail foremost*. Wilkes, the wag of the day, was merry on the occasion, and employed some drollery about it in one of the numbers of his North Briton, published on the 21st of August, 1762. His lordship, instead of joining in the laugh, grew angry, and on the 25th of August he wrote to Wilkes, desiring or commanding him either to avow or disclaim being the author of the paper in the North Briton. Wilkes, who had been out with his militia, at Winchester, had got leave of absence and did not receive (from the drum-major of his regiment) this letter until a day or two after Lord Talbot had written a second letter. In reply he told his lordship that he had no right to catechise him about an anonymous paper, and that if his lordship was not satisfied with this answer he was quite ready to give him any other satisfaction becoming a gentleman. As these matters are generally understood, Wilkes did precisely what he ought to have done, and put Talbot in the necessity of challenging him immediately; but his lordship wrote another letter on the 12th of September to know from Wilkes what part he intended to act. Nothing could be more irregular or look more like an inward wish on his lordship's part to avoid fighting. Wilkes, writing from the camp, at Winchester, told him that he intended his first letter should have made matters sufficiently clear to his lordship. But Talbot wrote again on the 16th of September and still sent no challenge. Wilkes then told him that he was going to make the tour of the Isle of Wight, but would be back to Winchester in a few days if his lordship should want him. At last, on the 30th of September, Lord Talbot did what he ought to have done on the 25th of August, and sent his friend and second, Colonel Berkeley, to call Wilkes out. The colonel or his lordship appointed the place of meeting for the following evening at Tilbury's Red Lion Inn, at Bagshot, then a house of good repute, boasting a good cook and excellent wines. The place seemed to suggest what followed:—Wilkes said, "If I am between heaven and earth, I will be on Tuesday evening at Tilbury's; and on Wednesday morning will play this duel with his lordship. . . . I hope that we make a *partie quarrée* for supper, on Tuesday, at Bagshot." This was addressed to his lordship's second, Colonel Berkeley, who by letter approved the plan of supping in the evening and fighting next morning. Wilkes, taking with him, as his second, Mr. Harris, the adjutant of his regiment, repaired to the Red Lion, and met Talbot and Berkeley, who then told him that they desired the business to be finished immediately. Wilkes replied that the appointment was certainly to sup together that evening and to fight in the morning; that, in consequence of such an arrangement, he had, like an idle man of pleasure, put off some business of real importance, which he meant to settle before he went to bed—adding that he was just come from Medmenham Abbey, where the jovial monks of St. Francis had kept him up till four in the morning; that the world would therefore conclude he was drunk, and form no favourable opinion of his lordship from a duel at such a time; and that it would more become them both to take a cool hour of the next morning—as early a one as might be agreeable to Lord Talbot. Wilkes then called for pen, ink, and paper, and sate down to dispatch his important business, which was, to write a long letter to Earl Temple to thank his

Wilkes seemed to bear the attack with perfect indifference. But on leaving the House he wrote a note to Martin, and a meeting in Hyde Park on the following morning was the consequence. They fought with pistols, and Martin, at his *second* fire, lodged a ball in the side of Wilkes, who dropped his pistol, desired Martin to take care of securing himself, and assured him he would never say a word against him. The wound was dangerous, and the next day Wilkes was reported to be delirious. The street in front of the house where he lay was crowded with people from morning till night hooting and shouting against his *murderers;* and his friends, instead of keeping him quiet, showed their zeal by visiting him and exciting him. "Should this hero die," says Horace Walpole, "the Bishop of Gloucester may doom him whither he pleases, but Wilkes will pass for a saint and a martyr. . . . Notwithstanding Lord Sandwich's masked batteries the tide runs violently for Wilkes. . . . One hears nothing but stories of Sandwich's own impiety and of the concert he was in with Wilkes on that subject. . . . . The blasphemous book has fallen ten times heavier on Sandwich's own head than on Wilkes's; it has brought forth such a catalogue of anecdotes as is incredible!"*

The question of privilege came on on the 23rd of November, and occupied the House of Commons two whole days. Mr. Wilbraham, member for Newton, in Lancashire, objected that Wilkes was involved in it, and ought to be present. Upon dividing upon this question ministers found their majority considerably reduced. Mr. Pitt, who was suffering from a fever and the gout, attended on crutches, and wrapped in flannels. He had determined with his party to take Wilkes's side on the privilege question; but he was anxious, at the same time, to efface the recollection of his former personal intimacy, and to disclaim any approbation of Wilkes's writings. "He vehemently reprobated the facility with which parliament was surrendering its own privileges; but he carefully impressed on the House, that he was merely delivering a constitutional opinion, and not vindicating the libel or its author. He condemned the whole series of North Britons, and called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable."* "He abhorred," he said, "all national reflections: the king's subjects were one people; whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His majesty's complaint was well founded; it was just; it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species; he was the blasphemer of his God and the libeller of his king. He had no connexion with him; he had no connexion with any such writer. . . . . It was true, that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed that he alluded to his noble relation (Lord Temple). He was proud to call him his relation; *he was his friend, his bosom friend; whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue.* They went into office together, and they came out together; *they had lived together, and would die together.* He knew nothing of any connexion with the writer of that libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it."† Pitt, worn out by a speech of an hour and fifty minutes, was obliged to retire at ten o'clock, but the debate lasted till two in the morning. Charles Yorke, son of Lord Hardwicke, and then attorney-general, was expected to concur with Mr. Pitt, but he delivered a splendid oration on the other side, and against the principle that a seat in parliament ought to protect a writer from the consequences of slander and libel. Rigby, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who has been properly described as a statesman of the second class, and a *bon vivant* of the first, fell furiously upon Lord Temple, and described his behaviour on the commitment of Wilkes. One of Temple's brothers (James Grenville) defended his lordship, and applied to Rigby the bitterest words and epithets. There were other scenes not creditable to the temper and manners of the House; but the end of all was a resolution, carried by 258 against 133, "That the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." The resolutions passed on the first day of the session, with the order for burning the North Briton by the hands of the common hangman, were confirmed; and a conference was desired with the other House, to claim the concurrence of their lordships. On the 25th the Lords at a conference received the resolutions of the Commons, and then debated upon them till ten at

lordship for the steady friendship with which he had honoured him so many years, and to request him to take care of Miss Wilkes's education in case he should be killed. His warm affection for his daughter was one of the best traits of Wilkes's character. When the letter was written the seconds loaded the pistols, which Talbot had brought with him, and which were large horse pistols, and the parties left the Red Lion and walked to a garden at some distance from the house. By this time the moon had risen and was shining very brightly, and "by fair moon-light" the seconds measured the ground and the principals exchanged shots. They then shook hands, went back to the inn, and drank claret together with a great deal of jollity and laughter! Forbes, the young Scotch officer, fastened his quarrel on Wilkes when he had gone over to amuse himself for a few weeks at Paris. Wilkes declined fighting until he should have settled an engagement of the same kind with Lord Egremont. Just at the time Egremont died, and Wilkes, being bound not to fight duels in France, immediately offered to meet Forbes on the frontiers of Flanders. But then, Forbes did not appear at the place appointed. John Wilkes, we fear, had many faults and vices to account for, but it is absurd to charge him with cowardice. He was a creature full of animal spirits of all kinds.

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford. In one of his letters to George Montague, written at the same time, he says, more facetiously,—"Your cousin Sandwich has out-Sandwiched himself. He has impeached Wilkes for a blasphemous poem, and has been expelled for blasphemy himself by the Beefsteak Club at Covent Garden. Wilkes has been shot by Martin, and instead of being burnt at an *auto da fe*, as the Bishop of Gloucester intended, is reverenced as a saint by the mob, and, if he dies, I suppose the people will squint themselves into convulsions at his tomb, in honour of his memory."

* Chatham Correspondence.

† Parl. Hist.—Pitt *must* have known the close connexion which existed between the writer of the libel and his brother-in-law Earl Temple, whom he was eulogising. Wilkes afterwards charged the great orator with having expressed an enthusiastic admiration of his Essay on Woman, which had been shown to him by a private friend!

night. The Duke of Cumberland voted for Wilkes, and Lord Shelburne, afterwards first Marquess of Lansdown, spoke at length and against the court; the Duke of Newcastle showed that he was out of office and in opposition, but the greater part of the bishops he had made voted on the other side. Lord Lyttelton made an impressive speech in defence of the proceedings of the majority in the House of Commons. He denied the existence of any precedent to show that the inviolability of parliament extended to the case of seditious libels: he insisted on the dangerous tendency of publications calculated to revive hostile feelings between Scotsmen and Englishmen; and contended that, as offences like Wilkes's were bailable, there was nothing to fear from a secretary of state's general warrants. In the end the Lords supported ministers, and concurred in the resolution, by a majority of 114 to 35. Seventeen peers, however, entered a spirited protest, dwelling at great length upon the danger and unconstitutionality of general warrants. Ministers were said to have threatened to dismiss from their employments several persons who had voted against them, and Mr. John Calcraft, deputy commissary-general of musters, was actually dismissed in a very abrupt manner. On the 1st of December another conference took place, and Lords and Commons agreed in a very loyal address to the king, expressive of their great detestation of the libels against him. On the 2nd Wilkes was ordered to attend at the bar of the Commons in a week, if his health would permit; and on the 3rd there was a terrible riot in the city, occasioned by the burning of the North Briton in Cheapside. The execution of this sentence was entrusted to Alderman Harley, sheriff of London, and one of the city members. He assembled the city officers and the hangman at the Royal Exchange; but the mob rose, hissed, groaned, and pelted with mud and dirt out of the kennels; and one of them, taking a piece of wood out of the fire, threw it at Sheriff Harley's coach, broke the glass and slightly wounded Harley on the forehead. The alarmed sheriff beat a retreat to the Mansion-house, where the lord mayor was sitting tranquilly surrounded by members of the court of common council, who were almost to a man the friends and admirers of Wilkes, and who were much more disposed quietly to encourage the mob than to expose their persons to any risk in suppressing it. Numbers of gentlemen standing at the windows of houses near the spot cheered on the common people. The hangman was obliged to retreat after the sheriff: he had succeeded in partially burning the paper, not solemnly with fagots, but with a link. The mob rescued some pieces of the libel and carried them in triumph to Temple Bar, where they made a bonfire, and committed to the flames a large jack-boot as a punning effigy of John Earl of Bute; and in about an hour and a half the city was restored to its usual tranquillity, and the mob dispersed without doing any more mischief, except breaking some constables' staves.

This farcical affair occupied the attention of parliament for four days, during which nothing else was done except voting a portion of 80,000*l.* to the Princess Augusta, the king's eldest sister, who was about to be married to the Duke of Brunswick.* During the examination of witnesses at the bar of the Lords the Duke of Grafton shrewdly extracted the avowal that the whole populace of London was of one mind on the subject of Wilkes. The lord mayor, the courts of aldermen and common council were severely reflected upon, and there was even a talk of suspending the city's charter; but, in the end, it was carried by both Houses that all persons concerned in the riot, their aiders and abettors, were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obstructors of national justice; thanks were voted to the sheriffs, and the king was addressed. In the mean while, Wilkes, from his sick bed, filled the town with bon-mots and stories at the expense of Lord Sandwich and ministers in general. And, to the infinite increase of the ministerial perplexity and mortification, actions were brought by the printers and others arrested under the general warrant, to recover damages for false imprisonment; and, in the Court of Common Pleas, all those persons obtained verdicts and damages. Wilkes himself, aiming at higher game, had brought his actions against the two secretaries of state, Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, and against Robert Wood, esq., late under secretary. Egremont, as we have seen, died in October, and so escaped the ordeal of a court of law; Halifax stood upon his privilege, and defied the court, till relieved by the sentence of outlawry that was passed upon Wilkes; but Wood had no means of escaping the action, and, after a long trial of fourteen hours, a special jury gave a verdict against him, with 1000*l.* damages to Wilkes. The lord chief justice Pratt, before whom the cause was tried, now ventured to declare peremptorily that general warrants were unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void. "There is," said he, "no authority in our law books that mentions this kind of warrants but in express terms condemns them. Upon the maturest consideration I am bold to say this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wishing a matter of this consequence should rest solely on my opinion. It may be referred to the twelve judges, and there is a still higher court before which it may be canvassed, and whose determination is final. If these superior jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain." It was not held expedient to refer the matter to the

* The king was told that some objections would be made to his sister's dower. "Oh, no!" said his majesty, "they'll make no objection to Augusta's fortune, *for she is in the Opposition*"—*Horace Walpole, Letters to George Montague.* The 80,000*l.* were voted *nem. con.*—Whether it was owing to her not being in opposition we cannot say, but when (in 1761) the king's other sister, Caroline Matilda, was married, only half this sum was voted as her dower; and Caroline Matilda's husband was a king!

twelve judges; but Pratt's judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants was afterwards affirmed by the Court of King's Bench.

Just at this moment, when all London was ringing with Wilkes's triumph in the courts of law, a drunken or crazy Scotsman, Alexander Dun by name, called at the patriot's house and asked to see him. Being refused admittance, Dun went to a coffee-house close at hand, and declared that he and ten others were determined "to cut Wilkes off." He applied again at Wilkes's door, and, being then taken into custody, a new penknife was found in his pocket. For this alleged attempt against the life of a member of parliament, Dun was carried before the Commons, who presently voted that the man was only insane, and should be dismissed: but the Court of King's Bench committed Dun to prison for want of bail and securities. This ebullition rendered Wilkes more popular than ever; and, regardless of facts which they could not themselves examine closely, the people firmly believed that the government was determined to make away with the defender of their liberties.*

When the day approached on which Wilkes, by order of the House, was to appear at the bar of the Commons, Dr. Brocklesby, an eminent physician,† and Mr. Graves, a surgeon, appeared there and declared that the state of Mr. Wilkes's wound and health would not permit him to obey the summons. The House then granted another week's delay. At the expiration of this term (on the 16th of December) Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Graves appeared again at the bar, and made the same report as before. The House then agreed that Mr. Wilkes should be allowed time till after the Christmas recess; but they also ordered, on the motion of ministers, and by a majority of about 70 to 30, that a physician and surgeon of their own appointing should see Mr. Wilkes and report their opinion of his case. When Dr. Heberden and Mr. Cæsar Hawkins presented themselves, in the name of the House of Commons, Wilkes refused to admit them, but called in two other medical gentlemen to see the condition he was in; and, as there was a joke in all he did, he selected two Scotch doctors.‡

A.D. 1764.—The Wilkes' war continued more fierce than ever. The festivity of Christmas was only a short truce. On the 19th of January parliament met, and instantly caused to be read the order for Mr. Wilkes's attendance at the bar. But the droll, who could hardly have been so ill as represented, had gone beyond sea to amuse with his wit, elasticity, and odd obliquity of vision the salons and soirées of Paris, where he was exceedingly admired.* The Speaker produced a letter from him, enclosing a certificate signed by a French army surgeon and by one of the French king's physicians, signifying that the wound was still in such a state as to render it dangerous for Mr. Wilkes to leave Paris. Tired of medical reports, the House observed that this certificate wanted the signature of a notary public to give it authenticity, and then resolved to admit of no further delays, but proceed against Wilkes as if he were present. The examination of witnesses and papers and the debate lasted till three hours after midnight; when it was resolved by a majority of 239 against 102, that No. 45 of the North Briton, which had been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both Houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the king; to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws; and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against government. Next day it was further resolved that Wilkes should be expelled the House, and a new writ be issued for the borough of Aylesbury.

In general the English people dislike all appearances of shirking a question or running away; but on the present occasion they assumed that Wilkes knew he would not have been allowed fair play, and that he would have been treated with barbarity.† His popularity, therefore, still continued to grow. Every opportunity was taken by the people to express their sentiments. The king went to Drury-lane Theatre—the play given out for the next night happened to be "All in the Wrong,"—the galleries clapped tremendously, and then cried out, "Let *us* be all in the right—Wilkes and liberty!" "When the king," says Walpole, "comes to a theatre, or goes out, or goes to the House, there is not a single applause; to

* On the 16th of December Horace Walpole writes to the Earl of Hertford:—"A motion was made in the common council to thank the sheriffs for their behaviour at the riot, and to prosecute the man who was apprehended for it. This was opposed, and, the previous question being put, the numbers were equal; but the casting vote of the lord mayor was given against putting the first question—a pretty strong proceeding; for, though in consequence and in resentment of the Duke of Bedford's speech, it seemed to justify his grace, who had accused the mayor and magistracy of not trying to suppress the tumult. If they will not prosecute the rioters it is not very *unfair* to surmise that they did not dislike the riot. Indeed, the city is so inflamed, and the ministry so obnoxious, that I am very apprehensive of some violent commotion. *The court have lost the Essex election, merely from Lord Sandwich interfering in it.*"

† Dr. Brocklesby was an ardent Whig, a circumstance which, no doubt, made Wilkes send for him, and made the House doubt his report. The readers of Boswell will, however, remember that, Whig as he was, this eminent physician was the warm and generous friend of the uncompromising Tory, Dr. Johnson. Brocklesby, indeed, was a man of literature and taste, and of truly liberal sentiments. He was as intimate with Charles Townshend as with Johnson, and he appears to have been linked in friendship with all the most distinguished men of his day.

‡ "Wilkes refused to see Heberden and Hawkins, whom the House commissioned to visit him; and, to laugh at us more, sent for two Scotchmen, Duncan and Middleton."—*Horace Walpole to the Earl of Hertford.*

* That famous wit, the Abbé Galliani, in writing to a friend in Italy says—"We have here in Paris a strange, squinting Englishman, who has more wit and vivacity than all Paris put together." But the most amusing thing is that the Parisians considered Wilkes to be much the same thing as Pitt; and a French diplomate in London seriously thought himself obliged to inform his court that there was a considerable difference in character, weight, and importance, between the two patriots! *Ségur, Politique de tous les Cabinets.* The best society of Paris, and the wits, and the literati continued, however, to show Wilkes the most marked attentions.

† It appears from Wilkes's own letters that he was not without apprehension of being arrested for debt if he returned to London. As he was no longer defended from his creditors by the panoply of parliament he might have been thrown into the King's Bench prison as a debtor, instead of going there, as he afterwards did, as an oppressed patriot.

the queen there is a little: *in short, Louis le bien aimé* is not French at present for King George.... Lord Bute is reconciled to ministers; *sees the king continually*; and will soon want more power."* At the same time the nominal premier, George Grenville, was bitterly assailed by his brothers; his colleagues were constantly quarrelling with one another, and the ministry seemed to be going to pieces by force of its own internal dissensions. On the 13th of February the opposition moved that Wilkes's complaint of breach of privilege, in the matter of the general warrant, should be heard. George Grenville objected, since, by the vote of the 20th of January, Mr. Wilkes had ceased to be a member of the House. Charles Townshend, Sir George Saville, and others said, that at all events Wilkes was a member of the House when he was arbitrarily arrested by the secretary of state's warrant, and that it behoved the House to secure its privileges from such assaults. They gave the minister "some smart raps;" but Grenville had still a considerable majority, and Wilkes's complaint was thrown out after a stormy debate which occupied three days and one whole night. On the 14th the division did not take place till seven o'clock in the morning. The House was crowded with anxious Whig spectators, including Lady Rockingham, Lady Sondes, the Duchess of Richmond, Lady Pembroke, Mrs. Fitzroy, Mrs. George Pitt, and other ladies of rank, who took the liveliest interest in the business and sate out the seemingly interminable debate. Sir William Meredith moved a resolution "That a general warrant for apprehending and securing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." Mr. Charles Yorke proposed to adjourn; but Pitt made a speech, and General Conway and others supported him. "Our cry," says Horace Walpole, who was the bosom friend of Conway, and, at the time, unusually ardent in opposition, "was so loud, that both we and the ministers thought we had carried it. It is not to be painted the dismay of the latter—in good truth not without reason, for *we* were 197, they but 207. . . . . Crest-fallen, the ministers then proposed simply to discharge Wilkes's complaint; but the plumes which they had dropped Pitt soon placed in his own beaver. He, on the 17th, broke out on liberty, and indeed on whatever he pleased, and uninterrupted. . . . Everybody was too much daunted to give the least disturbance to his Pindarics." Ministers had justified their conduct by precedents long established, and they told Pitt that he himself, as secretary of state, had twice issued a general warrant. The orator said that precedents afforded no justification—that two general warrants had, indeed, been signed by him, but they were not against libels—they were issued in a time of war and public danger against a foreigner just come from France, who concealed himself, and who was suspected of dangerous designs against the nation. Sensible, he said, of the irregularity of the act of signing such warrants, but preferring the public safety to every personal consideration, he had run the risk, as he would have risked his head, relying upon the exigencies of the times, which were times of *war* and danger, and upon the necessity of the measure, for his vindication. But in the present case there was surely no such necessity; the charge being for writing and publishing a libel:—and what was there in a libel so heinous and terrible as to require the use of this formidable engine, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences of public security and public happiness? Parliament, in the indulgence of a violent resentment against one particular person, was voting away its own privileges and laying the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of his majesty's attorney-general. If the House negatived Sir William Meredith's motion, they would be the disgrace of the present age and the reproach of posterity! During his harangue he broke out in censures against ministers for their dismission of officers who had voted with the opposition. George Grenville, with very little truth, denied the charge of menacing officers, &c. At that moment General A'Court, who had just been dismissed from his command of the second regiment of Foot Guards, walked up the House, as if to give the minister the lie. The little incident produced a great sensation, and this was increased by another trifling accident. The Speaker chanced to call Barré by his usual military rank;—"I beg your pardon, Sir," said Barré, "you have given me a title I have no right to: I am no longer a colonel; they have dismissed me from my regiment and from the office of adjutant-general." After a most stormy discussion the House again divided, at seven o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of only 14—the numbers being 232 against 218,—that Meredith's motion should be adjourned for four months. A few weeks after General Conway, whose brother, the Earl of Hertford, was then ambassador at Paris, was pettishly deprived of all his employments both courtly and military.*

In anticipation of a victory by the opposition, bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument, had been prepared in the city; and it was said that Lord Temple had fagots ready for two bonfires of his own. On the last day of the debate the lame and the sick, the halt and the blind, were brought to vote by both parties. "One would have thought," says Walpole, "that they had sent a search-warrant for members of parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels

* Letters to Hertford.

* Horace Walpole's and General Conway's own letters to the Earl of Hertford. Conway calls it his "total dismission from his majesty's service, both as groom of the bedchamber and colonel of a regiment;" and "the harshest and most unjust treatment ever offered to any man on the like occasion." He says—"I never gave a single vote against the ministry, except in the questions on the great constitutional point of the *warrants*."

and blankets till the floor of the House looked like the pool of Bethesda."*

Lord Temple having engaged to bear all the expenses of the law proceedings out of his own pocket, Wilkes entered an appearance, and the trial for libel went on in the Court of King's Bench, where Wilkes was found guilty of publishing both the North Briton and the Essay on Woman. But this triumph of ministers was more than balanced by the city of London giving their freedom to Lord Chief Justice Pratt, and ordering his portrait to be placed in Guildhall, for his honesty, independence, inflexible firmness, and integrity, in his decision on the question of general warrants; and by the common council voting thanks to the city members for their behaviour in parliament on that important question, and their spirited endeavours to assert the rights and liberties of the people. The city of Dublin and various other places in the two kingdoms followed the example of London, and freedoms and gold snuff-boxes fell almost as thickly upon Pratt as they had fallen upon Pitt a few years before.

It was at this troubled and inauspicious moment that that "gentle shepherd,"† George Grenville, brought forward his proposition for shearing the great flock on the other side of the Atlantic. As the English people were complaining of burdens, it was resolved to tax our colonies in America; and on the 10th of March a series of resolutions respecting new duties to be laid on foreign goods imported by the Americans was brought into the House and passed with little notice. General Conway is said to have been the only member who directly protested against these duties, the bill imposing which received the royal assent on the 5th of April. The minister also proposed raising a direct revenue from the colonies in the shape of a stamp-tax, but this scheme was withdrawn for the present. At the same time, however, certain restrictions were laid upon the profitable contraband trade carried on by the Americans with the Spanish colonies—a trade of which the Spanish government was constantly and bitterly complaining to the court of Great Britain, which was accused of protecting smugglers and violating the late and former treaties. It was undeniably this interference with the profitable practice of running tobacco and dry goods to South America that was considered as one of the worst infringements on the liberties of our subjects in North America; and Grenville had rashly determined to intrust the execution of his prohibitory orders to military men and to captains in the navy, who were little acquainted with the niceties of the excise-law, or of any other law, and who, from the habits of their lives, were too much disposed to carry matters with a high hand. The country gentlemen congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of the non-increase or diminution of the land-tax; no class seemed aware of the mighty mischief set in motion; and the king, in proroguing parliament on the 19th of April, expressed his hearty approbation of the measures, calling them wise regulations, calculated to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of his most distant possessions, and to encourage and to secure their commerce with Great Britain. But in the course of a few months this pleasant dream was dissipated by a strong blast across the Atlantic—by news that our American colonists had received these wise regulations like knives put to their throats. Besides being unpalatable in themselves, they had the additional misfortune of arriving when the colonists were in a very bad humour. On quitting Canada the French government had not broken off all connexion with the native Indians; and, partly through the encouragement of their agents, and in part through some encroachments made by the British on their hunting-grounds, the Indian nations or tribes flew to arms with the intention of making a combined attack on all our back settlements in harvest-time. In some places their secret was betrayed and their movement anticipated; but they fell like a flight of locusts upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, plundering, burning, and destroying till the frontiers of those three provinces were left bare and void of inhabitants. The Indians also surprised several British forts in Canada, and massacred the weak and unsuspecting garrisons they found in them. Their flying parties also intercepted and butchered detachments of troops that were marching from place to place, plundered and murdered the traders who were up the country, and cut off the communications between the interior and the seaport towns. When attacked by small bodies of our troops, who trusted to their discipline for an easy victory, they displayed not only courage but considerable military conduct, which seems to prove that French soldiers or officers had been among them. They defeated Captain Dalzel near Fort Detroit, and killed that unfortunate officer; they attacked Colonel Bouquet, and forced him to abandon his baggage and the supplies he was carrying to Fort Pitt; and near the falls of Niagara they surrounded an escort, and slew about eighty men and officers. Fortunately Sir William Johnston was enabled to detach the Indians of the Six Nations from the confederacy, and induce them to join the British against the other Indians. After various skirmishes and surprises, the savages submitted to conditions, or retired further into the depth of their

* Letter to the Earl of Hertford. In the same letter he says—"I felt from nothing so much as the *noise*, which made me as drunk as an owl - you may imagine the clamours of two parties so nearly matched and so impatient to come to a decision. The Duchess of Richmond has got a fever with the attendance of Tuesday, but this day (Friday) we were forced to be unpolite. The Amazons came down in such squadrons that we were forced to be denied. However, eight or nine of the patriotesses dined in one of the Speaker's rooms, and stayed there till twelve—nay, worse, while their dear country was at stake, I am afraid they were playing at loo!"

† In the famous debate on the Cider Bill George Grenville contended that the money was wanted, that government did not know where to lay another tax; and, addressing Pitt, he said, "Why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax?" repeating, with emphasis, "Let him tell me where—only tell me where!" Pitt, though not much given to joking, hummed, in the words of a favourite song—"Gentle shepherd, tell me where!" The House burst into a roar of laughter, and christened George Grenville *the Gentle Shepherd*.

native wilds and forests. The worst part of these calamities had befallen our American colonists in the summer and autumn of the preceding year (1763); but the recollection of them was recent, and the losses that had been sustained were making themselves more and more painfully felt when Grenville's acts arrived. Every citizen, moreover, was armed for the defence of his home and property against the Indians; and when men have muskets in their hands, and in their hearts the certainty that their quarrel will become a general one, they are not likely to limit themselves to murmurs and complaints, petitions and remonstrances. The colonists loudly proclaimed that to interrupt their trade, such as it was, to the Spanish Main would be depriving them of their best resources; that it was unreasonable for the king and parliament of Great Britain to convert themselves into guardians and protectors of the jealous, exclusive, anti-commercial system of Old Spain; and that it was monstrously unjust for them to impose taxes upon people who were not, and could not be, represented in parliament. To those who mildly represented the moderate amount of the taxation proposed in Grenville's acts,* they replied that this moderation could only be meant as an experiment on their temper; and that, if once they submitted to the right of the mother-country to tax them, there was no possibility of saying to what extent she might proceed in relieving the British subject by throwing the burden upon the Americans. Taking the lead, the provinces of New England passed strong resolutions, and transmitted them to their agents in London, to be laid before government. They also circulated their printed papers and opinions throughout the other provinces; and begged their fellow-citizens to make no further use of the articles of luxury upon which the duties were to be laid. Pennsylvania appointed a new provincial agent, and chose for the important office an individual of extraordinary ability, perseverance, and energy—one capable alike of forming schemes of reform and government, and of carrying those schemes into effect through obstacles and difficulties that would have seemed insurmountable to almost every other man. This was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, the son of a tallow-chandler at Boston, in New England, who, from the condition of a poor journeyman printer, had raised himself, by force of steadiness of purpose, native genius, and astonishing industry, to be a man of property and of science, a leading magistrate, a high functionary in the local government, a most powerful writer, a statesman and philosopher. Franklin had been in England twice before—once as a journeyman printer, and the second time as agent to manage a difficult controversy before the privy council, in which his ability and success were so eminent, that, besides Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia severally appointed him their agent. He had only returned to America in 1762; and when he came back to London at the end of the present year he was already well known to our ministers and public men, and in possession of a high reputation both for his discoveries in natural science* and for his political shrewdness. The instructions which he now brought with him from his native country were to oppose to the very utmost the stamp act and every other act that might be proposed in the British parliament to tax the people of America without their consent. In the autumn of this year, when George Grenville seemed sliding from his seat and the whole cabinet was in confusion and dismay, Mr. Pitt abruptly broke his recently formed league with the old Duke of Newcastle, telling his grace in a decisive letter that he was determined henceforward to act "for his single self," to keep himself "free from all stipulations," and to oppose or support measures in parliament "independent of the sentiments of others." "Having," wrote the orator, "seen the close of last session, and the system of that great war, in which my share of the ministry was so largely arraigned, given up *by silence* in a full house, I have little thoughts of beginning the world again upon a new centre of union. Your grace will not, I trust, wonder if, after so recent and so strange a phenomenon in politics, I have no disposition to quit the free condition of a man standing *single*, and daring to appeal to his country at large, upon the soundness of his principles and the rectitude of his conduct."† It has been well said that it is next to impossible to understand the extraordinary alternations of alliance, neutrality, and opposition between these two statesmen. The Chatham Correspondence recently published throws scarcely any light upon the subject, but tends rather to make it more obscure and perplexing. Perhaps one of the best clues to the mystery, after all, is to be sought and found in Pitt's growing infirmity of body and temper; and what wears the imposing appearance of dark and inexplicable manœuvre and intrigue may, at least in many cases, have been nothing more than the result of blind and uncalculating passion, and of Pitt's overbearing pride. It was, however, reported in the month of September that Pitt was listening to overtures made by the Duke of Bedford, who remained in the ministry. The opposition apprehended that they might be weakened by the disseverance of the Duke of Newcastle and the great orator; but they nevertheless confidently predicted that the ministry could not stand beyond the Christmas holidays.‡ At the end of the year, or early in the next, Pitt, who was fortunate in legacies, was left by a Somersetshire baronet about 30,000*l.* in ready money, and the estate of Burton Pynsent, worth about 2500*l.* a-year. Sir William Pynsent is described as "an old man of nearly ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht, and, luckily for Mr. Pitt,

* It was calculated that the taxes or duties would only draw, from all the American colonies, about 200,000*l.* per annum.

* See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 785.
† Chatham Correspondence.
‡ Chatham Correspondence.—Prior, Life of Burke.

lived to be as angry with its *pendant*, the treaty of Paris." "This Sir William Pynsent," adds Walpole, "whose fame, like an aloe, did not blow till near a hundred, was a singularity. The scandalous chronicle of Somersetshire talks terribly of his morals. . . ."* With this splendid bequest, and with a pension of 3000*l.* a-year, Pitt was very well able to live without office, and had certainly no reason to complain of straitened circumstances.

In the course of the year the treaty of Paris, or, more properly, of Fontainebleau, was somewhat shaken. A French ship of the line and three corvets surprised and seized the island of Tortuga, or Turks' Island, in the West Indies, and made the English inhabitants prisoners; and the Spaniards, as had been foreseen, annoyed and interrupted our logwood-cutters at Honduras; and presumed, moreover, to seize a British ship in the Mediterranean. But these occurrences happened during the recess of parliament; and before the Houses met France disavowed the hostile proceedings, and, together with Spain, gave reparation and explanations which our ministers deemed satisfactory. It was apparent, however, that, while we considered we had obtained too little by the recent peace, both France and Spain thought we had got too much; that there was a bitter feeling against us; and that the two great Bourbon courts were withheld only by their weakness from renewing the struggle.

A. D. 1765.—Parliament assembled on the 10th of January, when the king, in his speech, alluded to American taxation and American discontents; and, unalarmed by the gathering storm, recommended the carrying out of Grenville's scheme and the enforcing obedience in the colonies. "The experience I have had," said his majesty, "of your former conduct makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness, in promoting that obedience to the laws and respect to the legislative authority of this kingdom which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole, and in establishing such regulations as may best connect and strengthen every part of my dominions, for their mutual benefit and support." The royal speech also announced the approaching marriage of the Princess Caroline, George's youngest sister, with the Prince Royal of Denmark;* an inauspicious union, which, in the course of a few years, was attended with tragical consequences. The opening of the session did not promise serenity. Mr. Beckford took up a letter written by Sir William Draper, and complaining that the court of Spain had not yet paid the Manilla ransom. George Grenville defended the conduct of the Spaniards in this particular, and thus roused the eloquent and recently dismissed General Conway, who told Grenville that he had become a Spanish advocate, and that ministers had struck at the laws and independence of parliament in the *most profligate* manner. Lord Granby, the idol of the army, and at the time a great favourite of the people, declared his disapprobation of the dismission of excellent officers for party reasons. Sir William Meredith notified his intention of taking up the affair of general warrants; and nothing seemed wanting but an harangue from Pitt, who was absent, and reported to be very ill of the gout. To accommodate him the great question of the warrants was put off. The ministry attempted to conciliate the Americans by offering to drop the proposed stamp-tax, if they on their part would contribute about an equal sum in any other way more acceptable to themselves. To this Franklin and the other agents replied, that they were instructed to oppose Grenville's act and any other bill whatsoever that assumed as a principle the right of taxing the colonies. They urged "that, in the course of the last memorable contest, large sums had been repeatedly voted by parliament as an indemnification to the colonies for exertions which were allowed to be disproportionate to their means and resources;† that the proper *compensation* to Britain for the expense of rearing and protecting her colonies was the *monopoly of their trade, the absolute direction and regulation of which was universally acknowledged to be inherent in the British legislature.*" But the British king and the British cabinet were resolutely determined not to yield their claim of right; and the British legislature, with a small number of exceptions, seemed either to consider the right indisputable, or the question of little moment. The debates, on the whole, were languid, and failed to draw full Houses. Even Pitt, who had shown on former occasions that he could attend and harangue in flannels and upon crutches, and defy gout and fever, for far less momentous objects, now kept away from the House. Was this the effect of ignorance as to the life and death importance of the matter? or did Pitt purposely withhold his warning and potential voice, in order that his political adversaries might take the fatal step,—he not caring for the humiliation of his country, or for the miseries to be inflicted on humanity, provided the hostile admi-

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford. The editor of this important volume does not venture to give the remainder of the sentence; but says, "The original contains an imputation against Sir W. Pynsent, which, if true, would induce us to suspect him of a disordered mind." It appears, from Horace Walpole, that Lord North, who was soon to be Pitt's political opponent, was disappointed of the fortune the orator obtained by the death of the strange old man. "Lady North was nearly related to Lady Pynsent, which encouraged Lord North to flatter himself that Sir William's extreme propensity to him would recommend even his wife's parentage for heirs; but the uncomeliness of Lady North, and a vote my Lord gave against the Cider Bill, offended the old gentleman so much, that he burnt his would-be heir in effigy."—*Id.* It appears that this strange old baronet had determined, at all events, to leave his fortune to a public man and orator. "Do you know," says Walpole, in another letter to the Earl of Hertford, "that Sir William Pynsent had your brother in his eye. He said to his lawyer, I know Mr. Pitt is much younger than I am, but he has very bad health: as you will hear it before me, if he dies first, draw up another will with General Conway's name instead of Mr. Pitt's, and bring it down to me directly."

* Before the nuptials were solemnised the Prince Royal was King of Denmark.

† The sum of 200,000*l.* was, as we have mentioned, voted to the colonies in the first year of the reign. Another vote to the same amount was passed subsequently, but, on account of the troubles which broke out in America, ministers withheld payment of the last 200,000*l.*

nistration were rent to pieces and the powers of the crown thrown again at his feet?

Fifty-five resolutions proposed by a committee of ways and means were agreed to by the Commons, and incorporated into an act for laying nearly the same stamp-duties on the American colonies as were payable at the time in England. On the 7th of February there was what Walpole styles "one slight day on the American taxes;" and Burke, who sat in the gallery during the progress of the bill, said he never heard *a more languid debate*. Charles Townshend, supporting the act, received "a heavy thump" from Colonel Barré, "who," says Walpole, "*is the present Pitt.*" Townshend ventured to say that the Americans were very ungrateful, being "children planted by our care and nourished by our indulgence." Upon this the lately dismissed Barré, who had served beyond the Atlantic, and who knew the country and the people, burst forth:—"They planted by your care! No!—your oppression planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence! No!—they grew by your neglect of them; your *care* of them was displayed, as soon as you began to care about them, in sending persons to rule them who were the deputies of deputies of ministers—men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men who have been promoted to the highest seats of justice in that country, in order to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. I have been conversant with the Americans, and I know them to be loyal indeed, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated; and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still." But the startling prediction was not heeded—it was treated merely as the complaint of a colonel who had lost his regiment; few or none seconded Barré's vaticination; the opposition were still waiting for the absent Pitt, and they mustered only a thin majority of forty on this vital question. So trifling did the subject seem even to the intelligent Horace Walpole, who was reporting everything he considered of consequence to the Earl of Hertford, an ambassador and statesman, that he only devoted one brief paragraph to the debate. Walpole indeed confesses that he was totally ignorant of American affairs. The same confession might, no doubt, have been made by the vast majority of those who were sitting with him in parliament; but assuredly it behoved them to seek for some light to dispel this palpable darkness—to read, inquire, and consult before they decided. Means of information, though perhaps not abundant, were not altogether wanting; and, if the country gentlemen had only condescended to read two small octavo volumes, written seven years before by Burke, they might have been saved from some awful blunders. But the evident truth is, that indifference was mixed up with ignorance, and tended to prolong it till knowledge was useless—that the dismission of officers, the paltry Manilla ransom, and other questions paltrier still, were all considered of more weight and significance than the American business—and that the operations of the opposition were suspended in compliment to Mr. Pitt. There was only one division during the whole progress of the momentous bill.* Petitions presented by English merchants trading with the colonies, and by others who were both interested in and acquainted with American affairs, were treated with contempt; and the House refused to receive four petitions offered by the agents of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Carolina; and another petition, from the traders of Jamaica, was treated in the same manner. The House of Lords were still more expeditious and indifferent than the Commons, for they passed the bill without division or protest, and apparently without debate. With all these encouragements the king joyfully gave the royal assent, and the Stamp Act became law on the 22nd of March. Franklin had told them before, and he now told them again, that the Americans would never submit to its operation.

Wilkes, who remained in Paris, instead of returning to receive judgment in the Court of King's Bench, was visited with the more serious sentence of outlawry. Williams, the printer or re-printer of the North Briton, was condemned to stand in the pillory in Palace Yard. He went in a hackney coach, the number of which was *forty-five*, as if glorying in the particular number of the paper which had contained the libel. While he was standing in the pillory the mob erected a gallows opposite to him, on which they hung a boot with a straw bonnet on the top of it; and then they made a collection for the printer, which amounted to near 200*l*. Thus every proceeding against Wilkes or those concerned with him only elicited an increase of popular favour for him and them, and the most unequivocal demonstrations against Bute and ministers. When, however, Sir William Meredith's motion on the illegality of general warrants was again brought before the House, it was negatived after a long and stormy debate by a majority of 40. Another motion, for restraining the practice of filing informations *ex officio* by the attorney-general, was also defeated by ministers.

In the end of March, not a week after giving his assent to the American Stamp Act, it was reported that the king was very seriously ill and in great danger. He was kept close and every possible

* Mr. Grenville, at a subsequent period, said in the House of Commons—"I did propose the Stamp Act, and shall have no objection to have it christened by my name. There was only one division in the committee against it, and not a single negative in the House of Lords. It is easy to give an *ex post facto* judgment; but of all who acted with me in the government I never heard any one prophesy that the measure would be opposed. After the event prophecy is very safe. The Honourable Colonel (Barré) did indeed say that he knew not what anger it might occasion in America."—*Cavendish's Debates.*

secrecy was preserved; it was given out that he had a bad cold, and that the rheum had fallen on his chest; then it was rumoured in some quarters that he had been seized with a sudden vertigo or giddiness; but now it appears to be pretty clearly ascertained that the illness was more in the brain than on the lungs, and that it was in fact a slight attack of that terrible malady which thrice afterwards afflicted George III., and finally incapacitated him for the duties of government. This time the malady was transient; and as soon as his majesty recovered he appeared suddenly and unexpectedly at his levee at St. James's, and a few days after he acquainted his ministers that he was anxious for a Regency Bill, and told them the particulars of his intention. Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland, drew up the sketch of a bill which left the regent *in petto*, or to be named by the king, which omitted the names of the king's uncle the Duke of Cumberland, and of his brothers the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and Prince Frederic William, and which did not name the queen. The queen's name, however, was instantly added as one that might be regent; but no mention was made of the Princess Dowager of Wales, either because ministers were deterred by antipathies of their own, or because they were desirous "of not setting fire to the old stubble of the Princess Dowager and Lord Bute." The king himself proposed to the consideration of parliament the expediency of investing him with the power of appointing, *from time to time*, by instruments under his sign manual, either the queen or any other person of the royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be guardian of his successor, and regent of the kingdom, until the successor should attain the age of eighteen. Here no one was named directly save the queen, but as murmurs were heard his majesty sent a new message, and, instead of these general nominations, the five princes of the royal family were specially named, with power to the crown of supplying their places with other persons, if they died off. When this bill was read a second time in the Upper House, Lord Lyttelton complained that it left in doubt and obscurity who would really be regent; and he opposed an unknown regent. Lord Temple opposed the whole bill, and so did Lord Shelburne. Upon the first division, which was on the commitment of the bill, the Duke of Newcastle and almost all the opposition voted in the ministerial majority. It is assumed that Newcastle felt that he could not decently oppose a bill which so closely resembled the regency scheme he had himself proposed in the preceding reign. The bill was committed by a majority of 120 against 9—a slender minority, which so enraged Lord Temple, that he went no more to the House while the question was pending. But next day Lord Lyttelton moved an address to the king, to name which one of the persons specified he would recommend for regent. In the midst of this debate the Duke of Richmond started two questions; Whether the queen were naturalised? And, if not naturalised, whether she were capable of being regent? and to these queries he added a third—Who are the royal family? In reply to the last question Lord Denbigh answered, "All who are prayed for;" but the Duke of Bedford said more significantly, "Those only who are in the order of succession;" which was a direct exclusion of the Princess Dowager. The Duke of Richmond moved to consult the judges; but Lord Mansfield fought this off. They then proceeded to vote on Lord Lyttelton's motion, which was rejected by 89 to 31. At this point the Duke of Newcastle went off from the House and the question; and the Duke of Grafton and many others hurried away to the horse-racing at Newmarket. The third day in the Lords is described as a scene of folly and confusion. The Duke of Richmond moved an amendment, that the persons capable of the regency should be declared to be the queen, the princess dowager, and all the descendants of the late king usually resident in England. Lord Halifax, one of the secretaries of state, proposed to substitute the word *now* for *usually;* but the Duke of Richmond persisted, and was supported by the Duke of Bedford, who would not, however, yield to name the princess dowager, albeit the chancellor very solemnly declared that the king's mother was really one of the royal family, and must be so considered. After puzzling on for two hours upon Lord Halifax's proposition, Lord Folkstone said, "Why not use both words? and say *now* and *usually*?" Their lordships adopted this amendment at once, and then rejected the Duke of Richmond's motion, but ordered the judges to attend the next day on the question about the queen's naturalization. When the judges appeared they decided for the queen's capability; but then, to the surprise of the House, Lord Halifax rose to desire, by the king's permission, to have the bill recommitted; and his lordship then moved the very words of the Duke of Richmond's amendment, with the single exception of the princess dowager's name, who was thus to be rendered incapable of the regency, and stigmatised by act of parliament. This amendment was agreed to. "The astonishment of the world," continues Horace Walpole, "is not to be described. Lord Bute's friends are thunder-struck. The Duke of Bedford almost danced about the House for joy. Comments there are various; and some palliate it, by saying it was done at the princess's desire; but the most inquisitive say, the king was taken by surprise, that Lord Halifax proposed the amendment to him, and hurried with it to the House of Lords before it could be recalled; and they even surmise that he did not observe to the king the omission of his mother's name. Be that as it may, open war seems to be declared between the court and the administration, and men are gazing to see which side will be victorious. . . . . This is the worst of North Britons, and published by act of parliament."* When the bill was

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

carried down to the Lower House, it was expected that Mr. Pitt would be there to strike a decided party blow by taking up the cause of the princess dowager; but the great orator "gave himself a terrible fit of the gout, and nobody was ready to read his part to the audience."* Pitt, it appears, had been balancing whether he should court the king's favour by moving the obloquy from his mother, or avoid risking his popularity with the mob, who were inveterate against the princess dowager; and had at last resolved to do nothing, being quite persuaded that the false step made by ministers must precipitate their fall without any effort of his. In his absence the greater part of the opposition were like a flock of sheep without their bell-wether—they knew not how to act, and the bill on the first day did not occupy two minutes. But on the second reading a hot debate was got up which lasted till nine at night. Colonel Barré attacked it with much spirit, and General Conway ridiculed the House of Lords, saying they had deliberated without concluding and concluded without deliberating. The House separated without a division; and then there was a whisper that the Tories would undertake what the Whigs had not chosen or dared to do, and move to have the princess dowager named in the bill, as well as the queen and the princes. Horace Walpole, who considered that neither morality nor prudence imposed this excluding and branding the mother of the sovereign merely upon rumour, and who, as a party man, considered still more seriously that the opposition were throwing away a fine chance of favour with the king, attempted to rally the Whigs; but the Bedfords were averse to any demonstration, and the old Duke of Newcastle spoke of *character*, and said that they would be ruined with the public if they did not divide against the princess dowager. When the question came on again Mr. Morton, member for Abingdon, moved that the name of the princess should be inserted in the bill. This called up a more violent champion in the person of Mr. Martin, who had shot Wilkes in the duel, and who was her royal highness's treasurer. Martin declared that the princess dowager had been grossly stigmatised in the House of Lords, and that she had lived long enough in this country to know the arts and falsehood of those who had professed the most to her. The prime minister replied with equal heat, declaring that, though he had agreed to the restoration of her name, he thought the omission of it would have been universally *acceptable!* Horace Walpole, General Conway, Sir William Meredith, and other members of the opposition stole away, and the insertion of the name was at last carried on a division by a majority of 167 against 37. It was foreseen that the king, resenting the insult to his mother, would attempt to rid himself of Mr. George Grenville and Lord Halifax, and to call Mr. Pitt again into office, though in so doing he should be compelled to submit to the most painful alternatives. The Regency Bill had been managed throughout in a foul spirit of faction, those who held the princess dowager as innocent and those who accused her being alike led by merely party motives and objects, and all of them playing a game which must ever remain unintelligible in many of its parts.

The mob seemed determined not to leave all the black work to ministers, Lords, and Commons, but to take their share of noise and confusion. On the 15th of May, when the king went down to give his assent to the Regency Bill, a multitude of journeymen silk-weavers and others from Spitalfields went up to St. James's Palace with black flags and other symptoms of distress and mourning, to present a petition in which they complained that they were all reduced to a state of starvation by the importation of French silks. They surrounded both Houses of parliament, making a great noise and insulting various members. They carried red flags mixed with their black banners; they terrified the House of Lords, where thirty members were not present, into an adjournment; and in the evening they attacked Bedford House and began to pull down the walls, shouting out that the Duke had been bribed to make the treaty of Fontainebleau, which had brought French silks, poverty, and all other curses into the land. The riot act was read, and detachments of the guards, both horse and foot, were called out. The mob then fled, many of them being much cut and trampled on, but no lives being lost. For some days after London presented a melancholy aspect, the streets being crowded with soldiery, and all kinds of reports spread of mutinies among the sailors at Portsmouth, insurrections among the weavers of Norwich, tumultuous gatherings in Essex, and riots and marchings from Lancashire. "And what is worst of all," says Horace Walpole, "there is such a general spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction in the lower people, that I think we are in danger of a rebellion in the heart of the capital in a week. In the mean time, there is neither administration nor government. The king is out of town; and this is the crisis in which Mr. Pitt, who could stop every evil, chooses to be more intractable than ever."* In fact not only the cabinet but the country also seemed going to pieces. Mr. Burke was as seriously alarmed as Horace Walpole, and, like Walpole and a great part of the nation, he thought that Mr. Pitt alone could set matters to rights. In a letter written at the moment when the fierce yells of the populace were ringing in his ears, he says—"The Regency Bill has shown such want of concert and want of capacity in the ministers, such an inattention to the honour of the crown, if not such a design *against it*, such imposition and surprise upon the king, and such a misrepresentation of the disposition of parliament to the sovereign, that there is no doubt that there is a fixed resolution to get rid of them all (unless perhaps of Grenville), but principally of the Duke of Bedford; so that you will have much more reason to be sur-

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

* Letters to the Earl of Hertford.

prised to find the ministry standing by the end of next week, than to hear of their entire removal. Nothing but an intractable temper in your friend Pitt can prevent a most admirable and lasting system from being put together, and this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character; for you may be assured he has it now in his power to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he may choose to dictate, with great and honourable terms to himself and to every friend he has in the world, and with such a strength of power as will be equal to everything but absolute despotism over the king and kingdom. A few days will show whether he will take this part, or that of continuing on his back at Hayes, talking fustian, excluded from all ministerial and incapable of all parliamentary service. For his gout is worse than ever, but his pride may disable him more than his gout."

While Burke was writing these words negotiations were actually in progress with the orator. On the 16th of May when ministers went to receive his majesty's commands for his speech at the end of the session, which was to have been on the 22nd, he told them that he would not have parliament prorogued but only adjourned. They asked if he then intended to make any change in his administration? He replied, certainly; for he could not bear it as it was. He then sent for his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and dispatched him to Hayes in Kent to treat with Mr. Pitt. "The hero of Culloden," says Walpole, "went down in person to the conqueror of America, at Hayes, and, though tendering almost *carte blanche* —*blanchissime* for the constitution, and little short of it for the whole red-book of places—brought back nothing but a flat refusal. Words cannot paint the confusion into which everything is thrown. The four ministers, I mean the Duke of Bedford, Grenville, and the two secretaries, acquainted their master yesterday, that they adhere to one another, and shall all resign to-morrow, and, perhaps, must be recalled on Wednesday." The Duke of Cumberland continued for a day or two his endeavours to form a ministry; but nobody worth having would undertake when Mr. Pitt had refused; and the king was reduced to the extreme mortification of retaining his old ministers. It is said, and may be easily believed, that these functionaries, who would have been turned off if the king had had power to do it, were disrespectful and even insolent to his majesty. They peremptorily demanded a royal promise of never consulting Lord Bute, the immediate dismission of his lordship's brother, Mr. Mackenzie, from his high offices in Scotland, and the nomination of Lord Granby to be captain general or head of the army. Bound hand and foot as he was, the king expressed his anger and astonishment, and bade them return at 10 o'clock at night for his answer. But before the appointed hour he sent the lord chancellor to intimate that he would not bind himself by a promise never to consult Lord Bute, though he acquiesced in the propriety of not letting his lordship interfere in public business; that he consented to displace Bute's brother; but that he absolutely refused the article about Lord Granby. Ministers, like his majesty, took time to consider. On the following morning, however, they gave up the point of Lord Granby, and contented themselves with the promise of not permitting Bute to interfere. They demanded and obtained the instant removal of Lord Holland, whose profitable place of paymaster was conferred on Charles Townshend, and they got the places of Lord Bute's brother for the Marquess of Lorn. To the surprise of most men Lord Temple now declared himself the warmest friend of the present administration;—but, from first to last, Temple's conduct seems even more inexplicable than that of his great brother-in-law. The king, most uneasy under what he considered a state of thraldom and dishonour, soon made fresh efforts to deliver himself. It is said that as early as the 20th of June he sent for Mr. Pitt, and held a long conference with him at Buckingham House; that Pitt said he could not engage without Lord Temple; that Temple was then sent for; and that through his lordship's objections the negotiation fell again to the ground. Early in July the

Charles, Marquess of Rockingham.
From a Painting by B. Wilson.

king once more applied to his uncle, and this time the Duke of Cumberland undertook to treat with old Newcastle, whose great parliamentary weight seems always to have been considered nearly as important as Pitt's oratory and popularity. The Duke of Newcastle, always at least more tractable than Pitt, joined Cumberland in addressing himself to the more moderate section of the opposition, and by the 15th of July a new ministry was adjusted. The Marquess of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; the accomplished General Conway was intrusted with the management of the House of Commons, and named one of the secretaries of state; the other secretary was

the Duke of Grafton; Mr. Dowdeswell became chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Hertford was removed from his embassy at Paris to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the Duke of Newcastle satisfied himself with the privy seal. One of the first acts of the new cabinet was to elevate Chief Justice Pratt to the peerage, by the title of Lord Camden—an appointment which was exceedingly popular.

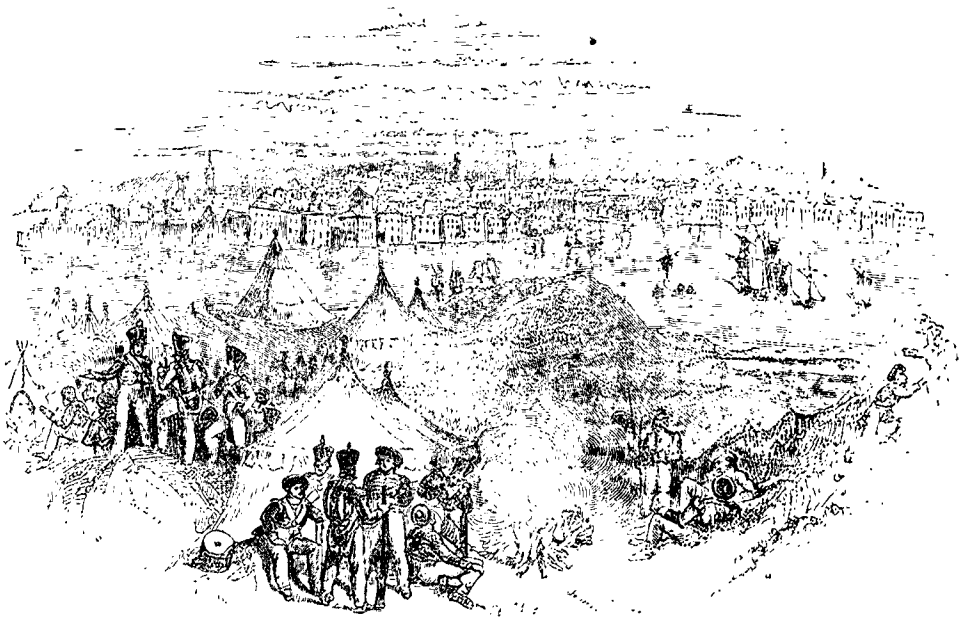
A more honest, honourable, and well intentioned man than the Marquess of Rockingham has rarely occupied the post of premier; nor was it matter of slight moment that he had for his private secretary Mr. Edmund Burke, who now for the first time obtained a seat in parliament. General Conway had eminent abilities, and a power of fascination seldom exceeded; other members of the cabinet had, at the time, a fair reputation; and there seemed a reasonable hope that this Rockingham admistration would obtain strength and durability:—but it had been already proved that no administration could stand of which Mr. Pitt was not a member; and this was not destined to be an exception to the general rule. The party, moreover, was somewhat weakened by the death of the Duke of Cumberland, which happened in the month of October.

Meanwhile the fatal effects of George Grenville's stamp act had raised the storm beyond the Atlantic to an absolute hurricane. In New York the obnoxious act was printed with a skull and cross-bones instead of the royal arms, and hawked about the streets by the title of "England's Folly and America's Ruin;" at Boston the colours of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, and the church bells were muffled and tolled a funeral knell; at Philadelphia the people spiked the guns on the ramparts; and everywhere there was a ferment, and a resolution to risk extremities rather than submit. It had been assumed that anything like a stern opposition would be confined to the presbyterian and democratic colonies of New England; but it was presently found that the episcopalian and aristocratic colonists of Virginia were in a disposition no less alarming. In fact the loudest note of defiance now proceeded from that quarter. The House of assembly there was shaken by the daring eloquence of Patrick Henry, who from the beginning kept no terms with royalty. In a debate on the stamp act Henry exclaimed "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Oliver Cromwell, and George III. ——;" he was interrupted by a voice crying "Treason!" upon which, pausing for an instant, he added, "and George III. may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The assembly voted a series of resolutions, declaring that the first settlers in Virginia had brought with them all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the people of England; that the right of being governed by their own House of assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, had never been forfeited or relinquished, but constantly recognised by the king and parliament of Great Britain; that the assembly of Virginia, together with his majesty or his substitutes, had the exclusive right and power to tax the inhabitants of Virginia; and that every attempt to vest such a power in any other person or persons was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and had a manifest tendency to destroy both British and American independence. This example had a prodigious effect in other colonies; and the house of representatives at Boston proposed holding a general meeting at New York, whither each province should send delegates to concert measures for overthrowing the grievance of the stamp act.

When the stamps arrived it was found impossible either to put them in circulation or to preserve them from destruction. At Boston a mob testified its dissatisfaction by lighting a bonfire in the streets and burning the records of the Court of Admiralty; and similar riots broke out in other cities. The news of the change of the ministry in England encouraged them to hope that the stamp act would be set aside, but did not relax their activity. The freeholders of Boston passed a vote of thanks to Conway and Barré, and ordered their portraits for the Town Hall; but nevertheless nine out of thirteen of the colonies sent their delegates to the proposed meeting at New York, where the king's governor declared such meeting to be unconstitutional and unlawful, but did not venture to give it any further molestation. Fourteen strong resolutions were presently adopted. They repeated the argument already used, that, as the profits of their trade centred in Great Britain, they thereby contributed largely to the public necessities; they did not deny that other sums might be levied upon them less indirectly, but they maintained that only their own representatives in Houses of assembly could vote away any such money or impose any tax whatsoever. Claiming the right of petitioning King, Lords, and Commons, they drew up three several petitions; and then withdrew to their respective homes to promote associations against the importation of British manufactures until the stamp act should be repealed by the British parliament.

During the recess of parliament, ministers, who were not all of one opinion, and who were thwarted by the strong feelings of the king, could venture to do little or nothing; and the great subject was still considered too unimportant to call for any extraordinary exertion. Parliament did not meet till the 17th of December, and then, as if in the most piping time of peace, it was almost immediately prorogued for the Christmas holidays, the king having merely mentioned in his speech that something had occurred in America which would demand the serious attention of the legislature, and the legislature having done nothing beyond the issuing (by the Commons) of a few writs to fill up vacancies.

A.D. 1766.—Parliament re-assembled on the 14th of January, when his majesty spoke more at



Boston. From an Original Drawing.

length on the subject of the American colonies, and informed the Houses that he had ordered the proper papers to be laid before them. "No time," said his majesty, "has been lost on the first advice of these disturbances to issue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government in suppressing riots and tumults, and in the effectual support of lawful authority." For the rest he left it to the wisdom of his parliament. In the debate which ensued two or three important facts glared out. The Rockingham administration had used various condescensions towards Mr. Pitt, and had appointed his solicitor and friend, Mr. Nuthall, to the important, confidential, and profitable office of solicitor to the treasury; but these, and, we believe, still greater favours and lures, had been thrown away upon the recluse of Hayes, whose gout had now conveniently left him. It was also made evident that all the members of the cabinet did not look on the stamp act through the same medium, and that there was a difference of opinion on various other points. When the great orator rose all eyes were bent upon him, as if with a gesture and a word he was to decide the fate of the new government. He did not leave them long in doubt. He said, that personally he could not object to the members of the present administration; they were men of fair characters, and such as he liked to see in his majesty's service: he had never been made a sacrifice by any of them; to some he had given his advice, but his confidence he could not give them. And then followed one of the most frequently quoted of his oratorical displays:—Bowing to the Treasury Bench with great grace and dignity, he said,—"Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. There is a clause in the act of settlement to oblige every member to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the crown, and, if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve it; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men!—men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last.* These men, in the last war, were

* Some of the pleasantest letters to read in all the four volumes of the Chatham correspondence are two or three which passed between Pitt and the Honourable Colonel Simon Fraser, the brave and honourable son of that arch-traitor Simon Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill. After being confined for some time in Edinburgh Castle, the gallant and then *young* man was liberated by government. In 1751 he received a full pardon for all that he had

brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world;—detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved—but the man of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom." He disapproved of the tardiness displayed in giving notice to parliament of the troubles in America; he reminded the House that, when the unfortunate resolution was adopted to tax those colonies, he was confined to his room by illness; if he could have endured to be carried in his bed, he would have solicited some friendly hand to have laid him down on the floor of the House in order that he might have borne testimony against the act. He was not well now, and, as he could not depend on his health for a future day, he would say a few words while he could. He hoped gentlemen would not make the question a point of honour, or consider themselves bound to persevere because they had begun. He proclaimed his opinion that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the American colonies; making, however, at the same time, the seemingly contradictory assertion, that her authority over those colonies was *sovereign and supreme*. "The colonists," he said, "are subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen;—equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days the crown, the barons, and the clergy, possessed the lands. In those days the barons and the clergy granted to the crown; they gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this house represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this house we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? our own property? No; we give and grant to your majesty the property of your majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms." After dwelling still more upon the distinction between legislation and taxation, he fell upon the idea of some who had maintained that the colonies, like many places in Great Britain that sent no members to parliament, were, nevertheless, represented by the aggregate of the members sent by other places. And here he announced what has been called the first germ of parliamentary reform; though, in fact, nearly as much had been said in the house by others at an earlier period, and more by Pitt himself in conversation and in letters. "There is," said he, "an idea that the colonies are virtually represented in the house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or, will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw. This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution*. It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop it must be amputated."* He concluded his brilliant declamation by repeating that the commoners of America, represented in their assemblies, had ever been in possession of the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; and that this kingdom, as the supreme and legislative power, had always been in possession of the right of binding the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, navigation, and manufactures,—in everything except taking money out of their pockets without their consent. When he sate down the House was awed, and for some time no one rose to reply. At last General Conway stood up, and frankly declared that his sentiments on the general question were conformable to those of Mr. Pitt. He excused ministers for their tardy notice

*done in the rebellion of 1745. He entered into the service of George II., and a few years after raised a regiment of 1800 men in the Highlands. Being appointed their colonel, he went out with these brave fellows to North America, and distinguished himself in Pitt's war at Louisburg and Quebec. In 1762 he served with Burgoyne as brigadier-general in the forces sent to relieve Portugal. After the war which was ended by the treaty of Fontainebleau, he sat in the British parliament for the county of Inverness; and in 1774 he was restored to the lands and estates forfeited by his old father's treason. In a letter to Pitt, then Earl of Chatham, dated Oporto, June 20, 1770, and announcing a pipe of exceeding good port wine, "made with particular care and without any addition of brandy," Fraser says—"I beg leave to assure your lordship that it is the pride of my life to have been distinguished by you, and that whilst it lasts I shall join to the veneration due to you from the public that sincere gratitude with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c."—To this Chatham replied in a really noble tone:—"In answer to the obliging expressions with which you honour me, allow me to say, that, if I dare admit the hope that I may deserve anything from my country, it is in nothing so much as in having earnestly endeavoured, during the war, that true merit should be allowed to display itself, and, to use the words I have somewhere seen, 'that willing valour should not want a sword.' You, dear sir, and those you led, have sufficiently made my panegyric in the fields of America, and I shall ever be proud and happy to bear a just testimony to such honourable services."

* Just four years after this striking declaration he read the lesson backwards, declaring that the rotten boroughs, corrupt as they were, must be considered the natural infirmity of the constitution—that, like the infirmities of the body, we must bear it with patience, and submit to carry it about with us—that the limb was mortified indeed, but that amputation might be death. But it should be remembered that this splendid orator contradicted in the like manner nearly every principle in defending which he had employed his best oratory, and earned his highest popularity. It is also to be noted, that the comparisons he used when denouncing parliamentary reform are rather inappropriate, and contrary to his object: if a limb is mortified, and not amputated, death *must* ensue; but the amputation does not necessarily imply death; it gives a chance of life, and therefore is employed.

to parliament, by saying, that the first news of the troubles was very vague and imperfect. But in denying the continued ascendancy of Lord Bute Conway spoke with more warmth. He said, "An overruling influence has been hinted at. I see nothing of it. I feel nothing of it. I disclaim it for myself, and, as far as my discernment can reach, for the rest of his majesty's ministers." Conway was the very soul of honour, and one that would never have ventured this assertion if he had not felt it to be true; yet even Conway, with all the weight of his character, and his then great popularity, could not remove the conviction carried into the popular mind, now and down to a still later date, by the philippics of Mr. Pitt; and, in obedience to that mighty magician, the opaque shadow of Bute long continued to be seen over the throne and cabinet. Since those days of strife and faction some pains have been taken to prove the unreasonableness of the illusion, and the unfairness of the accusation. Those who go the greatest lengths on the side of the king maintain, that from the month of August, 1763, when Bute failed in his negotiations with Mr. Pitt, his lordship retired into absolute privacy, and so scrupulously abstained from all communication with the king, that he never once saw him in private, and resented as a personal offence the indiscretion of a person who once attempted to bring him into the presence of his majesty in the garden of a country house.* Others, on the contrary, and, as it seems to us, upon better grounds, maintain that the total disseverance between the king and his ex-minister did not take place until the Grenville administration, in May, 1765, exacted from him the promise not to consult Lord Bute, and got from him the assurance that Bute should not be allowed to interfere in business. If the king really gave this assurance, his character for veracity will justify the belief that, at least from *that time*, the great and immediate influence of the ex-minister was at an end. But Lord Brougham seems to date the disseverance somewhat later, or a short time after the formation of the present Rockingham administration; and he assigns for the cause, not any promise or pledge given by his majesty, but the tardy discovery of a too close intimacy between Bute and his mother. He tells the story of the attempted interview in the garden; but makes the king and not Bute the party offended by the attempt. "His aunt, the Princess Amelia, had some plan of again bringing the two parties together; and, on a day when George III. was to pay her a visit at her villa of Gunnersbury, near Brentford, she invited Lord Bute, whom she, probably, had never informed of her foolish intentions. He was walking in the garden when she took her nephew down stairs to view it, saying, there was no one there but an old friend of his, whom he had not seen for some years. He had not time to ask who it might be, when, on entering the garden, he saw his former minister walking up an alley. The king instantly turned back to avoid him, reproved the silly old woman sharply, and declared that, if ever she repeated such experiments, she had seen him for the last time in her house."* We know ourselves, from a living and indisputable authority, that George III. *himself*, at a much later period of his life, when Bute was all but forgotten, related this anecdote to a confidential friend and servant, omitting, however, *the name of the lady*. The king declared in a solemn manner that at the moment Pitt was talking of the overruling influence he had no communication whatever, either on business of state or on private matters, with his ex-minister—that he had reason to be dissatisfied with Lord Bute, that he had pledged his word not to permit his interference, and from that moment, upon his *word as a gentleman*, he had never spoken with him in private, and scarcely ever in public. The king, however, neither named the ministry, nor the precise time of giving this promise. Lord Bute himself was accustomed to complain of royal ingratitude or neglect, and to declare that he was forbidden all access to the king; and once through his son, Lord Mountstuart, was rather specific as to date. In a letter addressed to the newspapers, Lord Mountstuart said—"He (Lord Bute) does authorise me to say that he declares upon his solemn word of honour that he has not had the honour of waiting on his majesty but at his levee or drawing-room, nor has he presumed to offer an advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices, or the conduct of measures, either directly or indirectly, by himself or any other, from the time when the late Duke of Cumberland was consulted in the arrangement of a ministry, 1765, to the present hour."† But, at whatever date the king's strict line of conduct was adopted, it seems indisputable that it was the rule of his conduct at this time, when Pitt was reviving the unpopular charge for his own or for party purposes. It is scarcely possible to believe that the misstatement arose out of ignorance or misconception. The truth was, people in opposition made the same use of Bute that nurses make of goblins, and Pitt himself, in his turn, had to face the phantom; for, a few years later, when he was minister, John Wilkes accused *him* of submitting to the overruling influence, and being the tool of Bute.

We return to the debate on American affairs. Mr. George Grenville, with whom had originated the fatal stamp act, attempted to show that there was nothing wrong in the act itself, but excessive culpability and negligence in those who had succeeded him in office. Like Pitt, he complained of the delay in giving notice of the disturbances. "They began," said he, "in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and, if the doctrines of this day be confirmed, that name will be lost in revolution."

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxxi.

* Statesmen of the Times of George III.

† This letter was written in October, 1778, when the outcry against Bute and his secret influence with the king was as loud as ever.

He said that he could not see the distinction which had been drawn by Mr. Pitt; and that, in his opinion, taxation was a part of our sovereign supreme legislative power over our colonies. "When," he said, "I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked this house if any objection could be made to the right; but no one attempted to deny that right. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America: America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always ready to ask it: that protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; and, now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense—an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. *The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.*" When Mr. George Grenville had done speaking, several members rose together; but, as the great orator was among them, and as there was a loud cry of "Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt," they all sat down except him, who was excited to more eloquence than ever. He took care not to notice the bold denial which had been offered by Conway, for he wished the Bute-burr to stick, and nothing could have been gained by disputing the point with a man of so much spirit and veracity. He fell upon Grenville, and told him that, since he had challenged him to the field, he would fight him on every foot of it, and combat all his arguments. Here a question arose whether he were not out of order, having spoken before; but the common rules of the house were seldom strictly applied to so great an orator. There was another cry of "Go on, go on," and Pitt went on. After reflecting severely upon Grenville for complaining of the liberty of speech in that house, he exclaimed,—"The gentleman tells us America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He said that, in all our wants of money, no minister since the Revolution had ever thought of taxing the American colonies; though, when he was minister, there had not been wanting some who had endeavoured to persuade him to burn his fingers with an American stamp act. He recapitulated his arguments to prove that supreme legislation and taxation were different things; that we might regulate their trade, but could not tax the colonies. He estimated the profits derived by Great Britain from the trade of the colonies at two millions sterling a-year. "This," said he, "was the fund that carried us triumphantly through the last war. This is the price America pays us for protection." He then alluded to the checks we had put on the irregular trade of the Americans with the colonies of Spain in the New World—checks which had been wrung from our ministers by the incessant complaints of the cabinet of Madrid—and which, as we have shown, had contributed to the growth of discontent and disaffection in our own colonies. He said, "Let the acts of parliament made in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power." He attributed the silence in which Grenville's unfortunate acts had been passed not to ignorance and indifference, but to deference to the will of the court. "I know not how it is," said he, "but there is a modesty in this house which does not choose to contradict a minister. Even your chair, sir (bowing to the speaker), looks too often towards St. James's. I wish gentlemen would think better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative." He then alluded to the alleged strength of England and weakness of America. "It is true," said he, "that in a good cause, on a good ground, the force of this country could crush America to atoms; but on this ground, on this stamp act, many here will think it a crying injustice, and I am one who will lift up my hands against it. In such a cause your success would be hazardous." America, if she fall, he exclaimed, would fall like the strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. He recommended wisdom and moderation towards America, and quoted two lines from a ballad by Prior—

> "Be to her faults a little blind:
> Be to her virtues very kind."

He then proposed that the stamp act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; but that this repeal should be accompanied by the strongest declaration of the sovereign authority of Great Britain over her colonies. This was also the opinion of the Marquess of Rockingham, General Conway, and nearly all the rest of the present administration; and petitions against the stamp act, which had been imperiously rejected by Mr. Grenville, were now welcomed and honoured. These petitions were very numerous, and chiefly from the mercantile class, who best understood the question, and who were more immediately interested in its decision. Edmund Burke, who now first made his genius and powers known in the house, made two speeches for repealing the stamp act, which, according to Dr. Johnson, were publicly commended by Mr. Pitt, and filled the town with wonder. In a short time a repealing bill was brought in by ministers, and, after being six weeks under committee, it was passed by a great majority of that very same House of Commons which only a few months before had voted the stamp act all but unanimously. The bill, as had been recommended by Pitt, was attended by a declaratory

bill, setting forth our supreme right, sovereignty, &c.; but another of his recommendations, to explain and apologise for the stamp act, was rejected as too humiliating. The great orator, and not the Rockingham administration, got all the honour of the repeal; and it was most unfairly asserted that ministers were *bullied* into that measure by Mr. Pitt.* When the repealing act was carried up to the Lords, it encountered a violent opposition. On the second reading, 71 divided against 105; and thirty-three peers entered a strong protest against the bill and its non-taxing principle. It was observed, both here and in the Lower House, that the members belonging to the royal household voted with the opposition—a very unequivocal proof of the king's feelings on the subject. On the third reading, a new protest was entered by twenty-eight peers; but the bill passed at the end of March, and received the reluctant assent of the crown.

The Cyder Act—the last act of a most unpopular minister, and otherwise odious and irritating—had never ceased being the subject of complaint and outcry. Attempts had been made to procure its repeal or amendment under George Grenville's ministry; but they had failed. Early in the present session attention was drawn to the subject by innumerable petitions, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for repealing so much of that law as affected private persons, or interfered with the privacy and comfort of private houses. These changes proved in their operation to be little better than a bonus to country gentlemen who made their own cyder; but the repeal was uncommonly popular at the moment.

The disposition of the present administration was tested on a higher principle, by the question of general warrants, which, impeded and thrown back by the late ministers, was now resumed with heart and zeal. On the 25th of April, the commons resolved that general warrants for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, except in particular cases provided for by act of parliament, were *illegal*, and, if executed on any member of that house, *a breach of privilege*. And, not stopping here, on the 29th they passed a bill to restrain the issuing of warrants for seizing any one's papers, except, under certain regulations, in cases of treason or felony without benefit of clergy. But the Lords threw out this latter bill; and an attempt to introduce another bill for preventing the seizure of any body by general warrants failed even in the Commons.

The Spitalfields weavers were gratified with an act for further restraining the importation of foreign silks; and people generally, who had some apprehension of a famine or scarcity, were somewhat tranquillised by orders to prevent the exportation of corn, and to enforce the old laws against monopoly, forestalling, and regrating. Parliament was prorogued early in June, after the House of Commons had shown, on the question of American taxation and other most important points, upon what slight foundations their votes and opinions had been formed, and with what ease they could change their opinions with any change of ministers.

To people indifferent to party, and strangers alike to the jostlings and jealousies of statesmen, and the secret springs and cabals of the court, the Rockingham administration seemed on the whole to have merited confidence, and to have a fair prospect of enduring. But, in fact, their doom was already sealed. In the month of May the Duke of Grafton, who had been visiting at Hayes, suddenly threw up his seals of secretary of state, declaring

Augustus Henry, Duke of Grafton.
From a Portrait by Pattoni.

that he had no fault to find with his colleagues except that they were weak, and wanted that strength which Mr. Pitt alone could give them. "Under that great man," exclaimed his grace, "I am willing to serve in any capacity, not merely as a general officer, but as a pioneer: under him I would take up a spade or a mattock." Colonel Barré, who had attained to great weight and consideration in the Lower House, had refused his support; and General Conway felt out of his element, and was sighing for the *quieter* life of the army. Soon after the prorogation, the chancellor, Henley Earl of Northington, to discredit the cabinet, started numerous difficulties on some legal points that were submitted to his judgment, and set on foot several intrigues to undermine his colleagues. The court, incensed, it is said, at the Marquess of Rockingham's delay *in getting* a suitable provision from parliament for his majesty's younger brothers, gave in to all these schemes, though the king to the very last moment treated the marquess with seeming complaisance, and even kindness. On the 10th or 12th of July, Pitt received the king's personal commands to form a new administration; his majesty acquainting him that he had no terms to propose, but should put himself entirely in his

* Burke.

hands. Pitt spoke of his infirmities, of his advanced age (he was only fifty-eight), and proposed taking to himself, not the premiership, with the direction of the House of Commons—that house where he was all but omnipotent—but the office of privy seal, which implied and necessitated his removal to the House of Lords! The king was astonished, yet durst offer no opposition to the will of this absolute orator. The nation thought that Pitt had gone mad by gazing at a coronet. "Every body," writes the witty Lord Chesterfield, "is puzzled to account for this step: such an event was, I believe, never heard nor read of, to withdraw, in the fulness of his power and in the utmost gratification of his ambition, from the House of Commons (which procured him his power, and which could alone ensure it to him), and to go into that *Hospital of Incurables*, the House of Lords, is a measure so unaccountable, that nothing but proof positive could make me believe it; but so it is."*

Pitt was then asked who should have the first post of government, or that of first lord of the treasury. He named his brother-in-law, Lord Temple; and his lordship was sent for. After a private interview, at which Pitt was not present, and which seems to have taken place in Richmond Lodge, the king, on the 15th of July, *at fifteen minutes past seven* (his majesty was always very particular as to these minutiæ), wrote to inform Pitt that he had conferred with his lordship, but had found him averse to nearly the whole of the scheme proposed. "I opened to him," says his majesty, "a desire of seeing him in the treasury, and, *in conjunction with you*, chalking out such an administration as can be formed, considering the unhappy divisions that subsist between men; yet, taking *the present administration for the basis to build on*, with such alterations as might appear necessary. I am sorry to see, though we only kept in generals, that he seems to incline *to quarters very heterogeneous to my and your ideas, and almost a total exclusion to the present men*, which is not your plan; but, as we did not come to particulars, I hope I am not quite founded in my apprehensions. I concluded with saying, I should only agree to such a plan *as you could with pleasure be a part of; but not to one wherein you had not a principal share*."† Mr. Pitt, it seems, wished to retain a considerable portion of the Rockingham ministers, whereas Lord Temple was intent on bringing in a great number of his own old friends. A meeting between the two brothers-in-law took place at North End, Hampstead, where Mr. Pitt had taken up his lodgings for a time. His lordship proposed that he should be allowed at least an equal share of power with Pitt, and that some men of his own naming should have seats in the cabinet. He named Lord Lyttelton as one that ought to have the privy seal. Pitt exclaimed that that could never be—that Lyttleton could not be compared with the Duke of Grafton, Lord Shelburne, or General Conway—that Lord Lyttelton might have a pension. Temple next named two candidates for the treasury board. "No," said Pitt, "it cannot be; let them have pensions!" Temple then answered that this would never do—that he would not stain the bud of his administration by an accumulation of such burthens. He next proposed Lord Gower as secretary of state. Pitt insisted on retaining General Conway. Upon this Temple lost his patience and temper, declaring that he saw clearly Pitt was determined to be sole and absolute dictator, and said that, having chosen a side place, with little responsibility, for himself, he was nominating to all other offices, while he, Lord Temple, who was to take the responsibility, was to have no voice in appointing his own cabinet. He added that he would never submit to any such arrangement, and that he must consider himself ill-treated by Mr. Pitt. The interview ended in a violent and complete breach. On the following day Temple went to the king and informed his majesty that Mr. Pitt's terms were inconsistent with his honour; and on the same evening he told Lord Northington that the farce was at an end, and the mask off—that there had never been any real wish or intention to have him in the administration. Left to himself, Pitt arranged the scheme of a cabinet in which he seems to have recruited from all sides, except from his old connexions and friends the Grenvilles and the Newcastles. He requested an interview with the Marquess of Rockingham, but that nobleman, considering himself exceedingly ill used, and probably considering Pitt as a person not to be trusted either in temper or intention, positively refused to see him. Support upon which he had counted in other quarters also failed him, and the proud man found himself compelled to sue to people he despised, and to beat the ministerial drum for recruits in new or unthought of quarters. He now even offered the seals of secretary of state to Lord Gower, whom he had black-balled when proposed by Lord Temple; and he had to undergo the mortification of a flat and indignant refusal from Lord Gower. Mr. Dowdeswell, late chancellor of the exchequer, declined taking office with him, considering himself insulted by the rude, haughty manner in which Pitt made him the offer. This also happened with Lord Scarborough. While these negotiations were in progress the king, on the 29th of July, in an autograph note, announced to Mr. Pitt his creation as Earl of Chatham. "I have signed this day," says his majesty, "the warrant for creating you an earl, and shall with pleasure receive you in that capacity to-morrow, as well as entrust you with my privy seal, as I know the *Earl of Chatham* will zealously give his aid towards destroying all party distinctions, and restoring that subordination to government which can alone preserve that inestimable blessing, liberty, from degenerating into licentiousness."*

* Chesterfield's Letters. † Chatham Correspondence.

* Chatham Correspondence. The great event was thus announced in the London Gazette of the following evening:—"St. James's, July 30. The king has been pleased to grant unto the Right Ho-

This was what Lord Chesterfield called having *a fall up stairs*—a fall which did Pitt so much hurt that he never would be able to stand upon his legs again. "Everybody," says his lordship, "is puzzled how to account for this step; though it would not be the first time that great abilities have been duped by low cunning. But be it what it will, he is now certainly only Earl of Chatham, and no longer Mr. Pitt in any respect."* On the 2nd of August the members of the new cabinet were formally announced in the Gazette. "The curtain," says Chesterfield, "was at last drawn up, and discovered the new actors, together with some of the old ones. Mr. Pitt, who had a *carte blanche* given him, named every one of them." The list stood thus: Mr. Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, took to himself the Duke of Newcastle's office of lord privy seal; Lord Camden was made chancellor in room of the Earl of Northington, who was transferred to the presidency of the council; the Earl of Shelburne was appointed one of the secretaries of state, General Conway continuing in office as the other. The place of first lord of the treasury was bestowed upon the Duke of Grafton, and the Honourable Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer, it being also arranged that he should henceforward be the ministerial leader in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Saunders succeeded Lord Egmont at the head of the admiralty, and the Earl of Hillsborough Lord Dartmouth as first lord of trade. Several changes were also made in the subordinate places of the treasury and admiralty boards. Viscount Barrington was continued as secretary-at-war; and Lord North and Mr. George Cooke were associated in the office of paymaster-general, formerly held by Mr. Charles Townshend. In the household the Duke of Portland was succeeded as lord chamberlain by the Earl of Hertford; Lord Edgecumbe as treasurer by Mr. John Shelley; and Lord Scarborough as cofferer by Mr. Hans Stanley. The solicitor-general, Mr. William de Grey, became attorney-general, in the room of the Honourable Charles Yorke, and the appointment of solicitor-general was given to Mr. Edward Willes. The Marquess of Granby was placed at the head of the army.† This strange medley, which was soon made still more mixed and various, has been best described by Burke:—"He (Lord Chatham) made an administration so chequered and speckled; he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans; Whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one, I beg a thousand pardons. I venture to say it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves, they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."* But, what was worst of all, Pitt, whose popularity had been injured by his pension in 1762, but recovered and brightened up by his recent displays in the House of Commons, had now made a complete wreck of it. "There is one very bad sign," says Chesterfield, "for Lord Chatham in his new dignity, which is, that all his enemies, without exception, rejoice at it; and all his friends are stupified and dumbfounded. If I mistake not much he will, in the course of a year, enjoy perfect *otium cum dignitate*." And a fortnight after, when that keen observer had had time to see some of the effects of Pitt's peerage upon the public, he wrote—"I wish I could send you all the pamphlets and half sheets that swarm here upon this occasion; but that is impossible, for every week would make a ship's cargo. It is certain that Mr. Pitt has, by his dignity of earl, lost the greatest part of his popularity, especially in the city; and I believe the opposition will be very strong, and perhaps prevail next session in the House of Commons, there being now nobody there who can have the authority and ascendant over them that Mr. Pitt had." Before these arrangements were three weeks old it was announced that the Earl of Chatham's gout was worse than ever, that he was confined to his bed, and was incapable of transacting any business. In the mean time the Marquess of Rockingham had made a dignified retreat. It had become customary for ministers, after ever so short a tenure of office, to claim for themselves or their connexions pensions, sinecures, or reversions of patent places; but Rockingham withdrew without asking or obtaining anything. Burke, his private secretary, whose eminent abilities had attracted the highest consideration, was offered by the Earl of Chatham a place at the board of trade; but he refused it, and went over to Ireland, his native country, to avoid further temptation.

nourable William Pitt, Esq. and his heirs male the dignity of a Viscount and Earl of Great Britain, by the titles of Viscount Pitt of Burton Pynsent, and Earl of Chatham, in the county of Kent."

* Letter already quoted from Chatham Correspondence.

† The Marquess of Granby, on the 8th of August, begged the Earl of Chatham to excuse him for declining the honour intended him, as Lord Ligonier thought the place his due, from his long services in the army. The letter is honourable to the feelings of Lord Granby. See *Chatham Correspondence*. But Ligonier was at the time rather too old for any active duties; the octogenarian was created an English earl, and gratified with an additional pension of 1500*l*. a-year, and Granby, young, active, and exceedingly popular, remained at the head of the army.

* Speech on *American Taxation*. The following additional particulars are from a letter addressed by Sir John Eardley Wilmot, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who was now appointed chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, in lieu of Lord Camden, elevated to the woolsack:—"Lord Northington has secured to himself four thousand a-year for his life, when he ceases to be president. The Duke of Grafton hates business, and will soon be weary of the treasury; Charles Townshend thinks himself injured by having the chancellorship of the exchequer crammed down his throat; the Duke of Portland, by the advice and at the earnest request of his friends, for the present holds the staff. In short, the city have brought in their verdict of *felo-de-se* against William Earl of Chatham."

John Wilkes, having spent all his money, no longer found Paris a pleasant residence.* Emboldened by the votes of the House of Commons against general warrants, and by the half-pledged protection of his former friend and associate, the Duke of Grafton, he had come privately over to London in the month of May, determined, as he said, either to make his fortune from the fears of the Rockingham administration, or to annoy it. The Marquess of Rockingham had refused to see him, but had deputed Mr. Burke to meet him and ascertain his plans and pretensions. The suffering patriot demanded a free pardon and a pension of 1500*l.* a-year, together with some money in hand, to enable him to face his creditors. These terms were thought too high. Wilkes stormed and declared that he was worth more to any ministry that thought of standing, yet in the end he found himself compelled to accept of 300*l.* or 400*l.* from Burke, which had been raised by the joint subscription of the Rockingham ministers, and then went back to the French capital. In the month of October of this same year (1766) Wilkes paid a second incognito visit to London, Colonel Fitzroy, the Duke of Grafton's brother, having, he said, assured him at Paris that he would find in his grace a real and sincere friend, extremely desirous to concur in doing him justice. He saw Mr. Coates, the Hon. Mr. Fitzherbert, and others of his friends, and through the hands of Fitzherbert sent a letter to the Duke of Grafton, expressing "his peculiar satisfaction at finding, on his return to his native country, that a nobleman of his grace's superior talent and inflexible integrity was at the head of the most important department of the state;" hoping that his grace would obtain the reversal of a cruel and unjust proscription; and that the rigour of his long unmerited exile was at an end. The only answer that Wilkes received to this letter was a verbal one—"That the Duke of Grafton did nothing without the concurrence of Lord Chatham, who must be applied to." Wilkes says that, as he adhered firmly to Lord Temple, who had always been his friend, and as there was a violent breach between his lordship and his brother-in-law, he refused to apply to Chatham, and returned with the anguish of disappointed hope to Paris. In a published letter he took his revenge both on Chatham and on Grafton. He called the orator a proud, insolent, overbearing, ambitious man, always full of the idea of his own importance, and equally insensible to patriotism and to friendship. "Friendship," said he, "is too pure a pleasure for a mind cankered with ambition or the lust of power and grandeur. Lord Chatham declared, in parliament, the strongest attachment to Lord Temple, one of the greatest characters our country could ever boast; and said he would live and die with his noble brother. He has received obligations of the first magnitude from that noble brother: yet what trace of gratitude or of friendship was ever found in any part of his conduct? and has he not now declared the most open variance and even hostility? I have had as warm and express declarations of regard as could be made by this marble-hearted friend: and Mr. Pitt had, no doubt, his views in feeding even me with flattery from time to time; on occasions, too, where candour and indulgence were all I could claim. . . . . He was, a few years ago, the mad, seditious tribune of the people, insulting his sovereign even in his capital city: now he is the abject, crouching deputy of the proud Scot whom he declared in parliament to want wisdom, and hold principles incompatible with freedom."*

The speeches of Pitt had been echoed through all the corners of the American provinces, and were held as oracles emitted by a divinity—at least, all that part of them which declared the illegality of taxation and flattered the pride of the colonists. The repeal of the stamp act was hailed with joy and triumph;† but, unfortunately, though perhaps inevitably, it was considered rather as the concession of weakness than a voluntary retractation. The declaratory bill with which the repeal was accompanied found no acceptance; and the strong assertion contained therein of our absolute right of directing the trade, navigation, and manufactures of America provoked new resolutions to endeavour to do without British goods. Thanks and addresses were voted to the king by all the assemblies; but at the same time an evident reluctance was betrayed to chastise any of the rioters, or to pay for the damages which had been sustained. At the same time the assembly of New York got into a new quarrel with the government on the subject of quartering and making better provision for the king's troops. Other provinces followed the example; and dreadful animosities broke out between the colonists and the military. The Americans said that the English soldiers began this quarrel; the soldiery said that some desperadoes among the American mob had first assaulted them. What is plain is, that there was bad blood on both sides.

From his appointment at the end of July down to the meeting of parliament in November, the Earl of Chatham seems to have done nothing, and to have attempted nothing, except to gain some strength and consistency for the crazy disjointed cabinet he had constructed. In the month of September he had some conferences with the rich Earl of Northumberland (formerly Sir Hugh Smithson), who, through his wife, represented the ancient Percys, and who was ready to promise political assistance upon condition of being made

* He had not spent all his time in France, but had made a pleasant journey through Italy to Naples, where he resided several months. He had visited, and been visited by, the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, Lord George Lennox, and all the distinguished Whigs travelling on the continent. But his purse was empty.

* Letter to the Duke of Grafton, Almon, Correspondence and Memoir of Wilkes.

† In Virginia a bill passed the house of burgesses for erecting a statue to his majesty, as an acknowledgment for repealing the stamp act, and also an obelisk to commemorate those worthy patriots who had distinguished themselves in bringing about that happy event. But neither statue nor obelisk was ever erected.—*Gordon's History of the American Revolution.*

a duke. The king when applied to wished the aspirant to remain satisfied with a marquesate; but he told his majesty, "that that was a more modern rank in the English peerage; that what he asked was the old title of Lady Northumberland's family;* and that if he succeeded, he never would be an applier for employments."† The Earl of Chatham "laying himself with all duty at the king's feet," represented that "it would give facility to future arrangements, very useful to his majesty's service, to gratify Lord Northumberland by the title which he had requested."‡ And accordingly, as soon as the patents could be got ready the great earl, who had more wealth than taste, and much more pride or selfish vanity than public spirit, was created Duke of Northumberland, Earl Percy, and Viscount Louvaine. The king, it appears, had previously promised to make the Earl of Cardigan (who had married the daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Montagu) a duke, and Chatham, afraid of losing that nobleman, suggested that the promise should be kept. But the king was very particular about granting this high title, and resorted to very effectual means, as he thought, for inducing Cardigan to forego his claim. He intimated to his lordship that, as the Earl of Northumberland was satisfied with the dukedom without any places or appointments, so it would be expected that, if Lord Cardigan took a dukedom, he should lay down his post at the time the greatest dignity was conferred upon him. The Duke of Grafton, in imparting these solemn particulars to Chatham, says—"*Ministerially*, I think your lordship need have no doubt of much dissatisfaction from a person so attached to the place he holds." Cardigan's place was that of constable of Windsor Castle. Contrary to expectation he however preferred the elevation in the peerage to the place, and he was kept out of the ranks of opposition by being created Duke of Montague and Marquess of Monthermer. In the month of October, being at Bath to drink the waters, Chatham endeavoured to conciliate an older and much more potent duke—his Grace of Bedford. He opened a personal conference with his grace by saying how particularly happy he should be to see the present administration countenanced and supported by his grace's approbation and interest. As the Duke of Bedford gave no answer to these general expressions, the orator went on to say that he would frankly lay before his grace the scheme of foreign and domestic policy which he intended to pursue. In the first place he intended to preserve the peace inviolate, and to keep a watchful eye over the princes on the continent, to see that they did the same; secondly, he was determined to enter into no continental connexions, and to make no subsidiary treaty with any European power; and, thirdly, he would observe such a strict and rigid economy, as should command the approbation of even the most frugal. The Duke of Bedford replied that these were measures for which he had always contended; that they were in fact *his* measures, and he would certainly support them, whether he or his friends were in power or not. Not a word was uttered by either party on the delicate subject of America, nor were any arrangements made as to his grace's return to office. It appears, however, that at parting the Duke of Bedford understood they should soon have another conference, and pledged himself to offer no opposition: and in the beginning of the ensuing session it was observed that the numerous and powerful Bedford party observed a strict neutrality.

The session opened on the 11th of November, when his majesty called the attention of parliament to a matter of the highest importance, and particularly affecting the poor. The scarcity of corn, which had been apprehended, had amounted almost to a famine, and had caused serious disturbance in many parts of the kingdom. His majesty said, "The urgency of the necessity has called upon me in the mean time to exert my authority for the preservation of the public safety, against a growing calamity, which could not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by the advice of my privy council, laid an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken." His majesty deplored the spirit of insurrection which had manifested itself; but the Earl of Chatham, before the meeting of parliament, had coolly or hotly proposed putting down the riots by hangings.* So important an exercise of prerogative as the laying an embargo could scarcely pass unnoticed. The address in answer to the king's speech was opposed in both Houses, and in the Commons no fewer than four amendments were moved; but on every division the majority was with the government. Not one of the proposed amendments glanced at the subject of America; the fighting-ground taken up by the opposition was the embargo, or the delay of assembling parliament—a delay which they held to be unjustifiable at a time when the country was in such critical circumstances. It was to reply to these attacks that the Earl of Chatham first rose in the House of Lords. His exordium was studied and courtly in the highest degree. He described his feelings in his new situation, and from the place in which he now spoke—an unaccustomed place—before the

* That is, of the Seymours, Dukes of Somerset. The Lady Elizabeth Seymour (commonly, though, it is believed, erroneously, styled Baroness Percy), who married Sir Hugh Smithson, and became countess of Northumberland, was the only surviving child of Algernon Duke of Somerset, who was himself the son of Lady Elizabeth Percy, the sole daughter and heiress of Joceline, the last Earl of Northumberland of that house—famous for her three marriages before she was sixteen; the first in 1680, to Henry Earl of Ogle, eldest son of Henry Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, who died the same year; the second, in 1681, to Thomas Thynne, of Longleat, who was assassinated by Count Königsmark, in February 1682; the third, to Charles Seymour, called the Proud Duke of Somerset, in May that year. Algernon Duke of Somerset, who died in 1750, was, a few months before his death, created Earl of Northumberland, with remainder to his son-in-law, Sir Hugh Smithson. See *English Causes Célèbres*, vol. i.

† Letter from the king to the Earl of Chatham, in Chatham Correspondence.

‡ Letter to the king.—*Chatham Correspondence.*

* Letter to Lord Shelburne, in Chatham Correspondence.

most knowing in the laws, in the presence of the hereditary legislators of the realm, whilst he could not look upon the throne without remembering that it had just been filled by majesty, and by all the tender virtues which accompanied it. But, this done and said, he took a tone more natural to him. He allowed that it was physically possible to have called parliament two or three weeks sooner when the alarm was at its height; but such a measure would have done harm instead of good, as it would have called away from the country those principal persons whose weight and authority had been employed in suppressing the riots.* He proceeded to vindicate the issuing of the embargo by legal authority during the recess of parliament, as an act of power justifiable on the ground of necessity: and he read a paragraph from Locke on Government, to show that, though it was not strictly legal, yet it was right in the opinion of that great friend of liberty, that constitutional philosopher and liberal statesman.† Lord Camden, the new chancellor, took the same view of the case, justified

CHARLES PRATT, LORD CAMDEN. From a Painting by J. Reynolds.

the embargo as a measure of necessity, and said that the power exercised by the crown on this occasion was so moderate and beneficial, that "Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to entrust it even to a Nero." But Lord Northington, the ex-chancellor, who was now president of the council, loudly declared not merely that the embargo was justifiable on other grounds as a part of the prerogative royal, but that it was strictly legal, and that the crown had a right, in cases of necessity, to interpose its authority even against a positive act of parliament. His lordship, moreover, said he was no patron of the people, and made use of something like sarcasm towards Lord Chatham. He challenged any lawyer to contradict him. Lord Mansfield did contradict him, however. When they had done Chatham spoke again, and again concluded with calling the embargo an act of power, justifiable by necessity; and for the rest he referred himself to the judgment of parliament. The cry was instantly raised that the present ministers had sold their consciences to the court, and were in a league to extend the prerogative beyond the precedent of the worst of times; and the ferment was increased by some hasty words spoken in the House of Commons by Mr. Beckford, whose speech was the more noticed as he was a warm adherent to Chatham, and a man of most enormous wealth. Beckford's words were, that the crown had, in all cases of necessity, a power to *dispense* with laws. Mr. George Grenville took down the sentence, which was condemned by every body. Mr. Beckford explained, retracted, and contradicted what he had said, and his retractation was entered on the journals. Ministers had introduced a bill of indemnity in favour of the officers who had acted under the orders of council in enforcing the embargo. Mr. George Grenville held that the advisers as well as the actors under that order—the ministers as well as the officers—stood in need of a bill of indemnity. General Conway, secretary of state, did not consider that it was necessary to comprehend the advisers; but neither he in the Commons, nor Chatham in the Lords, offered any serious opposition to the proposal of inserting the names of ministers in the act of indemnity. Indeed, Chatham desired the bill to be made as strong as possible, to be extended to the advisers, and to be made declaratory of the illegality as well as protective.* Still, however, the clamour continued, and Chatham was embarrassed by other circumstances. Finding that the party of the Duke of Newcastle was still strong enough to be of the utmost importance to so weak a ministry, he overlooked his declarations that he would never again have any connexion with that old statesman, and opened new negotiations with his grace, who was to be gratified by court distinctions and places conferred on his friends. As every place was filled, it was necessary to turn somebody out in order to get anybody in; and in this kind of operation an enemy was sure to be made as well as a friend. Wanting the post of treasurer of the household for Sir John Shelley, a near relation of his grace of Newcastle, Chatham intimated to Lord Edgecumbe, who held that place, that it would be highly gratifying to ministers, and useful to his majesty's service, if he would resign it, and take in compensation that of a lord of the bedchamber. It is related that a personal interview took place

* The parliament had been originally prorogued to the 16th of September, and then further prorogued till the 11th of November. This latter postponement was adopted at a moment when the country was in a state of extreme alarm, though before the disturbances commenced. If the Houses had met in September they could have taken the embargo question into consideration; and it was believed that the only reason why the Houses did not meet then was, to allow the Earl of Chatham time for his ministerial negotiations.

† Letter from Mr. Henry Flood to the Earl of Charlemont.; in Original Letters, principally from Lord Charlemont, &c., to the Right Hon. Henry Flood. 4to. 1820.

* Letter from Mr. Henry Flood to the Earl of Chorleuont, &c 4to. 1820.

at Chatham's lodgings in Bond-street, on the 20th of November; that there, after many apologies, Chatham, with much awkwardness, told his lordship that it was absolutely necessary he should resign; that Edgecumbe angrily refused, making some remarks about the impolicy of attempting to turn out persons of rank and great parliamentary interest; and that Chatham terminated the interview by haughtily exclaiming, "I despise your parliamentary interest! I do not want your assistance; I trust to the uprightness of my measures for the support and confidence of the king, and for the favour and attachment of the people; and, acting upon these principles, I dare look in the face of the proudest connexions in the country!"* Lord Edgecumbe, whose parliamentary interest was considerable, and whose character and age entitled him to more respect, was moreover the friend of Chatham's colleague, the warm-hearted and single-minded General Conway. We know, from recent publications, that Conway felt deeply interested for his friend, and did his best to dissuade the Earl of Chatham from injuring Edgecumbe and offending his powerful connexions. On the 22nd of November he writes to Chatham:—"I had the honour of your lordship's note, acquainting me with the intention of dismissing Lord Edgecumbe, on account of his having refused the bedchamber in lieu of the treasurership of the household; and I must confess to your lordship that I heard it with great concern and surprise, as I think Lord Edgecumbe a man of that character and consideration as should rather entitle him to the favour of government than to any bad treatment; and as I understood, when this matter was formerly talked of, that there was no intention of taking his staff but on some arrangement made to which his lordship should consent. I own, the bedchamber, though in many respects very honourable, does not appear much to suit the age and situation of Lord Edgecumbe, so that I can neither be surprised at, nor condemn, his refusal; and, from the particular situation I stand in, well known to your lordship, I must confess myself much distressed and hurt with what passes on this occasion. I have not the least disposition to any factious or caballing spirit; but your lordship knows, besides my want of taste and ambition for high employments, the difficulties which lay upon me when I accepted; and there are in such situations feelings which no man of honour and delicacy can divest himself of. I must farther say that there are circumstances respecting Lord Edgecumbe that in a very particular manner affect myself: one, the great regard and friendship borne to him by the late Duke of Devonshire; the other, that, on a vacancy in one of his boroughs t'other day, he, without hesitation, at once chose my nephew, Lord Beauchamp; and I must also say that the influence of Lord Edgecumbe in parliament, his command of boroughs, and, more than all, the offence that will, I doubt, be given to a set of gentlemen of great weight in this country, and the disquiet it may occasion his majesty's government, are reasons that ought, in my poor opinion, strongly to weigh against this measure; which I hope your lordship will still prevent, before its execution; as I must declare, without the least peevishness on the part in which I feel concerned, that I cannot with honour continue long in the situation I am in, unless I can preserve that reputation of fairness and consistency which I think I must forfeit by a seeming concurrence in such repeated injuries to those with whom I lately acted, and to whom I conveyed an engagement, as I understood, that, far from being the objects of particular neglect or resentment, they would rather, in preference, meet the favour and protection of government under the present administration."* We have inserted this letter at length, because it does honour to the feelings of an honourable man, while, at the same time, it throws considerable additional light on Chatham's imperious temper, and on the struggles and by-play constantly going on in court and cabinet. Upon being spoken to, probably by the secretary of state, Lord Besborough offered to give up the place of joint postmaster to Lord Edgecumbe, and take the bedchamber, if that would gratify Lord Edgecumbe and remove his resentment. Conway, upon the 25th of November, informed Chatham of "the very handsome and certainly accommodating offer made by Lord Besborough;" saying he had no doubt of his lordship's goodness and readiness to promote this arrangement and obtain his majesty's assent, for the mutual ease of ministers and so many concerned.† Lord Chatham's answer to this note does not appear, but we may judge of its tenor by what followed. The king, by letter, desired Lord Edgecumbe to resign his treasurer's staff, refused the interchange of places suggested, and instantly gave the staff to Shelley. Hereupon not only Lord Besborough, but also the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Scarborough, and Lord Monson sent in their resignations;‡ which were followed by those of Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the Admiralty, and of Admiral Keppel and Sir William Meredith, two of the junior lords.

These numerous secessions forced Chatham to negotiate more explicitly both with Newcastle and with the Bedford party. He summoned Lord Gower, the Duke of Bedford's cousin and brother-in-law, and, after some conversation, offered him the vacant place of first lord of the admiralty. Gower said he must consult the duke; and he went down for that purpose to Woburn Abbey. This was on the 27th of November. At an early hour of the following morning the king wrote a note to Chatham approving of what he had done —apparently without consulting any one—and predicting that Lord Gower and that party would join. "I augur," wrote his majesty, "that he

* Political Register.—Almon, Anecdotes of Lord Chatham.

* Chatham Correspondence. † Id.

‡ Besborough, as we have seen, was joint-postmaster, the Duke of Portland was lord chamberlain, the Earl of Scarborough cofferer. Lord Monson one of the chief justices in eyre.

will on his return from Woburn *accept;* for he is too well versed in the manners of the world to have shown so good an inclination unless he had been certain the proposal would meet with the Duke of Bedford's concurrence."* In the course of the 29th Lord Gower returned from Woburn, and said that no answer could be given till the Monday evening following. The king told Chatham that he was totally indifferent—that he could wait without any impatience—"though," added his majesty, "I think the answer might have been returned by this time, as the Duke of Bedford was enough prepared by your conversations at Bath to have previously received the opinions of his friends." On Monday, the 1st of December, the Duke of Bedford came to town and waited on Lord Chatham in Bond-street. On the morning of the 2nd we find the king writing impatiently to Chatham that he will be ready to receive him at twelve o'clock, and enable him to settle with the Duke of Bedford—"and if," adds his majesty, "he continues averse to my *ultimatum*, you may set our other plans so far on foot that many may kiss hands to-morrow." Chatham, it appears, waited upon the king, then saw the Duke of Bedford, and then reported to his majesty that his grace *was* averse to the *ultimatum*. At eleven o'clock that night the king, on returning from the ball-room, found Chatham's letter containing what his majesty terms "the Duke of Bedford's extravagant proposal." *Writing instantly to* Chatham, the king said, "Indeed, I expected, from his choosing to deliver his answer in person, that he meant to attempt obtaining an office or two in addition to those offered; but could not imagine that even the rapaciousness of his friends could presume to think of more than that." He said that the present hour was one that demanded firmness; that firmness had already dismayed all those who had recently retired from his service, and would, he was confident, show the Bedfords of what little consequence they also were. Any weakness, he added, would at once overturn the ends proposed at the formation of the present administration;—"for to rout out the present method of parties banding together could only be obtained by a withstanding their unjust demands, as well as the engaging able men, be their private connexions, where they may." We have it not under the hand either of the king or of Chatham what the Duke of Bedford's demands really were. But, as represented by others, they were not so very unreasonable, being merely that some of the offices just vacated should be given to his friends, and that the Marquess of Lorn, heir to the Duke of Argyll, should have an English peerage. It is said that the king was all along averse to Bedford on account of former conduct, which had given him great offence; and we know that facility in forgiving and forgetting what he considered personal injuries was not one of the most prominent virtues of George III. Chatham, in delivering to his grace the king's *ultimatum*, put a positive negative upon the proposition regarding the Marquess of Lorn; and, it is subjoined, told his grace that the places he asked for his friends were already disposed of. Lord Chesterfield, in speaking of this negotiation, says, "Eight or nine people of some consequence have resigned their employments; upon which Lord Chatham made overtures to the Duke of Bedford and his people, but they could by no means agree, and his grace went the next day, full of wrath, to Woburn, so that negotiation is entirely at an end. People wait to see who Lord Chatham will take in, for some he must have; even *he* cannot be alone *contra mundum*." Chesterfield's doubts on this head must have been soon removed, for, a few days after Bedford's departure for Woburn, the Gazette announced the appointment of Sir Edward Hawke as first lord of the admiralty; of Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) and Sir Piercy Brett as the two new junior lords, and of Lord le Despencer as the new joint postmaster-general. Lord Cornwallis was also appointed chief justice in Eyre; the Earl of Hertford lord chamberlain of the household; and Mr. Hans Stanley cofferer. Some of these new placemen were old friends of the Duke of Newcastle—some were Lord Bute's friends, and that ex-minister was now said to be better satisfied with the present administration than he had been with any since his own. Contrary, however, to the account given by Chesterfield, it is said that the Duke of Bedford did not depart full of wrath—that there was no anger anywhere except on the side of the king—and that Chatham and Bedford "parted civilly."* And this latter statement seems to be confirmed by what took place a few weeks after. On the 22nd of December the Marquess of Lorn was actually created an English peer with the title of Baron Sundridge of Coombank in Kent; and nearly at the same time the Earl of Hillsborough was removed from the head of the Board of Trade to make room for another of the Duke of Bedford's friends, Robert Nugent, Esq., who was further gratified with the title of Viscount Clare in the peerage of Ireland. Many of those who had been driven out of the king's service by preceding administrations were now restored to it; and Chatham, more openly than his royal master, proclaimed a war against party cabals and family connexions, though he had, in reality, just been compelled to make sacrifices to them. He proclaimed to all the world that *his great point was to destroy faction;* and in the House of Lords he declared, as he had done before to Lord Edgecumbe, that he could face and dare the greatest and proudest connexions. At the end of December, when all the new appointments were

* The conclusion of his majesty's note is characteristic:—"But, should it prove otherwise, it will not lessen my confidence that my affairs will meet with success, whilst the advantage of my country is the sole end proposed by every measure, and that my administration follow strenuously my example in opposing factious bands, in whatever quarters they appear, though willing to receive able and good men, let their private friendships be where they will."—*Chatham Correspondence.*

* Letter from Lard Barrington to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

made, Chatham returned to Bath, whence he repaired immediately to his estate of Burton Pynsent, which had been left him by the eccentric baronet. It was evident at once that the greater part of this ministry, now made more anomalous than ever, would not act with him and could not act without him. "Having," said Burke, "put so much the larger part of his enemies and opposers into power, the confusion was such that his own principles could not possibly have any effect or influence in the conduct of affairs. If ever he fell into a fit of the gout, or if any other cause withdrew him from public cares, principles directly the contrary were sure to predominate. When he had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon. When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass." * The proud man writhed and groaned under the incubus—throw it off he could not: the way of obtaining relief was to creep from under it, through the easy avenue of resignation. But this he would not do, clinging to the privy seal as if breath and life depended upon its possession. He kept the seal and staid away in the West of England, doing nothing for the state, taking the thousands a-year attached to his office, and becoming every day more useless and unpopular. Mr. Charles Townshend, his chancellor of the exchequer, General Conway, his secretary of state, the Duke of Grafton, his nominee, his ardent friend Mr. Beckford, all expressed the anxiety they felt at his prolonged absence; and the king himself wondered and lamented.

A. D. 1767. When the chancellor of the exchequer proposed in committee that the land tax should be continued at four shillings in the pound for one year, stating in his sanguine, confident manner, that the money would enable him to set about the most brilliant operation of finance ever seen in England, and to ensure dignity abroad and stability at home, he was opposed by the country gentlemen, who contended for the reduction of the land tax, as usual in time of peace, to three or even two shillings in the pound, and laughed at his financial vision. Townshend had nobody by him to second his assertions or give him powerful support. The government was accused of promise-breaking and want of faith to the landed interest; Mr. George Grenville moved that the land tax should be reduced to three shillings, and he carried his point by a majority of eighteen against ministers. In our days, a chancellor of the exchequer left in such a predicament would have resigned; but Charles Townshend held on. He had been conferring with the merchant princes of Leadenhall-street, with the directors of that splendid anomaly the East India Company, whose history and achievements have no parallel in ancient or modern history:—a joint-stock company which, from the begrudged and insecure possession of a strip of sea-coast on the outermost limits of Hindostan, had acquired principalities and kingdoms; and, growing with every effort made to check its growth, had made itself master of the vast inheritance of Aurungzebe, and was now holding "the gorgeous east in fee." Fortunes rapid and enormous, which seemed to more than realise the fables of the ring and lamp, had been gathered in the laps of obscure Englishmen, and still the fountain whence these riches ran appeared to be as full as ever. It was deemed that the state had not hitherto derived its proper share from these advantages; and the present sanguine chancellor of the exchequer conceived that, either by taking the territorial management into the hands of government, or by making the company pay largely for the right of keeping that management in their own hands, he would open a new and expanding source of finance. He had implored the attention of the Earl of Chatham to this important subject; but the "Patagonian" pleaded gout and did nothing, after appointing Beckford to make a motion for examining into the state of the East India Company. This motion was accordingly made, and the House resolved itself into a committee of inquiry and called for papers. Thereupon, in a general court at the East India House, it was resolved, without a division, "That it was the opinion of this court to recommend the directors to treat with administration upon all such points in the general state of the affairs of the company, as they should judge to be most requisite and conducive to the extending their commerce, securing their possessions, and perpetuating the prosperity of the company, in order to endeavour to bring about a conclusion." And the chairman said that he had reason to believe that, *if the court should think proper to empower the directors to treat*, the administration would hear them. The company laid before parliament their charters, treaties with the native sovereigns, letters and correspondence with their servants in India, together with the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. They, however, petitioned against the printing of their private correspondence, and the House of Commons discharged that order. At every stage the business was attended with most violent debates; and it was declared, by two extreme parties, that the government had no right to interfere in the company's concerns, and that the company had but a doubtful right to the vast territories it had acquired. Charles Townshend, who, according to Chesterfield, was giving himself more ministerial airs than Lord Chatham would approve of, deprecated any trying of these delicate questions, and strongly recommended an amicable agreement with the company, which would be sure to pay well. The company presented a series of demands; among which were—1. That the administration should agree to prolong the charter to the year 1800, or to a further term, and to confirm to the company the sole and exclusive trade to the East Indies for three years at least after the ex-

* Speech on American Taxation.

piration of the charter, as had been provided in the act of the 17th of George II.; 2. That it should agree to an alteration in the inland duty upon tea, with the view of preventing smuggling, and thereby increasing the legal consumption; 3. That it should allow a drawback on the exportation of tea, and alter the duties on calicos and muslins; 4. That it should consent to some proper methods of recruiting the company's military forces, and for strengthening the hands of the company for the better and more effectual government of their civil and military servants, and preventing their receiving presents; 5. That it should prevent the commanders of the company's ships and others from carrying to the East Indies any kind of warlike stores, clandestinely or without the license of the company; 6. That it should use its strong interposition with the court of France, to obtain payment of the great sums of money the company had expended for the maintenance and transport of French prisoners to Europe, and other expenses incurred on those accounts, which, by an account delivered to the right honourable Mr. Secretary Conway, dated the 16th of November, 1765, amounted at that time to the sum of 260,687*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*; 8. And that it should also interpose with the court of Spain, with respect to the *Manilla Ransom*, that the company might be reimbursed the great expenses incurred by that expedition; for which, it appeared, by a letter from Lord Egremont to the secret committee, dated the 23rd of January, 1762, the company was to have a reasonable compensation; which said expenses amounted to, on the 7th of August last, the sum of 166,236*l.* 15*s.*, as per an account that day delivered to the right honourable Lord Shelburne. "Charles Townshend," says Beckford, "seemed to put the whole stress of the negotiation on the *quantum* to be given by the company for the prolongation of the term of their charter, and regulations and concessions to be made by the legislature, which would amazingly increase the trade and profit of the company: in short, he uttered so many kind and comfortable words for their consolation, that the stock rose the next and the succeeding day six per centum."* General Conway declared that the salvation of this country depended upon a proper determination of this nice and delicate affair.† Beckford implored Chatham to send him his thoughts and directions as to what steps to take and what further motion to make; but it does not appear that the great orator, who remained at Bath, made any effort in the business. The opposition, which was of almost as mixed a yarn as the ministry, never spoke without directly abusing Lord Chatham, and no friend ever rose to take his part! "Is it possible," exclaims Chesterfield, "that such a man can be friendless?" In the end, and after many divisions, a bill was framed granting nearly all that was asked for in Leadenhall-street, and binding the company to pay the government 400,000*l.* per annum, in half yearly payments, and to indemnify the exchequer should any loss be sustained in consequence of the lowering of inland duties and the allowance of the drawback on the exportation of tea. The term of this contract was however limited to two years, to commence from the 1st of February, 1767, during which time the territorial rights of the company were to be fully admitted. A few days before this temporary settlement a demand was made on

ALDERMAN BECKFORD.
From Carlini's Design for his Monument, engraved by Bartolozzi.

the part of the proprietors of East India Stock at a general court, that, as the company had gained so much new territory and so many advantages, a large dividend should be declared, so that all the shareholders might participate at once in the advantages. It would probably have been difficult at that moment to pay government the 400,000*l.* a-year and raise their dividends at the same time. The directors replied, that, although great advantages had certainly been gained, it was not less true that vast expences had been incurred by the unexampled extent and duration of their military operations in India. The directors also represented that some of the profits of the company were as yet remote and precarious, while their debts were urgent and certain. Therefore, they said, justice and good policy concurred in recommending the paying off of incumbrances before they thought of raising their dividends. Nevertheless, when the question was put to the vote, a large majority of the proprietory determined that the dividends should be raised to 12½ per cent. This was on the 6th of May—the government bargain was concluded on the 20th—and a few days after ministers interfered to check a proceeding which they said was calculated to renew the gambling stock-jobbing and share-jobbing of the memorable South Sea year. Two bills were

* Letter to the Earl of Chatham in Chatham Corres. † Id.

brought in, the one for regulating the qualifications of voters in trading companies, the other for restraining and limiting the making of dividends by the East India Company. The latter bill rescinded the resolution made in Leadenhall-street, and fixed ten per cent. as the very maximum of East India dividends until the next meeting of parliament. It encountered a most violent opposition, particularly in the House of Lords, where, on the third reading, 44 peers divided against 59, and 19 peers signed a protest in sixteen long articles. The battle for ministers was fought by the Duke of Grafton, who solicited the assistance of Chatham, but in vain. The great orator contented himself with congratulating his majesty "on the favourable appearances in the House of Lords," and with expressing his "truest joy in the great ability shown by the Duke of Grafton."* By this time General Conway had declared his intention of resigning.

Unfortunately the opposition and the ministry had agreed in falling again upon the American colonies. As early as the month of January, George Grenville, the foster-father of the stamp act, had proposed "saddling America with 400,000*l.* per annum for the support of troops, &c."† The chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, in answering him, fully agreed as to the principle of the stamp act itself, only adding, that the heats which had prevailed had made it an improper time to press that tax. He treated the distinction between external and internal taxation as ridiculous in the opinion of everybody except the Americans; and he, in short, *pledged himself* to the House to find a revenue in the colonies sufficient to meet the expenses.‡ Lord Shelburne, like others, was at a loss to conceive what he meant. His lordship, however, heard from general conversation, that Mr. Townshend had a plan for establishing a board of customs in America, and, by a new regulation of the tea-duty here and some other alterations, to produce a revenue on imports there. "This," added Lord Shelburne, "in many views appears a matter that will *require the deepest consideration, at this time especially.* Besides, I believe the speech I have just mentioned is not the way to make anything go down well in North America."§ In fact, at this moment, the colonies, having had time to consider the Earl of Chatham's declaratory bill, were still more dissatisfied with its extreme principles and strong expressions: Lord Shelburne had letters from the king's governors inveighing against the insubordinate spirit of the people, and complaining of the resolution of the houses of assembly not to provide the troops with vinegar and other articles lest their compliance should be deemed a precedent for some new tax act. Chatham, excited by the communication of this intelligence, replied to Lord Shelburne in a violent passion against the Americans, and without expressing any disapprobation of Townshend's exasperating speech and avowed determination of a new taxation scheme. "America," he says, "affords a gloomy prospect: a spirit of infatuation has taken possession of New York. . . . I foresee confusion will ensue. . . . What demon of discord blows the coals in that devoted province I know not; but they are doing the work of their worst enemies themselves. The torrent of indignation in parliament will, I apprehend, become irresistible, and they will draw upon their heads national resentment by their ingratitude, and ruin, I fear, upon the whole state by the consequences. But I will not run before the event, as it is possible your lordship may receive an account more favourable."* Meanwhile fresh petitions and remonstrances, and bitter complaints against a new mutiny act, kept pouring in from the colonies. Shelburne found himself obliged to speak of the declaratory act in a style which could not have been very agreeable to the Earl of Chatham. "That act," says his lordship, "asserting the right of parliament, has certainly spread a most unfortunate jealousy and diffidence of government throughout America, and makes them jealous of the least distinction between this country and that, *lest the same principle may be extended to taxing them.*" Replying, from his easy chair at Bath, Chatham was more irate than before against the Americans, but he seems to have discovered nothing wrong either in the declaratory bill or in the scheme of his colleague and nominee Townshend. He threw the whole blame upon George Grenville. "The advices from America," he says, "afford unpleasing views. New York has drunk the deepest of the baneful cup of infatuation, but none seem to be quite sober and in full possession of reason. It is a literal truth to say that the stamp act, of most unhappy memory, has frightened those irritable and umbrageous people quite out of their senses. I foresee that, determined not to listen to their *real* friends, a little more frenzy and a little more time will put them into the hands of their enemies."† His friend Beckford joined in these sentiments, and in the belief, implied by Chatham, that the Americans in making any attempt at resistance would only seal their ruin. Beckford—they all seem to have regarded the matter in a frenzy of passion—exclaims "The devil has possessed the minds of the North Americans. George Grenville and his stamp act raised the foul fiend: a prudent firmness will lay him, I hope, for ever." But there was one public man who took a more correct view of the spirit and power of the American people. He calculated that there were in the different provinces at least 200,000 men fit to bear

* Letter to the king in Chatham Corres.
† Beckford to Chatham.—Id.
‡ The Earl of Shelburne to Chatham; Id.
§ Id. Id.

* Chatham to Shelburne; Id.
† Chatham Correspondence. It was at this moment (in February) that the Duke of Grafton most earnestly urged Chatham to come up to London. "Your appearance," says the Duke, was never so much wanted as at this time. There is no interpretation that the ill-wishers of the present system do not endeavour to give to your absence; and I am sorry to say that they succeed so far as to make every one feel the languor under which every branch of the administration labours from it."—Id.

arms, and not only to bear arms, but having arms in their possession, unrestrained by any game-laws. "In the Massachusetts government in particular," writes Gerard Hamilton* to Mr. Calcraft, "there is an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder, and a pound of bullets always by him; so there is nothing wanting but knapsacks (or old stockings, which will do as well) to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Sartorius or a Spartacus at their head requisite to beat your troops and your custom-house officers out of the country, and set your laws at defiance. There is no saying what their leaders may put them upon; but if they are active, clever people, and love mischief as well as I do peace and quiet, they will furnish matter of consideration to the wisest among you, and perhaps dictate their own terms at last, as the Roman people formerly in their famous secession upon the Sacred Mount. For my own part, I think you have no right to tax them, and that every measure built upon this supposed right stands upon a rotten foundation, and must consequently tumble down, perhaps upon the heads of the workmen." But few Englishmen either in parliament or out felt these convictions, and, though Lord Shelburne clearly foresaw that if the Americans should be driven into insurrection there was every probability that France and Spain would break a peace the days of which they had already begun to count, Townshend's bill, imposing duties on glass, paper, paste-board, white and red lead, painters' colours, and tea,† payable upon the importation into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes specified in the stamp act, was carried through both houses of parliament with as much ease as if it had been a turnpike bill. And the same facility attended another act by which these duties, and all other customs and duties in the American colonies, were put under the management of the king's resident commissioners. Moreover, a third bill was passed, prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly of New York from passing any legislative act, for any purposes whatsoever, till satisfaction should be given as to the treatment of the commissioners and troops, and submission paid to the mutiny act. Chatham's friend Beckford was one of the very few who opposed this last bill. Chatham himself told the king that the appearance of returning reason in the House of Commons was solely owing to his majesty's magnanimity and wisdom. During the session annuities of 8000*l.* each were settled on the king's brothers, the Dukes of York,‡ Gloucester, and Cumberland; and a trifling addition was made to the half-pay of lieutenants in the navy. Parliament was prorogued on the 2nd of July.

Charles Townshend, aspiring to be the real head of a ministry, had opened negotiations with the Rockingham party; Lord Northington, as well as General Conway, had expressed a strong desire to resign; the Duke of Grafton seemed to regret the hours which business stole from pleasure and his mistress; and the whole cabinet was a very Babel of confusion. About the middle of February, Chatham seemed roused by a jealousy of Charles Townshend, and by the constant prayers and entreaties that were sent down to him; and he then actually began his journey towards London. But on the 17th of that month a doleful letter arrived, stating that the gout had returned very severely, and had stopped his lordship at Marlborough. There he remained at the inn a whole fortnight. As affairs of the utmost importance were depending, the Duke of Grafton offered to go down to Marlborough to receive his directions *vivâ voce*. This seemingly natural proposition was declined in Chatham's usual pomposity of style.* At last, early in March, he reached London; but he declared himself to be wholly incompetent to the transaction of public business, and immediately retired to North-end, Hampstead. Even at that suburban retreat he refused to transact any business or to see any of his colleagues; although, at the time, he was well enough to drive about Hampstead-heath in his carriage.† In the month of May, when the Duke of Grafton was more embarrassed than ever, and particularly alarmed by two unfavourable divisions in the House of Lords, he had again entreated to be allowed to wait personally upon the determined recluse. "If," wrote his grace, "I could be allowed *but a few minutes* to wait on you, it would give me great relief; for the moment is too critical for your lordship's advice and direction not to be necessary. If, therefore, you can allow me *one quarter of an hour* to intrude upon you without prejudice to your health, which I rejoice to hear is *in a mending way*, it will greatly oblige me." Nothing could be more earnest—no great man could be more condescending, and yet Chatham returned another circumlocutory yet positive negative. Two days after this, the Duke of Grafton again made a strong appeal, stating that other lords had come down from their very beds to support government; that the king was of opinion that Lord Chatham's presence and advice "might still reinstate and give administration some consistence again;" that his majesty had no expectation of being relieved from an embarrassing dilemma but by his lordship's counsel and advice. "What I feel in this situation," adds Grafton, "I leave your lordship to judge; but, disagreeable as the task is to carry the opinions of others, I am ready to undertake it,

* Commonly nicknamed "Single Speech Hamilton."

† The bill also contained some sharp clauses against smuggling.

‡ The Duke of York died in the month of September of this same year (1767), at Modena, in Italy, of a fever said to have been brought on by intemperance. He was in his 28th year, and unmarried.

* In his note he says—"Nothing can be more kind than the offer the Duke of Grafton has the great goodness to make, of which Lord Chatham desires to express the humblest and warmest sense. At the same time, his grace will give him leave to suggest that, until he is able to move towards London, it is by no means practicable for him to enter into discussions of business."—*Chatham Corres.* And yet at this time Chatham could *write* and attend to all that was going on around him: the gout was then reported to be not in any dangerous part, not in the hand but in the knee. It was evidently the will and not the power that was wanting.

† Lord Chesterfield's Letters.

if you prefer that mode to a letter. *Pray send me your commands.* Indeed, my lord, your thoughts and advice, in such a situation, are due to the king, as well as to those who have supported to the utmost, in your absence, every view of yours." But Chatham would send neither advice nor commands, and repeated his protestation that it was impossible for him either to see the Duke of Grafton or to attend to any business. The day after Grafton received this answer from North-end (on the 30th of May), the king himself took up the pen and became a supplicant. "No one," wrote his majesty, "has more cautiously avoided writing to you than myself, during your late indisposition; but the moment is so extremely critical, that I cannot possibly delay it any longer. By the letter you received yesterday from the Duke of Grafton you must perceive the anxiety he and the president at present labour under. The chancellor is very much in the same situation. This is equally owing to the majority in the House of Lords, amounting on the Friday only to six, and on the Tuesday to three, though *I made* two of my brothers vote on both these days; and to the great coldness shown those three ministers by Lord Shelburne, whom they, as well as myself, imagine to be rather a secret enemy; the avowed enmity of Mr. Townshend; and the resolution of Lieutenant-General Conway to retire; though without any view of entering into faction. My firmness is not dismayed by these unpleasant appearances; for, from the hour you entered into office, I have uniformly relied on your firmness to act *in defiance to that hydra, Faction, which has never appeared to the height it does till within these few weeks.* Though your relations, the Bedfords and the Rockinghams, are joined with intention to storm my closet, yet, if I was mean enough to submit, they own they would not join in forming an administration; therefore nothing but confusion could be obtained. I am strongly of opinion with the answer you sent the Duke of Grafton;* but, by a note I have received from him, *I fear I cannot keep him above a day, unless you would see him and give him encouragement.* Your duty and affection for my person, your own honour, call on you to make an effort; five minutes' conversation with you would raise his spirits, for his heart is good; mine, I thank Heaven, want no rousing; my love to my country, as well as what I owe to my own character and to my family, prompt me not to yield to faction. Be firm, and you will find me amply ready to take as active a part as the hour seems to require. *Though none of my ministers stand by me, I cannot truckle.* I wish a few lines in answer, as I am to have the Duke of Grafton with me this evening; *and if you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to call at North-end on my return that evening to this place.*" †

This was a home thrust there was no parrying, and, preferring Grafton's visit to the king's, he replied he was penetrated and overwhelmed with his majesty's letter, and the boundless extent of his royal goodness; that, incapable and ill as he was, he would obey his majesty's commands, and beg to see the Duke of Grafton to-morrow morning, though hopeless of being able to add weight to his majesty's gracious wishes. But later in the day, fearing that Grafton's visit to him and his waiting upon the king afterwards might be coupled together, he wrote again to say that in seeing the duke he did not understand it to be his majesty's pleasure that he should attend his majesty any part of the day to-morrow—"the weight of such an audience being more than he could sustain in his present weakness of nerves and spirits." The king was then obliged to say that Chatham's seeing the Duke of Grafton would answer every purpose; and accordingly the duke posted down to North-end. But, for any useful purpose, his grace might as well have remained in Downing-street, or posted away to his favourite resort, Newmarket. Chatham would hardly enter upon any business, reported to the king that his grace's visit and his late efforts had produced an unfavourable effect upon his health, and then very reluctantly consented to see his grace once more at North-end. In the month of June several urgent notes were written by the king to his lord privy seal; but Chatham, upon paper, laid himself with all duty and submission at his majesty's feet, penetrated with the excess of his majesty's goodness, &c.,—and continued to complain of his nerves and his gout, and to do nothing. But neither he nor any one of his family seems to have reflected for a moment that one who was sick and could not, or obstinate and would not, do the commonest duties of his office ought to resign.

Soon after the rising of parliament, while Lord Bute, assisted by Lord Holland, was making a slight movement, as if with a kind of half hope of regaining his former ascendancy, and while the Newcastle, the Bedford, and the Rockingham parties were scheming and counter-scheming, the king authorised the Duke of Grafton to open a direct negotiation with the Marquess of Rockingham. Grafton offered the marquess his own place of first lord of the treasury. Rockingham replied, that he must consult his friends, and then, like Lord Gower, he went down to Woburn to confer with the Duke of Bedford. Bedford was willing to acquiesce in the appointment of Rockingham as premier, and even in his own exclusion from the cabinet; but he again insisted that some of his friends should be taken into place. Lord Temple, the Duke of Newcastle, and also Mr. George Grenville expressed their willingness to coalesce under the Marquess of Rockingham; and then his majesty stated that he "adopted and approved the idea of a comprehensive system, but hoped it was not meant to exclude his friends, and those about his person." A meeting was then held at Newcastle

* The only answer we can find given by Chatham to Grafton was, that he hoped that neither his grace nor the lord president (Northington) would judge it necessary to resign!

† Chatham Corres.

House, at which were present the Dukes of Newcastle, Bedford, Richmond, and Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Weymouth, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Rigby, and Admiral Keppel. But it was soon found that clashing interests, and jarring opinions as to the system to be pursued with respect to the American colonies, would prevent any cordial union. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Temple insisted, that whoever were ministers should work out the principle laid down by the Earl of Chatham, and assert and establish the supremacy of Great Britain over America. Mr. George Grenville, by letter, promised his support, but only upon condition that the dependence and obedience of America should be *asserted* and *maintained*. The Marquess of Rockingham objected, and proposed gentler terms. A sort of compromise was made on this point; but when Rockingham proposed that General Conway should continue to be one of the secretaries of state, with the management of the House of Commons, the Duke of Bedford positively refused his assent, insisting that Conway's offices should be given to his own personal friend, Mr. Rigby. Upon this difference the meeting broke up, and another conference, held a few days after, was equally unproductive of results or union. The marquess would neither yield his point as to General Conway, nor take office without the support of the Bedford interest; and thus nothing seemed to remain to the king but to pull on with his present crippled, disjointed cabinet. It is believed that Charles Townshend had in reality gratified the king by his tone and conduct, and, in an especial manner, by the alacrity he had shown on the subject of American taxation. His interest was sufficient to procure for his brother, Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, and for his wife (following in the latter particular the precedent of Pitt) a peerage, under the title of Baroness of Greenwich, with remainder to her issue male by her present husband. All this was interpreted into proof that Charles Townshend was destined to change his post of chancellor of the exchequer for that of premier: but, on the 4th of September, he was suddenly cut off by a putrid fever, in the forty-second year of his age. This death necessitated very different arrangements. Chatham was again applied to for his advice and assistance; but he had gone from North-end to Bath, and, apparently, would do nothing. Lord North and Lord Barrington, having both refused the chancellorship of the exchequer, the seals of that office were (merely to prevent the interruption of the public business) entrusted, till some arrangement should be made, to Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the King's Bench: Mansfield was at the same time empowered to renew negotiations with the Duke of Bedford; but, for the present, these negotiations ended in nothing.

The ministry was in this unsettled state when parliament met, on the 24th of November. The speech from the throne announced, that the members were called together merely to transact some urgent public business, in order that a dissolution might take place, that business being over, without inconvenience to the country. The principal matter was the high price of corn, with the consequent sufferings of the poor,—a subject impressed on parliament by some strong petitions. They immediately passed an act to extend the prohibition against exportation, and to encourage the importation of grain. When this was done, or while it was doing, Lord North was prevailed upon by the Princess Dowager of Wales and his father, the Earl of Guilford, to accept the difficult place of chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Thomas Townshend, a cousin of the late Mr. Charles Townshend, succeeded North as joint paymaster of the forces; and

LORD NORTH.
From an Engraving by Bartolozzi.

Mr. Thomas Townshend's place, as one of the lords of the treasury, was given to Mr. Jenkinson, formerly Lord Bute's private secretary, and, eventually Earl of Liverpool. Shortly after this General Conway and Lord Northington insisted upon resigning,* and fresh overtures were made to the Duke of Bedford, who substituted Viscount Weymouth for Rigby, as the proper person to be secretary of state in lieu of Conway, and proposed Lord Gower as president of the council in the place of Lord Northington. This was agreed to, and a day or two after the Earl of Hillsborough was appointed third secretary of state, a new office, devoted exclusively to American affairs, which seemed to be required by the importance of the colonies, and the increasing difficulty of managing them. Lord Hillsborough, who had been joint paymaster with Lord North, was succeeded in that half office

* General Conway was in the habit of saying, that to a man of any spirit no life could be so unsupportable as a ministerial one at this moment, and that it was impossible for a person who had not gone through the ordeal to form any conception of the manœuvres, intrigues, and cabals that prevailed. In the course of a debate, in December 1768, he said,—"There are so many great men in the world, and so many little ones belonging to them, that it is *impracticable for any party to set up a firm administration*. I have long laid aside ministerial ambition. I was a minister *malgré moi*."—*Cavendish's Debates*.

by the Duke of Bedford's ally, or protégé, Lord Sandwich. General Conway was appointed lieutenant-general of the ordnance, a post which had been vacated by Viscount Townshend. In all these arrangements the circumstance which most strikes the eye is the omnipotence of family connexion—the juggling and selfishness of an oligarchy, which could forget principles, and every thing but self. Experience, peculiar ability, or fitness for the duties of any particular office, was hardly considered at all: men passed from one office to another, of the most different kind, with as much ease as if they had all been equally fitted for every thing; and, if the dignities of the church had been cabinet or government places, and played for upon the same cards, we should probably have seen a master of the ordnance stepping into the place of the archbishop of Canterbury, or an archbishop of Canterbury changing places with the first lord of the admiralty. From the rapidity with which these changes were made, few or none could have had time to learn their official business in any one capacity. The ministry thus re-constructed took the name of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The Earl of Chatham was not cured or affected by its new materials—he kept aloof at Bath, or at Burton Pynsent, was exceedingly vapourish, and would neither see nor speak to anybody. By this time, or shortly after, Lord Chesterfield had come to the conclusion that he was mad. He removed from Bath to his old residence at Hayes, in Kent, where he continued to deny himself, or be denied, to all the world. "Some," remarks Chesterfield, "say that he has a fit of the gout, which would do him good, but many think that his worst complaint is in his head, which I am afraid is too true." But, sane or insane, Chatham kept the privy seal, and the king was evidently afraid to demand it back.*

A.D. 1768.—Parliament, in opposition to petitions and remonstrances, extended the act of the last session, restricting the East India Company's dividends to 10 per cent.; but this measure did not pass in the Lords without violent opposition, and a long protest. Scarcely any other business of importance was transacted; and, after supplies had been voted, the king prorogued parliament on the 10th of March, and, two days afterwards, dissolved it by proclamation. It had nearly completed its full legal term of seven years.

Scarcely were the writs issued for a general election, when John Wilkes stepped upon the stage, once more, to increase the ordinary storm and tumult by offering himself as a candidate. Mephistopheles himself could not have chosen a better time for mischief. The poorer people were hungry and discontented, the richest divided into two furious factions, and all classes had lost their quieting confidence in the honour and ability of public men. Since Pitt's eclipse under the peerage they had taken no new idol to worship; but the intensity of feeling which formerly went in that way was now turned, very generally, into hatred and scorn of all the members of the present cabinet. The outlaw had arrived in England on the 6th or 7th of February, after a visit paid to him at Ostend by Mr. Coates, who thought that he might secure his election for Westminster, as he had good interest there through Mr. John Churchill, the brother of the poet, and many other friends; but Wilkes preferred trying the city. "His situation at Paris," says his biographer, "was become disagreeable; for his necessities had compelled him to contract many debts there, and he could draw no more money from England. His affairs were desperate; but his popularity in England was high; and, determined upon taking advantage of this popularity at its flood, he thought it unnecessary to waste any more time in trifling negotiations either with ministers or their opponents; they were not his friends in his present state, and their enmity could not make it worse.* He lay *perdu* at Mr. Hayley's, in Great Alie-street, Goodman's-fields, till the general election came on; but, on the 4th of March, he wrote a supplicating letter to the king, which was delivered by his servant at the queen's palace. In this letter he threw himself at his majesty's feet and supplicated that mercy and clemency which shone with such lustre among many of his princely virtues. "Some former ministers," said he, "whom your majesty, in condescension to the wishes of the people, has thought proper to remove, employed every wicked and deceitful act to oppress your subject, and to revenge their own personal cause on me, whom they imagined to be the principal author of bringing to the public view their ignorance, insufficiency, and treachery to your majesty and to the nation. I have been the innocent but unhappy victim of their revenge. I was forced by their injustice and violence into an exile which I have never ceased for several years to consider as the most cruel oppression, because I no longer could be under the benign protection of your majesty in the land of liberty. With a heart full of zeal for the service of your majesty and my country, I implore, sire, your clemency. My only hopes of pardon are founded in the great goodness and benevolence of your majesty; and every day of freedom you may be graciously pleased to permit me the enjoyment of in my dear native land shall give proofs of my zeal and attachment to your service." No notice whatever was taken of the letter which was delivered in so irregular a manner; and, when Wilkes appeared publicly in the streets of London to stand for the city, the outlawry was in full force against him. The populace received him with tremendous acclamations; but on the poll he was left in a minority, though 1247 liverymen voted for him.†

* It is quite clear, from the tone of the king's letters to Chatham, that he dreaded the great orator more as an antagonist, than he wished for him as a minister; and that his majesty felt convinced that, if Chatham were dismissed, it was not his gout that would long prevent him from heading the opposition.

* Almon.

† This gave great dissatisfaction to the London mob, who, at the close of the election, broke the iron gates in front of Guildhall to pieces, demolished the lamps, and did other damage. Some of them

Rejected by the city, but not discouraged, he immediately offered himself for the county; and the freeholders of Middlesex returned him by a very large majority. The mob was in a transport of joy; they made the air ring with shouts of "Wilkes and liberty!" and they not only broke Lord Bute's windows in the west end, but also the Mansion-house windows in the east.

This was nothing more than a common election episode, but the court and a part of the cabinet gave to it a great deal of importance, and already began to talk of the necessity of strong measures. It was this exaggerating and vindictive spirit that had given Wilkes his real importance. The new parliament met on the 10th of May; Sir John Cust was again elected speaker; the statutes respecting grain were renewed; the king's recent proclamation against riots was debated; and little else was done during this short and *pro formâ* session, except the voting of an order that the proper crown officer might report why the laws had not been put in force against John Wilkes, an outlaw. Parliament was prorogued on the 21st of May. During the sitting the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was strictly enforced by both houses.*

But before the prorogation Wilkes was a close prisoner. Having secured his election for Middlesex at the end of March, he, on the 20th of April, appeared in the Court of King's Bench and declared himself ready to submit to the laws of his country. But Lord Mansfield suggested, that, as he was not before the court by any legal process, the court could not take any notice of this voluntary appearance; and he was permitted to depart at perfect liberty. But a few days after, what is termed a writ of *capias ut legatum* was issued against him: and on the 27th of April he was brought into court in custody. Serjeant Glynn, his counsel, pointed out several errors in the outlawry, and offered bail to any amount. Thurlow replied; bail was refused, and Wilkes was committed to the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench prison. As he was proceeding in a hackney-coach over Westminster-bridge, the London mob, shouting "Wilkes and liberty!" stopped the carriage, took out the horses, and dragged him in triumph through the city to a public-house in Spitalfields, where they kept him till near the hour of midnight; but when the people dispersed, he repaired in a quieter manner to the marshal of the King's Bench, who had been compelled to quit the coach and his prisoner at Temple-bar, and surrendered himself. On the following morning, as soon as it was known that the *patriot* was in durance, great crowds began to collect outside of the walls; and as this continued, together with a terrible strife of tongues, an order was sent to the Horse-Guards, and a body of soldiers were stationed near the prison. This increased the popular excitement; and every day for nearly a fortnight the mob abused the soldiers, and the soldiers—if we are to believe some accounts—threatened the mob. In this temper the 10th of May, the day for the opening of the new parliament, arrived; and as the people had taken it into their heads that neither the walls of the King's Bench, nor any walls or laws whatsoever, could hinder Mr. Wilkes from taking that seat in the House of Commons to which he had been elected by the freeholders of Middlesex, they assembled in greater numbers, and with a louder noise than ever, to have the honour of escorting him to Westminster. But the gates remained closed, the patriot unseen. A tremendous uproar ensued: the soldiers, considerably reinforced, put themselves in motion, and two of the Surrey magistrates, Messrs. Gillam and Ponton, began, or attempted to begin, to read the riot act. Their voices were drowned in the shouts of the mob and the roll of the drum; and dirt and stones were thrown at them and at the soldiers. By a fatality which attended all these Wilkes transactions, the companies selected for this service were nearly all Highlanders or Lowland Scots.* This very naturally increased the exasperation of the Londoners; and it must also be candidly admitted that the Scots, with all their good military qualities, do not possess quite so much coolness of blood as the English soldiery, but are rather more ready to resent insults and brickbats. Besides, their strong national feelings had been wounded by Wilkes; and every man among them, privates and officers, felt as it were a personal animosity against the popular idol and the mob, his worshippers. One Donald Maclean, with two other hot Macs, broke away from the ranks, gave chase to one of the mob who had been pelting them, and shot a young man named Allen in a cow-house hard by St. George's Fields. It was alleged by the unfortunate youth's father, and by many others, that Allen was only a quiet spectator, and that the Scotsmen, in their blind passion, had mistaken him for another young man.† Meanwhile, in the grander

mounted the hustings, crying "Wilkes for ever!" and swearing that they would choose their own representatives. In consequence of this turmoil, and of some disturbances among the sailors, who had struck for higher wages, a royal proclamation for suppressing riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies was issued.

* It is curious, at the present day, to reflect on the heat and violence with which many members—the vast majority of both houses—pressed for the exclusion of strangers, and the non-publication of their debates. Lord Barrington, the secretary at war, said emphatically—"It has always been my opinion that strangers should not be allowed to come into this house to hear our debates." Mr. Seymour, on the contrary, said—"I think strangers are entitled to hear our debates." For these words Lord Strange called Mr. Seymour to order. Mr. George Grenville then boldly announced a very different principle, the adoption of which, a few years after, has perhaps contributed, as much as any other single cause, to purify parliament, and increase the political knowledge and influence of the people. Grenville said—"*I ever wished to have what is done here well known!*"—*Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons: edited by J. Wright, editor of the "Parliamentary History," &c. Part I.*

* They consisted of a detachment from the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards, commonly called the Scots regiment. If we are to believe Almon, Wilkes's publisher and biographer, who was inside the prison with Wilkes at the time, they pushed the people away from the places where they were standing in a rude manner and with very coarse language; and this provoked the people to throw stones and gravel.

† After the appearance of the magistrates the people, according to Almon, still hissed and hooted, and some of them threw stones, particularly a young man in a red waistcoat. His violent conduct provoked three of the soldiers, under the command of Ensign Alexander Murray, to quit the rank in which they were stationed, in order to take him or shoot him. The man fled and the soldiers pur-

scene of action, the riot had increased. With more precipitancy, certainly, than would be approved of at the present day, orders were given to the troops to fire upon the people; and at one volley six were killed, and fourteen or sixteen badly wounded.* The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Donald Maclean for shooting Allen; and charged his comrade, Donald Maclaury, and his commanding officer, Ensign Murray, with aiding and abetting. Maclean was given up and conveyed to prison, not without risk of being torn to pieces by the infuriated people. Ensign Alexander Murray had a warrant issued against him as an accessory; and Mr. Gillam, one of the Surrey magistrates, who had ordered the military to fire, was indicted for murder. But, on the other side, the new parliament, then sitting, voted very loyal addresses on the occasion, with assurances of their hearty concurrence in every measure that might enable his majesty to maintain the authority of the laws; and thanks were ostentatiously returned by Lord Barrington, the secretary-at-war, in the king's name, to the officers and men employed on this always odious service. If nothing more, the latter step was a political mistake, and a proceeding of singularly bad taste and bad feeling. It was thus considered, we believe, even in the army itself.† With the populace it added fuel to the fire; and the exploit for which his majesty had applauded the soldiery got and kept the name of the "Massacre of St. George's Fields." Exciting papers were stuck up in all parts of the metropolis —even on the walls of St. James's palace. At the same time riots and disturbances, unconnected with politics, but probably heightened by a spirit of imitation, broke out in the east end of the capital among coal-heavers, sailors, and watermen, who complained of low wages, and of frauds practised upon them by their employers. Stepney Fields became a scene of combat as well as St. George's Fields; and the civil force was found not sufficient to dissipate the combatants without calling in the military.

On the 6th of June Wilkes's case was heard in the court of King's Bench. As he had returned to his country and surrendered, the outlawry against him was reversed; but he was sentenced for the republication of the North Briton No. 45, to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and be imprisoned ten calendar months (he had already been imprisoned two months); and for publishing the Essay on Woman to pay a fine of 500*l.* and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the term of the former imprisonment: and that he should afterwards find security for good behaviour for seven years; himself in the sum of 1000*l.*, and two sureties in 500*l.* each.

For weeks and months Wilkes's business occupied the attention of court and cabinet to the exclusion of almost everything else. In July, Gillam, the Surrey magistrate, was put upon his trial for murder. He was defended by the attorney and solicitor-general, and acquitted by the jury. In August, Donald Maclean was tried and acquitted also. It could not be proved that he was one of the three that killed young Allen. After this acquittal he and his comrades ought at the very least to have been severely censured for their breach of discipline; but, instead of this, Maclean received from government the sum of thirty guineas, and his comrade, Donald Maclaury got ten guineas. It was at this moment, when the ministry was staggering and reeling under a greater weight of unpopularity than had been known for ages, that the Earl of Chatham chose to withdraw his name, as he had long done his person, from it. It has been shrewdly conjectured, that he had clung to office thus long, *only that he might find some striking and popular occasion for resignation.** Notwithstanding his former declamations against Wilkes personally, he certainly gave a pretty strong proof, just at this time, that he was not disposed to take part with the opponents of the popular idol or his friends. Cooke, who had been returned with Wilkes, chanced to die in August, and thereupon Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, the unsuccessful ministerial candidate for Middlesex at the late general election, again offered himself to the same constituency, and applied to Chatham for his assistance and countenance, which, he said, would greatly enlarge his prospect of success. But Chatham, who knew that he was opposed by Wilkes's bosom friend and zealous legal adviser, Serjeant Glynn—a man who had also other claims

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxxi.

sued. He took refuge in a cow-house belonging to a Mr. Allen, a stable-keeper in Blackman-street, in the Borough; and from thence he escaped. The soldiers entered the cow-house, and, seeing a young man in a red waistcoat, they immediately shot him. This was an unfortunate circumstance; for the person whom they shot was not the right object. This sacrifice to revenge was no party in the riot. In the rigour of military law and discipline the three soldiers deserved death for quitting their ranks without orders. It is said in the Political Life of Lord Barrington (by his brother, the late Bishop of Durham), that they were ordered by the magistrates to seize a rioter; but this order could only have been given through their officer, and the same work admits that Ensign Murray, hearing the report of a gun, ran up and inquired how it came to be fired without his orders, and that the soldier answered that his piece went off at half-cock without intention. As to the intention, several witnesses swore that the man had taken a deliberate aim.

* Ann. Reg.—Gent. Mag.—and other periodical publications of the day.

† Lord Barrington, in his letter of thanks, said not a word about the irregularity of the three men having quitted their ranks and fired in the stable without orders. Without any exception, he said that his majesty highly approved of the conduct both of the officers and men. "Employing the troops," wrote his lordship, "on so disagreeable a service always gives me pain; but the circumstances of the present times make it necessary." He assured them that they should have every possible protection in case of legal proceedings; "that in case any disagreeable circumstances should happen, in the execution of their duty, they should have every defence and protection that the law could authorise and the War-office could give." This letter was read to the men the very next day. A copy of it got into the orderly-book, and from thence into the newspapers.—*The Political Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington, by his brother Shute, Bishop of Durham.* The worthy bishop, with fraternal feeling, sees nothing wrong in all these proceedings. The following passage is entitled to consideration. "The least hesitation in the soldiery was an absolute surrender of the cities of London and Westminster into the hands of the mob. The sailors, to the amount of many thousands, had in a body petitioned parliament the day before for increase of pay. They still kept together, and forced their comrades from on board the trading ships in the river to join them. The glass-grinders, journeymen tailors, coalheavers, and others, also assembled in great numbers. No man knew whether they might not unite with the mob."—*Id.* The alarm, as usual in those days, was greater than necessary; but there can be no doubt that it was very generally felt. Still, however, the employment of force ought to have been accompanied with extreme caution; and that was wanting.

upon the popular favour—coldly told Sir William *that he constantly declined meddling in elections.*[a]

On the 5th of October we find the Duke of Grafton writing from Newmarket, not to the Earl, but to the Countess, of Chatham, and imploring to have the honour of seeing her ladyship for one quarter of an hour at any day or hour she should be pleased to command him to wait upon her at Hayes. In this note Grafton complained again of the great difficulties he lay under, and sighed "after a life much more pleasing to his own mind." The countess assured him in reply, that Lord Chatham could not be spoken to upon any business, and that she herself was unequal to judge of political matters. She said, however, that, if his grace persisted in his obliging intention, she should hope for the honour of his visit about noon on Sunday. The Duke of Grafton accordingly travelled to Hayes, and put this straightforward and important question:—"Does your ladyship think Lord Chatham will resign?" The countess replied, "My lord's health is very bad." Grafton then said that he had been struggling through immense difficulties solely in the hope of restoring the government into Lord Chatham's hands. Her ladyship said that she must confess, from the length and nature of her lord's illness, there was but small prospect of his ever being able to enter *much* into business. After this she intimated that Lord Chatham knew and highly disapproved of an intention entertained of dismissing Lord Shelburne, adding that he would never consent nor concur in that removal, as he entertained a great regard and friendship for Lord Shelburne, and thought his abilities made him necessary in the office he was in. This was on Sunday, the 9th of October, when Chatham knew that Shelburne's removal was a positive certainty, and connected with circumstances which touched the national pride and would inevitably augment the odium the ministry was labouring under; and it is also to be presumed that the loud roar, raised before this on the other side of the Atlantic by Charles Townshend's taxes, had reached as far as the quiet retreat at Hayes. On Wednesday, the 12th of October, three days after the Duke of Grafton's visit, Chatham, by letter, informed him that his health continued to render him "entirely useless to the king's service:" "therefore," he subjoins, "I beg your grace will have the goodness to lay me, with the utmost duty, at his majesty's feet, together with my humblest request that his majesty will be graciously pleased *to grant me his royal permission to resign the privy seal.*" In the same note he repeated his strong objection to the removal of Lord Shelburne. The Duke of Grafton hastened to represent that Chatham's retirement at this critical moment would be unfavourable to the king's service and unfair to himself. "Having myself," he said, "given way some time ago to your entreaties to me to remain in my present post, *when your health was at least as bad as it now is*, I have some right to claim from you a return of the same conduct, when I see, as your lordship was pleased then to say, that nothing could be so truly serviceable to his majesty's affairs. Allow me to recall this conversation and assurance from your lordship to your recollection, and on the ground of it to entreat your lordship not to deprive his majesty of that support, which even the hope of your recovery gives to his government." Grafton added, that he should postpone mentioning the resignation to the king. Chatham, on the 13th, repeated his request or command in still more positive terms. Grafton, thus obliged to speak to the king, wrote again on the 14th;—"The manner in which his majesty received the unwelcome news better proved to me than I can describe the sense his majesty has of the prejudice that this step of your lordship's will bring to his affairs. Though every representation of mine has not availed, yet I must flatter myself that the king, whose sincere wish for your lordship's return to conduct his affairs I have been a constant witness to, will be able to persuade, where, from this ground alone, he has so good a right." To this Chatham replied, by the hand of his countess, that he could not answer "the honour of his grace's letter, having already made an effort greatly beyond his strength, in renewing with his own hand his humblest supplication to the king." On the same day his majesty tried what he could himself do with this refractory patient, and wrote him a most earnest letter. "As you entered upon this employment," said the king, "in August, 1766, at my own requisition, I think I have a right *to insist* on your remaining in my service; for I with pleasure look forward to the time of your recovery, when I may have your assistance in resisting the torrent of factions this country so much labours under. This thought is the more frequent in my mind, as the lord chancellor and the Duke of Grafton take every opportunity to declare warmly to me their desire of seeing that: therefore, I again repeat it, you must not think of retiring, but of pursuing what may be most conducive to restore your health, and to my seeing you take a public share in my affairs." The answer the king got was in the great orator's very worst fustian. Affliction, submission, gratitude, veneration, despair figured through the page, but the end of all was, that the Earl of Chatham was not to be moved even by royal prayers, but insisted upon resigning. Embarrassments grew and multiplied: the Lord Chancellor Camden, who delivered the privy seal from Chatham into the king's hands, wished to resign also, but suffered himself to be overcome by his majesty's pressing intreaties, and by the assurance of the Duke of Grafton that he could not safely or honourably continue in office without him. "And thus," says Camden, in a very striking letter to Lady Chatham, "have I unwillingly, and with the utmost reluctance, consented to halt on, a while longer, with *this crippled administration; for so it now is, being deprived of the main prop that gave it support.* I must

[a] Chatham Correspondence.

proceed as I can, and find my own way, resolved still that Lord Chatham shall be my pole star, so long as I can discern how to steer by it." Chatham assured Camden that he found infinite satisfaction in his continuing to serve his majesty as chancellor; and said that it would have given him extreme pain if the king had been deprived of his valuable services. When Camden, by command, applied by letter to the Earl of Bristol to request him to accept the privy seal, his lordship enclosed the letter to Chatham declining an answer till he should have that great man's opinion. "I cannot think," said Lord Bristol, "of accepting the privy seal without your lordship's approbation, and I would forego that or any satisfaction to show my gratitude to you. Do you choose, my lord, that I should hold it till your health will permit you to resume the reins of government?" Chatham replied that, as his loss of health had disabled him from taking any share in public business, he trusted Lord Bristol would excuse him if, after having resigned the privy seal, he declined any way entering into arrangements of office. He begged, however, that his lordship would not think of holding the privy seal only for an interim.* Bristol then accepted the seal in the usual manner, or to hold it for himself as long as this strange ministry should hold together. On the 21st of October Lord Shelburne was forced to resign his seals of secretary of state, which were given to the Earl of Rochford. Shelburne was regretted as an honest andspirited minister. The alleged causes of his disgrace endeared him to the people. The old and worn-out republic of Genoa, after carrying on a war for many years to reduce the Corsicans to her obedience, gave up the contest in despair, and, for a sum of money and other considerations, made over her pretended right of sovereignty to Louis XV. The French fitted out an armament and proceeded to take possession of Corsica by force of arms, treating a free people who had never owed allegiance to France, and who maintained that they were not to be bought and sold as slaves, like revolted subjects and rebels. General Paoli, the chosen chief of the Corsicans, represented the cruelty of the case to all Europe, and applied in a more particular manner to the English, who, as islanders and freemen themselves, were supposed to be most likely to sympathise with them. The well-known James Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson, who had visited Corsica in the course of his travels, and had formed a warm friendship with Paoli, took a lively interest in the subject, and endeavoured in his intercourse with London society, and by means of his pen and the press, to animate others with the same feeling or passion. Boswell's pen was not worth much, or it was only good when reporting the sayings and apophthegms of his sturdy Mentor. Nevertheless, he contributed materially to excite the popular interest in favour of the Corsicans;* and the English people could never look with complacency upon any extension of the French dominions, either in the Mediterranean or anywhere else. The author's enthusiasm upon this subject, which amounted, for some years, to something very like a monomania, was raw and boyish in the extreme, yet this, perhaps, assisted the effect of his appeals with the young and inexperienced. More than a year before he published his book he wrote an hyperbolical letter to the Earl of Chatham, with whom he had had some previous conference on the subject of Corsica. Quoting from a letter he had received from General Paoli, he tells the great orator "that public fame exalted to the stars the talents of Signor Pitt, and that he (the Corsican general) was full of admiration and attachment for this Pericles of Great Britain." He recommends to his lordship's attention Mr. Dick, his majesty's consul at Leghorn, as a gentleman of great information and judgment as to everything that concerns the Mediterranean. "*He*," says Boswell, "will give your lordship all the light you can desire as to the advantages which Great Britain might derive from an alliance with Corsica, either in the way of trade, or for the conveniency of war." Our government had prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from holding any intercourse with the *insurgents* and *malcontents* of Corsica—for thus in diplomacy were termed those whom Boswell called patriots struggling for their liberties. "If," says he, "your lordship would only get us that proclamation annulled, it would be of great consequence. In the mean time Corsica seems to be particularly unlucky. The Swiss and the Dutch had powerful assistance in recovering their liberties; but the gallant islanders for whom I am concerned have now been in arms for the glorious cause *nine-and-thirty years*, and not a state in Europe has interposed in their behalf. Let me plead with your lordship for Corsica. . . . . Far be it from me to attempt pointing out any measures to be taken by the government of my country; but surely a great free nation may befriend a small one. Is Great Britain now afraid of France, or does she owe anything to Genoa?"† The subject was one fitted to touch the pride and captivate the imagination of the orator, and the war of extermination carrying on in the unhappy island seemed to call imperiously for the interference of humanity. It is said that Chatham felt warmly on the whole matter, and was disgusted with the coolness of his official colleagues. This coolness, however, did not extend to the Earl of Shelburne, who, on the contrary, was quite as warm as, and certainly more active than, the absent lord privy seal. Lord Rochford, our ambassador at Paris, in consequence of a direct authority from Lord Shelburne, addressed a spirited remonstrance to the French minister, the Duke de Choiseul. As France could scarcely have believed that we would

* Letters of the King, Grafton, Chatham, Camden, and Bristol: in Chatham Correspondence.]

* Boswell's "Account of Corsica, with the Journal of a Tour of that Island," was published in the spring of this year (1768).

† Chatham Correspondence.

plunge into a new war solely for the sake of the suffering Corsicans, we are inclined to think that this remonstrance would never have been treated with much respect. But Burke assigns an additional reason for the failure of the paper. "This remonstrance," he says, "the French minister treated with the contempt that was natural, as he was assured by the ambassador of his court to ours that these orders of Lord Shelburne were not supported by the rest of the administration. Lord Rochford, a man of spirit, could not endure this situation. The consequences were, however, curious. He returns from Paris and comes home full of anger. Lord Shelburne, who gave the orders, is obliged to give up the seals; Lord Rochford, who obeyed these orders, receives them. He goes, however, into another department of the same office, that he might not be obliged officially to acquiesce in one situation under what he had officially remonstrated against in another."* Thus Corsica was abandoned to France, who did not fully establish her supremacy till after several more years of blood; but Shelburne retired with the credit of having been anxious to erect Corsica into an independent island—an amiable impracticability. As to the great man who had been so long doing nothing, his resignation excited no more interest than that of a boroughreeve or a parish clerk. Even his admiring biographer finds himself obliged to make this humiliating confession:—"A greater contrast in the feelings of the cabinet and of the nation upon the present resignation of Lord Chatham to those which were evinced upon his dismission from office in 1757, and upon his retirement in 1761, can scarcely be imagined. His dismission in 1757 excited one common cry of enthusiastic admiration towards *himself*, and of indignation towards his political opponents. The attention, not only of Great Britain, but of the whole of Europe, was attracted by his resignation in 1761; and, although the voices of his countrymen were not so universally united in his favour as upon the former occasion, the event was considered as affecting the interests of nations in the four quarters of the globe. The resignation of *Lord Chatham* in 1768 was in fact nothing more than the official relinquishment of an appointment in which he had long ceased to exercise his authority or to exert his abilities. It was expected by the ministry—it was little regarded by the people of Great Britain—it was almost unknown to the continent of Europe."† It appears, however, that this resignation led to a reconciliation with his brother-in-law, Lord Temple. Mr. Calcraft was employed as a mediator; an interview took place at Hayes on the 25th of November; on the 26th we find Temple writing to his sister, Lady Chatham, and sending his "love to all at Hayes, great and small;" and a few days after it was publicly announced that, in consequence of repeated solicitations on the part of the Earl of Chatham, a most cordial, firm, and *perpetual* union had taken place with his *noble* brother-in-law, Earl Temple.*

In the mean time Wilkes's friend, Sergeant Glynn, had come off triumphantly in Middlesex; and Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, who had so vainly solicited the support of Chatham, had not only lost his election, but had found himself involved in some very serious electioneering troubles. Some of his chairmen killed a man of the name of Clarke in an affray. Such accidents were not very uncommon on such occasions, but as Sir William was a ministerial candidate, and as the popular animosity was at its height, terrible accusations and surmises were circulated. The baronet was represented as an employer of assassins; two of his chairmen were indicted for wilful murder; and when they were tried at the Old Bailey (in the month of January following) the jury returned a verdict of guilty against one of them, who answered to the name of *Mac Quirk*. The populace testified their joy by shouting and clapping their hands; but the government stepped in with a

Reverse of a MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF WILKES by his party. The Obverse contained his Portrait, which we have given in a preceding page.

respite, and, not long after, with a free pardon. The people were far too much excited to admit that violence had been used on both sides, and that, at most, the offence of the chairmen amounted to manslaughter.† Fresh evidence on oath was taken charging them with the death of other men who had been killed or mortally wounded on the same day, and fresh warrants were issued against the chairmen; but this time the jury acquitted them.

Parliament assembled on the 8th of November, the Duke of Grafton remaining reluctantly at the head of the unpopular ministry. The speech from the throne alluded to fresh troubles in America, and denounced in strong terms the *rebellious spirit* which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay. The address proposed by ministers was agreed to by the Lords without opposition;‡ but the Commons, far

* Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents.
† Thackeray, Life of Chatham.

* Political Register.

† It is quite certain that the popular party, as well as the court party, had their hired mobs at Brentford. The vile practice was universal, except in cases of rotten boroughs, or in places so absolutely under the control of some great man that no opposition could be offered.

‡ It contained the following strong expressions:—"We sincerely lament that *the arts of wicked and designing men* should have been

less complaisant, offered many objections, criticized the conduct of government in regard to America, to Corsica, and its continental policy generally: the Rockingham and Grenville parties joined in opposition; and the address was not carried there without extreme difficulty.* On the 14th, before the session was a week old, the Wilkes war was recommenced with more *acharnement* than ever. Sir Joseph Mawbey, one of the members for Southwark, presented a petition from the inmate of the King's Bench, reciting all the proceedings of government against him, and claiming redress and liberty as a member of parliament.† After much violent discussion, and several close divisions, it was agreed that the petitioner, Mr. Wilkes, should have liberty to attend the House to support the allegations of his petition, and should also be allowed the assistance of counsel. The day fixed for his appearance was the 2nd of December. But on the 23rd of November Sir William Meredith moved for an inquiry into the melancholy occurrences in St. George's Fields, and the conduct of the military on that occasion. Sir William was very severe against the noble secretary-at-war for writing the letter of thanks to the troops; and asked under what articles of public service ministers meant to put the sums given to, and expended for, Donald Maclean—"that unhappy man accused of murder." Lord Barrington said that he was not the least flurried—that his sleep would not be discomposed—that he had done nothing but what he was justified in—and the motion was negatived. Subsequently it was renewed by Mr. Burke, now acting as a leader of the Rockingham section of opposition in the Commons. The motion was, however, again negatived by a great majority. According to the account in the Parliamentary History, many members of the House were afraid of looking too closely into the subject at a moment of such great excitement, and voted rather from this consideration than from any conviction that the government and military had been blameless. "Many gentlemen," it is stated, "thought that, though in some instances some measures of government could not easily be defended, yet, in the present temper of the times, too minute an inquiry into the acts of government upon that occasion, or any public censure passed upon them, might serve too much to lower them in the public opinion, and to increase that licentiousness which was already too prevalent among the populace; on this principle many in opposition either remained neuter or fell in with administration." Before the 2nd of December arrived the House postponed the hearing of Wilkes's petition, and this postponement was repeated several times.*

A. D. 1769.—Wilkes and his counsel were yet unheard, when, on the 23rd of January, it was moved by Mr. Joseph Martin, one of the members for Gatton, "That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of publishing a seditious libel, is entitled to privilege of parliament." Lord North, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved, as an amendment, a sentence which very materially changed the aspect and animus of Martin's motion, and which was carried, after a hot debate, by a majority of 165 to 71—"That John Wilkes, Esq., although he is convicted of printing and publishing a *malignant, seditious, and scandalous libel*, and of printing and publishing *three obscene and impious libels*, and now stands committed to the King's Bench prison by virtue of two several judgments in the Court of King's Bench for the said offences, is entitled, by privilege of parliament, to be discharged from his imprisonment for the said offences." Martin complained of unfairness; but the main question was put in this altered shape, and was, as a matter of course, negatived at once. As, however, the motion as altered by ministers would still appear in the votes as *his* motion, Mr. Martin, not willing to incur the odium of patronizing malignity, sedition, obscenity, and im-

able to rekindle that *flame of sedition* in some of your majesty's colonies in North America, which, at the close of the late parliament, your majesty saw reason to hope was well nigh extinguished. We shall be ever ready to hear and redress any real grievances of your majesty's American subjects; but we should betray the trust reposed in us if we did not withstand every attempt to infringe or weaken *our just rights*; and we shall always consider it as one of our most important duties *to maintain entire and inviolate the supreme authority of the legislature of Great Britain over every part of the British empire.*"

* In seconding the address Mr. Stanley spoke of the "insolent treasonable libels with which the newspapers of Boston had been filled;" of the "open encouragement these libels met with;" and of "the unwarrantable combinations among American tradesmen to cut off the commerce between the colonies and the mother country." "A measure of this description," said he, "has frequently been resorted to by independent nations at war with each other, but not by a colony against the parent country. I contend, therefore, Sir, that men so *unsusceptible of all middle terms of accommodation will lowly for our correction*. What, Sir, will become of this insolent town of Boston, when we deprive the inhabitants of the power of sending out their rums and molasses to the coast of Africa? For they must be treated like aliens, as they have treated us upon this occasion." Lord Barrington was still more violent:—"He called the Americans traitors, worse than traitors against the crown—traitors against the legislature of this country! He said the use of troops was to bring rioters to justice!" This strong language expressed the sentiments of the court and of the ministerial majority. Lord North more calmly declared that he was against repealing the last act of parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America. "There has been," said he, "no proof of any real return of friendship on the part of the Americans. They will give you no credit for affection; no credit for an attention to their commercial interests. If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance; you may regulate in no instance. Punishment will not be extended beyond the really guilty; and, if rewards shall be found necessary, rewards will be given. But what we do we will do firmly; we shall go through our plan, now that we have brought it so near success." The principal speakers in opposition were Colonel Barré, Burke, Dowdeswell, Sir George Saville, Alderman Beckford, George Grenville, Sir Charles Saunders, and George Onslow. Barré said, "Sir, when we speak of America let us speak without anger. *The government have taxed the colonies.* Many reports came to them from the commissioners of the customs. May we not reasonably suspect that some of those reports were not quite fair? May not a little mob have been called a tumult, and a little insurrection a rebellion? It gives me concern to see that a disposition for war and for landing troops should have been exhibited by us. In being riotous, the colonies have only mimicked the mother-country."—*Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates.* The House sate till midnight. They did not divide upon an amendment which was proposed by Dowdeswell.

† On the 28th of November Wilkes had addressed a humble petition to the king's most excellent majesty, showing that he had stood forth in support of the constitutional rights of this kingdom; that the unfair methods employed to convict him had been palpable and manifest; that he had always been his majesty's loyal subject, zealously attached to his illustrious house, &c.; submitting the whole of his case to his majesty's consideration, and supplicating the royal clemency. This petition was presented in a regular manner to the king by Sir Joseph Mawbey at the levee; but no notice was ever taken of it.

* Notes of the several spirited debates which preceded these adjournments are given in Sir H. Cavendish's Debates. Burke spoke very eloquently on one occasion. He exclaimed—"*Our privilege has received a wound; it is our business not to make it a mortal one!*"

piety, now moved, "That, in entering in the votes of this day the proceedings of the House upon the said question, the original motion be stated, with the proceedings of the House in making the several amendments thereunto." Nothing could be more fair than this proposition; yet, to the disgrace of the House, it was resolved, by a majority of 96 to 52, that it should be rejected. On the 27th of January Wilkes's petition was at length taken into consideration. Lord North artfully moved that the petitioner's counsel should be confined to two specified points only. It is supposed that the object of this propostion was to divide the opposition and the supporters of the petition; and it certainly had that effect. "Wilkes's friends and most of Lord Rockingham's, together with the young patriots, were for taking in the whole (that is, the whole matter of the petition); Sir Joseph Mawbey (one of the members for Southwark), the person by whom the petition had been presented, taking the conduct and lead. Mr. Grenville thought with Lord North, and defended the limitation."* Colonel Barré, Sergeant Glynn, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Beckford, Alderman Sawbridge, Sir William Meredith, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Thomas Townshend, all spoke strenuously against Lord North's motion, which, however, was carried by a majority of 278 to 131.† Wilkes's petition was thus left to be discussed in the limited manner ministers prescribed.

On the 31st Wilkes appeared as a prisoner at the bar of the House. He objected that, as a member, he could not legally appear there without taking the oaths; but this objection was overruled. He afterwards took exception to the word blasphemous in describing his Essay on Woman; and after a debate the House agreed to expunge that word, and insert "*obscene* and *impious*" instead thereof.‡ The two points to which he was limited, and which he tried to make good, were, that Lord Mansfield had altered the record of his indictment the day before the trial in Westminster Hall; and that Mr. Carteret Webb, then solicitor to the Treasury, had bribed with the public money one Curry, a man in Wilkes's employment, to purloin the copy of the Essay on Woman—a work which had never been published, and of which only twelve copies had been privately printed. The charge against Lord Mansfield was merely that he had altered the word "purport" to "tenor;" a technical amendment which was justified by the common practice of the courts. On the 1st of February the House agreed without a division that the petitioner had not made good the two allegations upon which he had been heard, and that his petition was frivolous. On the 2nd Wilkes came in for some harder words. He had got possession of a letter addressed by Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, to the magistrates of Surrey, previous to the riots in St. George's Fields, and urging upon the bench the necessity of vigour and activity. Wilkes, while a prisoner in the Bench, had published this letter in the newspapers with some severe comments upon it, accusing Lord Weymouth and ministers of being the cause of the blood that had flowed on that occasion, and of nourishing a hellish project, deliberately planned against the lives and liberties of the people.* Weymouth had complained to the House of Lords of a breach of privilege; the printer had confessed that he received the letter and comments from Mr. Wilkes; a conference between the two Houses had been held; and Wilkes at the bar of the Commons had not only avowed himself the author, but also claimed the gratitude of his country for having exposed Weymouth's "bloody scroll." The Commons resolved, by a majority of 239 to 136, not that he was entitled to thanks, but that he had been guilty of the publication of "an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of his majesty's subjects to sedition, and to a total subversion of all good order and legal government." And on the following day, February the 3rd, it was moved by Lord Barrington—"That John Wilkes, Esq., a member of this House, who hath at the bar of this House certified himself to be the author and publisher of what this House has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the Court of King's Bench of having printed and published a seditious libel and three obscene and impious libels, and by the judgment of the said court has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months' imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this House." This was carried by a majority of 219 to 137, but the debate was long and vehement; the House did not rise till two o'clock in the morning, and several admired speeches were made against the motion for expulsion by Burke, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. George Grenville, the Earl of Chatham's friend, Mr. Beckford, his elder brother, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and others. General Conway retired without voting;† the Marquess of Granby

* *Letter to Lord Hardwicke, in Hardwicke Papers.*

† Lord North's argument for limiting the interference of the House to two points was, that on all others Wilkes might have recourse to the common courts of law. "He is now," said his lordship, "prosecuting in due course of law the secretary of state (Lord Halifax), and laying his damages at 20,000*l.*"—*Cavendish's Debates.*

‡ Thurlow, a swearing, blaspheming man, as any of his day, was very anxious to keep in the word blasphemous. "*It will be a disgrace to the House,*" he roared, "*if they do not think it blasphemy!*" To this Beckford replied—"Blasphemy is impiety, but impiety is not blasphemy; otherwise the learned gentleman and I should often be guilty of blasphemy! Law is a trade now-a-days. *He seems to hid very fair for the office of attorney-general!*" The Honourable Thomas Howard truly said, "From the beginning to the end of this unfortunate business there has been a series of mistakes—blunder after blunder!"—*Cavendish.* Blackstone, the author of the well-known Commentaries on the Laws of England, gave the weight of his opinion in favour of Lord Mansfield; and thought that Wilkes had certainly been guilty of "an impious libel, with intent to blaspheme the Almighty God." Sergeant Glynn, in replying to him, observed that Mr. Wilkes was not charged, was not convicted of blasphemy, and that the law knows no offence under that denomination. "If the general warrant," said he, "had not been issued, the modest ear would never have been offended with that book." Blackstone repeated that he thought the crime was direct blasphemy.—*Id.*

* The letter, and Wilkes's strictures on it, were published on the 10th of December, 1768, in the St. James's Chronicle, Henry Baldwin printer.

† Conway, who saw the propriety of more moderation on the part of government, or the impropriety of consuming so much time upon

voted with ministers; the solicitor-general and some others absented themselves. Earl Temple, in a letter to the Countess of Chatham, says, "The accumulated crimes of No. 45, the impious and obscene libel, and that against Lord Weymouth, are the foundation of this expulsion; so that in the debate every man dwelt upon the crime he most detested, and disapproved of the punishment for the rest. The various flowers of their eloquence composed a most delightful nosegay. Burke spoke admirably."* Burke, with equal humour and truth, called this the fifth act of the tragi-comedy acted by his majesty's servants for the *benefit* of Mr. Wilkes, and at the *expense* of the constitution. Wilkes, in fact, after indulging in many witticisms at the expense of his moral adversaries, said that he would stand again for Middlesex, and that he was quite sure no ministerial candidate would have a chance against him. The event justified his boast. At a meeting of freeholders he was proposed by James Townshend, Esq., member for West Looe, who was seconded by the member for Hithe, Alderman Sawbridge, brother to the well-known Catherine Macauley. His nomination was hailed with enthusiasm. A Mr. Dingley, a mercantile speculator of London—a man of many trades—who had intended to get himself proposed, took fright and retired without being named; and on the 16th of February, thirteen days after his expulsion, Wilkes was re-elected without opposition.† On the very next day Lord Strange moved in the Commons, "That John Wilkes, Esq., having been in this session of parliament expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament." Mr. Dowdeswell, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, spoke strongly against the doctrine thus attempted to be established, that a member once expelled is incapable of re-election to the same parliament, and ridiculed the notion of making Wilkes's morals a ground of expulsion. "If this," said he, "is to be your rule, where will you stop? You have turned one out for impiety and obscenity: when half a dozen members meet over their bottle is their discourse entirely free from obscenity, impiety, and abuse of government? Even in the cabinet, that pious reforming society!—why, were Mr. Wilkes to be adjudged there, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned!" This satire told the better as all the world was acquainted with the irregularities of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Sandwich, and other members of the administration; but the Commons, nevertheless, rejected an amendment proposed by Mr. Dowdeswell, by a majority of 228 to 102, and then adopted Lord Strange's motion by a majority of 235 to 89.* The prisoner in the King's Bench laughed, and said he would try again.

Great efforts were made in the city of London by the ministerial party, who were said to be assisted by money from the treasury; but Wilkes had not only the public press and the mob, but also many of the most considerable merchants on his side, which they thought the side of liberty. A meeting was called on the 8th of March, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, by Mr. Dingley, who was anxious to try his fortune at the hustings once more, and who now proposed a loyal address to his majesty, in contradiction of certain instructions which the city had prepared. But, though they had gone to a loyal tavern, they could not keep out the Wilkites, and the consequence was a scuffle, which is thus related by Earl Temple to the Chathams:—"The Dingleyans, apprehensive of being outvoted, had prepared an address, ready cut and dried; words ensued, and the hero of the meeting, Master Dingley, struck Wilkes's attorney, who knocked him down in return, and bade him go to the treasury for more money, as next term he should be put in the crown-office. Dingley was then deprived of the honour of presiding, and Vaughan, the merchant, put in the chair, who had taken the lead in the city instructions. The Dingley party retired from the field of battle, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address."† In a second attempt, made in another place, the Dingleyans were more successful; but the saturnalia continued and grew worse. On the 22nd of March, when they went to present their loyal address to the king, they were beset by a countless mob shouting "Wilkes and Liberty! Liberty and Wilkes for ever!" and pelting them with the contents of the kennels. Nor was this all; for some ingenious mischief-maker had procured an undertaker's hearse, and had partially covered it with paintings or daubs representing the death of young Allen in St. George's Fields, and the murder at Brentford by Sir William Proctor's chairmen; and this lugubrious vehicle, with its bloody decorations, was dragged slowly along at the head of the procession. As the mob became more excited they threw stones as well as dirt, and so terrified those who were going up with the address that many of them stopped their coaches and went off from the scene of danger by by-streets, or ran into some friendly house. The braver continued their slow drive still preceded

the patriot or demagogue, let fall these words—"*If Mr. Wilkes would take a different part, I believe his misfortunes would be much shortened.*"—*Cavendish.* Mr. George Grenville, under whose unlucky administration the war upon Wilkes had been begun, was now half for him and half against him His speech against the absolute expulsion was much admired, but there were passages in it which did not please the patriot, who took up his pen and wrote "A Letter to the Right Hon. George Grenville, occasioned by his publication of the Speech he made in the House of Commons, &c." Lord Temple earnestly requested him to suppress this letter to his brother; but Wilkes peremptorily refused. The consequence was, an end to that friendship which had subsisted between them above twenty years: they never spoke to each other afterwards—*Almon, Correspondence and Memoirs of Wilkes.*

* Chatham Corresp.

‡ Townshend declared on the hustings that he had never seen or spoken to Mr. Wilkes before his late expulsion; that he regarded his cause solely as the cause of the people, divested of every personal consideration or connexion; that he, for his part, would assert the right of freeholders to choose their own representatives, by going to give his vote for Mr. Wilkes, in case of future expulsions, as long as he should have a shilling left, or one leg to hop down to Brentford. Alderman Sawbridge concluded *his* hustings speech by quoting from Wilkes's printed address to the freeholders:—"If once the ministry shall be permitted to say whom the freeholders shall *not* choose, the next step will be to tell them whom they *shall* choose."—*Ann. Reg.*

* Cavendish. † Chatham Corresp.

by the hearse, which never halted till it came in front of the gates of St. James's Palace. There Lord Talbot rushed out and seized two of the mob, and the soldiers on duty seized fifteen more.* The hearse was then removed, and the loyal address was carried in amidst hisses and execrations. The seventeen men seized were carried to prison; but their sufferings were not great, as the grand jury for Middlesex refused to find bills of indictment against them.

In the mean while Wilkes had again been returned for Middlesex. The election took place on the 16th of March, at Brentford. Dingley attempted to get himself named, but he found the timidity of his party so epidemic that he had not one freeholder to attend him, and he could not get near the hustings.† On the following day the House of Commons again declared Wilkes's return to be null and void, and ordered a new writ. There was then sitting in the House, as member for Bossiney, a military officer who was bold enough to conceive that he might assist ministers in their dilemma and run the perilous chances of Brentford with a hope of success. This was Colonel Henry Lawes Luttrell, eldest son of the lately created Irish peer Lord Irnham,‡ a name odious in Ireland, and not as yet at all popular in England.§ He vacated his seat and offered himself for Middlesex. The House ordered the sheriffs to be attentive to the preservation of the peace, and to appoint a number of extra constables to be on duty at Brentford. Encouraged by this care, and by Colonel Luttrell's boldness, two other candidates, Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Roach, offered themselves at the hustings. Contrary to expectation, the election, on the 13th of April, passed off quietly; the result of the poll being, for Mr. Wilkes, 1143; for Colonel Luttrell, 296; for Mr. Whitaker, 5; and for Mr. Roach, 0. Illuminations from Northumberland House all through the city testified the popular triumph; but there was no riot or violence. The sheriffs returned Wilkes as duly elected. But on the very next day, the 14th of April, Mr. Onslow moved that the sheriffs of Middlesex should immediately attend the House with the poll. This was agreed to; but, as no previous notice had been given to the sheriffs, those functionaries kept the House waiting a very long time, during which the *members* are stated to have got into "confusion *and riot*." At last the sheriffs appeared and presented the poll. But it was now considered that the hour was too late, or the House too much disordered, to enter upon the debate; and a motion was made by the ministry to adjourn to next day, Saturday—a day on which the House never transacted business. The opposition opposed this adjournment to Saturday as contrary to the custom of parliament; and represented that such a hurrying on of this particular business would seem irregular and unfair, and inflame rather than quiet the minds of the people. Ministers however persisted, and carried their point by a majority of 207 to 115.*

On Saturday, the 15th of April, it was moved by Mr. Onslow, "That Henry Lawes Luttrell, Esq., *ought to have been* returned a knight of the shire to serve in this present parliament for the county of Middlesex." In the animated debate which followed, Mr. George Grenville distinguished himself on the opposition side, and the whole of the Grenville or Temple interest, together with that of the Chatham party, was exerted for Wilkes, or against the return of Luttrell. But upon a division, which did not take place till three o'clock on *Sunday morning*, ministers carried their point by a majority of 197 to 143. The freeholders of Middlesex, keeping in view the poll-books alone, exclaimed against the iniquity of substituting Luttrell with his 296 votes, for Wilkes with his 1143; and they joined in a petition to the king, in which they implored his majesty to dissolve the present parliament. It appears, however, that this petition was set aside for another to the Commons, begging them to rescind their motion about Colonel Luttrell and to admit Mr. Wilkes to his seat. Counsel was heard upon such a petition on the 8th of May; but, after the question had been debated, Luttrell was confirmed in his seat by a majority of 221 to 152. In reporting the debate to the Countess of Chatham, Lord Temple, who seems never to have been absent from the House of Commons, and to have exerted every nerve for Wilkes against *king* and ministers, says,—"Yesterday turned out again a most glorious day; not the shadow of an argument in favour of the disqualification, by precedent or otherwise. Wedderburn made a most excellent speech with us. It has cost him his seat in parliament; which he has this day vacated, in consequence of Sir Lawrence Dundas's reproaches and desire, from what I think too generous a delicacy. The numbers were 221 to 152; the greatest minority, I believe, ever known the last day of a session. Seventy of the members have this day dined together at the Thatched-house, consisting of Rockinghams, Grenvilles, &c.; this from only the short notice of yesterday. Things tend apace to coalition

* Talbot, the same noble lord who had fought John Wilkes by moonlight, got his staff of lord steward broke in the scuffle.

† Dingley's own letter.

‡ Afterwards Viscount and Earl of Carhampton (in the Irish peerage). The readers of Junius will recollect a remarkable note relating to this family, attached to the 67th Letter.

§ The colonel had been very intemperate *against* the *patriot* in the House of Commons, and had blundered through several strange speeches on the questions of Wilkes's petition, expulsion, &c. In the debate on the 23rd of January he said, "Certain great men, who assume to be the heads of faction, have added fuel to this fire, only to get plunder out of it. . . . The great mover and promoter of the sedition of these times is Wilkes, that infamous disturber, of whose flagrant actions I will give the House a short recital. He *first* created animosity between the English and the Scots. Pursuing this infernal plan, he insulted *his friends* and was then expelled this House. He has been guilty of ridiculing the religion of his country, and blaspheming his God. . . . Sir, this man is covered with infamous crimes."—Here Sir George Saville called to order. But Luttrell would not be stopped, but went on to speak about what he called Wilkes's "triumphant entry into prison." Here Sir Joseph Mawbey called to order. But Luttrell went on—"This man, from his infernal practices"—here Mr. Hotham rose to order; and at last the colonel sate down, expressing a hope that there was "a numerous body of true patriots ready to punish Wilkes for his iniquities." It was on this occasion that Mr. Frederick Montague said, 'Wilkes at least had not joined hypocrisy to impiety.'—*Cavendish's Debates.*

* Parl. Hist.—Letter from Earl Temple to the Countess of Chatham.

amongst us"* Several days before this, Temple had announced to the same willing listeners at Hayes that the ministry were altogether by the ears, and that some change was resolved upon. Nothing indeed seemed wanting but a few shafts from the bow of the *magnus Apollo;* the Earl of Chatham was reported better almost from the very moment when he got rid of the privy seal, and he was now receiving the congratulations of opposition on his rapidly advancing convalescence.

This session committees had been appointed by both Houses to examine and report upon papers relating to American affairs, and submitted to them by the crown. The opposition had pressed for the production of many other papers, including all letters patent, and copies of all orders and instruction given to any officers civil or military in those colonies; but this was negatived by ministers and the majority. A petition from the people of Boston, the centre of trouble, was contemptuously rejected, and measures of rigour were urged by majorities in both Houses. The Lords, alleging that both the people and the legislature of Massachusetts Bay had been guilty of various illegal and treasonable acts, and that there was no probability of these crimes being properly punished in the country by native courts and juries, recommended, in an address to the king, that the criminals should be brought over to England and tried by a special commission, according to a statute of the 35th of Henry VIII., a most unlucky name to introduce at such a time, and in such a cause! It was moved in the Commons that they should concur with their Lordships. Mr. George Grenville opposed the motion, and caused the government some perplexity by contradicting their statement of the occurrences at Boston. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning. This time at least there was no want of warning voices. Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Pennant, member for Liverpool, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. George Grenville, Alderman Beckford, Colonel Barré, Governor Johnston, and Governor Pownall, all spoke vehemently against the address and the coercive plan of the House of Lords. Mr. Dowdeswell said—"The Lords have sent us resolutions insufficient and unfit to remedy the disorders which prevail in our colonies. Let us go upon propositions of our own, and lay aside those of the Lords. . . . . They recommend his majesty to carry into execution the provisions of the statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. for regulating the trial of treasons, a measure which would be most cruel to the Americans, and most injurious to ourselves." He condemned the secretary of state for directing the governors in America to dissolve the legislatures of the provinces. "If," said he, "a secretary of state is to take upon himself the risk of dissolving legislatures, he ought at least to do it with the advice and approbation of parliament. I observe both caution and firmness on the part of the American assemblies; and I am unwilling to give the approbation of this house to the conduct of the noble secretary, which, I think, has been rash and inconsiderate. . . . . The statute of Henry VIII. cannot be applied to the Americans. If an American is tried in America, he has kinsmen, and friends, and neighbours around him; he is tried by a jury of his countrymen. But what, sir, is the case if you bring him over to this country? You separate him from his relations, from his native place, and from his witnesses. In what manner are you to proceed against him? Will you put him upon his trial when he tells you he has not his witnesses at hand, or will you put off his trial from time to time? In the one case, the law will be avoided; in the other, he will have an unfair trial. Are his witnesses to be brought from America? When is he to know the charge against him? How is he to be indicted? Suppose he finds a witness still wanting; is he to go to be tried, at the distance of three thousand miles from his home, and with the melancholy reflection that, had the court allowed him to bring that witness, his innocence might have been established? The condition of the man is deplorable. What, sir, are we going to do? . . . . If you had taken up the business in your own house, you would not have come to such resolutions. The lords have none of their brother-peers in America; the lords may overlook the interests of the inhabitants of that country; their attention has not been particularly directed towards it; they think only of their dignity; but it behoves us, a British House of Commons, seriously to consider whether we can justify to ourselves the putting men upon their trial in the manner now proposed, and which cannot be justified at the bar of justice or of reason." Mr. Cornwall said that his objection to the remedy proposed was this—that, though the offences of the Americans might deserve punishment, it was not wise to treat them with rigour, and drive things to extremities; and he concluded by saying—"Let us not put this power into the hands of angry men! Let not parliament go into this odious work." Burke characterised all the preceding measures of government as rash, raw, indigested measures, which had inflamed America from one end of the country to the other. He said the remedy now proposed was not likely to appease, but to exasperate; that they were firing a cannon upon the Americans which would re-act upon themselves. "At the desire of an exasperated governor," he exclaimed, "we are called upon to agree to an address, advising the king to put in force against the Americans the act of Henry VIII. And why? Because you cannot trust the juries of that country. Sir, that word must convey horror to every feeling mind. If you have not a party among two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the colonies for ever. If the people are uniform, and steady, and united, you never can punish them." Mr. George Grenville, in a long speech, said—"Why have the lords named this act of Henry VIII.—an act which has a very odd

* Chatham's Corresp.

meaning?—an act 'concerning the trials of treasons committed out of his majesty's dominions.' Will not the Americans say—We then are out of his majesty's dominions? In the present instance, this is a most futile provision, one that cannot be acted upon, and upon which ministers do not intend to act. Do not let us make use of big words, and then suffer ourselves to be laughed at, like ancient Pistol in the play." Beckford, in his usual warm way, exclaimed—"There seems as if there was a regular plan of ruling by a military force, both here and in America!" Governor Pownall displayed his perfect acquaintance with the customs, character, disposition, and charters of the colonists, as well as with the laws and usages that regulated their houses of assembly; and he accused the ministers of a total ignorance of these matters. He obliged Lord North to confess one mistake in the proposed address. Governor Johnstone said that the Lords' resolutions were untrue in point of fact, improper in point of language, and inexpedient in point of time. Yet, upon a division, it was carried by a majority of 155 against 89 that the House concurred with the Lords in the resolutions and address.*

This was on the 26th of January. On the 8th of February, during a short interval allowed by Wilkes's transcendant affair, the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. The debate was most animated; and this time ministers were still more fully warned of the danger of driving matters to extremities. Mr. Rose Fuller, member for Rye, said he would not charge the administration with what they had done, for that would throw them upon their defence; and he had frequently seen a whole debate so turn upon attack and defence, that the subject-matter at last slipped through with scarcely any notice being taken of it. "I have no objection," said he, "to the first part of the address, but a strong one to the proposed special commission for inquiring into cases of treason in America. Whoever may have been the adviser of it, I will call it the harshest measure that ever was proposed to parliament. As the *corpus delicti* is not found, it will be supposed in America that we wish treason had actually been committed; the Americans will conceive that they come within the reach of it, and will imagine that they have no other method of saving themselves but by going still further, and bringing the question to the point of arms." He went on to show how much we should be exposed in Europe if we were obliged to employ the larger part of our forces in a war with our colonies. "If," said he, "you had been at peace or in good fellowship with those colonies, I do not believe that the cession of Corsica to France would have taken place. A new war in Europe will now, in all probability, become general; and this, I believe, would not have been the case but for your American disputes. . . . . I earnestly implore this house to take further time for consideration. . . . . I once more implore the ministry not to drive us into this address. . . . . As for the money, all that sum might be collected in the city of London, at less than half the expense." Alderman Beckford objected strongly to the statute of Henry VIII., and told ministers to read the charters of the colonies, which rendered the enforcing that statute impossible or illegal. "I acknowledge," said he, "the supremacy of the mother country, but I say that, in practice, you have no right to tax the colonies. . . . . This system of taxation has not produced you a single shilling—the money is all eaten up by the number of officers employed to collect it." Alderman Trecothick declared that one of the acts in question was of the most impolitic description, striking at the very roots of British manufactures, and cutting off our supplies of the raw material of several of them. "I am well founded," said he, "in asserting that there are no rational prospects of advantage from our colonies but such as may be derived through the medium of commerce; nor am I discouraged in rising up as a merchant, by the contumacious name given to me of an interested trader. Sir, I glory in the name, because my interest is bound up in the interest of my country. I know no class of men more useful than the class whose profits are derived from the importation of raw materials for our manufactures. . . . . Upon this important occasion, sir, I must a little trespass upon the maxim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. A minister (Mr. Charles Townshend), whose memory for many of his excellent qualities I must respect, finding himself warm in the sunshine of majesty, wantonly threw out that he would tax America; that he was pledged to do it. I knew his difficulties, and conversed with him upon them. The merchants remonstrated against the measure, as likely to involve America in disputes with this country. But America was to be taxed at the expense of the commerce of Great Britain, as well as of the colonies." The alderman censured severely the conduct of the new commissioners who had been sent out to enforce the tax act, and who had discharged all the old revenue officers of the crown—good men, approved of there, and beloved here; and he concluded with saying that the Americans had been mortified, chastised, and deprived of their assemblies, and that now it was time to stop. "I think," said he, "we stand upon the best ground for relaxing towards the colonies that ever we shall stand upon; and I hope we shall be wise enough to get back again to our former good feeling." Mr. Thomas Townshend, junior, defended the conduct of his deceased relative. He said, "He was at that time chancellor of the exchequer. It was not the opinion solely of one man, but of many, that some plan of taxation ought to be adopted; and that opinion had so pervaded this nation at large, that it was absolutely necessary to do something. . . . . He was anxious to impose taxes that would be acceptable to the Americans; but in these hopes he was misled by the Americans themselves, who said to him, take the tax, and let

* Cavendish's Debates.

it but bear the appearance of port duties, and it will not be objected to." But having said this much to defend the memory of Charles Townshend, he condemned the ministerial address, and denounced the application of Henry VIII.'s statute to the colonies. Alderman Trecothick stood up again in order to clear himself from any imputation of malevolence towards the deceased chancellor of the exchequer. "In the pursuit of truth," said he, "I was under the necessity of mentioning the late right hon. gentleman's name. I know he had remonstrances made to him against the measure by British merchants, and was told what the consequences of it would certainly be. With regard to the other part, I had rather whisper it in the honourable gentleman's ear than tell it to the house."* It appears that, during the greater part of this most important debate, the members in opposition were left to throw away their warnings upon a very thin and inattentive house. When Alderman Trecothick sat down, Mr. Seymour remarked—"The house was very thin a short time ago, but, by a little manœuvre, it is now fuller. For five or six days together we had debates in full houses about a single individual (John Wilkes); but, when I look round and see the empty benches upon this important question, I am shocked. When gentlemen come down to give their votes, one would suppose they would wish to hear what can be said on both sides of the question." He observed that the gentlemen of the long robe had been unusually silent, giving the house no opinion of their own as lawyers, but merely interpreting the opinions of ministers. This seems to have had the effect of rousing the solicitor-general (*Dunning*), who, however, said a very few words to show that, as the statute of Henry VIII. was applicable to Ireland, so it was applicable to America; that the intention of the act had been greatly mistaken; and that the measure was necessary, and therefore proper. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Dyson spoke faintly on the same side. Sir William Meredith repeated that the statute was the barbarous work of a barbarous sovereign. "If I were an American," said he, "rather than have the act of Henry VIII. applied to me, I would undergo any degree of suffering. It is giving the Americans a horrid impression of the government of this country, to see them raking into acts of arbitrary times. Lord Bacon says, *that to ramble back into antiquity is the same as to innovate.*" General Conway admitted the importance and the difficulty of the case, but said something must be done; and that no gentleman had substituted any other remedy in the place of the measures proposed by ministers. He then maintained, as many others had done, that there was a wide difference between internal taxes and duties laid upon certain articles, which he called regulations of trade. "The Americans," he continued, "have submitted to thirty acts of parliament; yet the language has been, that they ought not to be taxed by any but themselves." But the longest and in every way most remarkable speech delivered during the night was one from Governor Pownall, who treated the American question in point of law, in relation to commerce, in a military view, and in all its bearings. He had once been governor at Boston himself, and he had the reputation of knowing more about the Bostonians and the colonists in general than any man in the House, so that every word from him was entitled to respect and attention. He reminded them that the crown, in the 8th year of William III., gave its consent to an act of the province of Massachusetts Bay, for regulating trials for high treason within that province according to the act of the 7th of King William; and he held that the crown and parliament could not now, consistently or with justice, issue a commission to bring any delinquent out of the province to try him here in England upon the act of Henry VIII. As to the taxes and duties, he said, —"Where the whole spirit and bent of a people, who have the powers of government within themselves, is fixed and determined against a tax, experience and common sense will convince you that no civil power, no civil coercion, will ever assess or collect it. It will be found also in the trial a fact that no military force can do this: it never did, so long as the forms only of government remained: it cannot assess or collect: it may raise a contribution by military execution; but that is not government, it is war." He, however, admitted the right of external taxation, and added that the mother country had uninterruptedly and invariably laid and imposed external taxes by port duties—duties which the people never opposed, never considered as a grievance, never objected to or petitioned against, until government thought of levying internal taxes. "Within the last four or five years, it was thought advisable to lay internal taxes on the people of the colonies. The questions which this measure and the repeal of it raised and brought into discussion, and the manner in which this question was most unaccountably agitated,—by arguing from precedents of external taxes to the justice and propriety of internal taxes, by saying that there was no difference,—has taught the colonies to retort the reverse of the proposition, by arguing from internal to external. In this argument they have adopted your own proposition, and by your help have reasoned themselves into an opposition to all external taxes, which they had hitherto submitted to for a century and a half." He quoted the charters of Massachusetts Bay, of Virginia, of Maryland, which were all decisive against internal taxation, and which all recognised the right of the mother country to lay duties and customs according to the law of merchants. He called to the recollection of the house the history of the pilgrim fathers, and all the hardships the first British settlers in America had encountered

* It has been said that the secret which Trecothick could have whispered was, that, when Mr. Charles Townshend's project of taxation was in agitation, the English merchants offered to pay the taxes, or an equivalent for them, rather than run the risk of provoking the Americans, and losing their trade.

and cheerfully borne, in order to avoid religious persecution and civil slavery in the mother country. "But now," said he, "that spirit, equally strong and equally inflamed, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make: the Americans have not a country to leave, but a country to defend; they have not friends and relations to leave and forsake, but friends and relations to unite with and stand by, in one common union. Gentlemen high in office have been told this, but they will not believe it. The house, if they will not believe it, have been warned of it. The only sacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies and a few luxuries." Yet, upon a division, Mr. Rose Fuller's motion to have the address recommitted was negatived by a majority of 169 against 65.*

On the 14th of March a petition or remonstrance was offered from the people of New York, denying the right of parliament to tax them in any way. It was carried on the motion of Lord North that such a paper should not be received. Colonel Barré reminded the House that he had predicted all that would happen on passing the stamp act, and he said that he now could prophesy other and inevitable evils: and, speaking boldly out, he told ministers that, if they persevered in their present course, the whole continent of North America would rise in arms, and those colonies, perhaps, be lost to England for ever. Later in the session Governor Pownall moved in a long speech that the revenue acts affecting America should be repealed forthwith. "Every person," it is said, "seemed to agree with his motion; but the ministry complaining that the late time of the session would not allow a matter of so much consequence to be properly agitated, *as they were not prepared for it*, a motion was made to put it off till next session."†

Early in the year it was announced in a message from the king, that, in consequence of a deficiency in some branches of the revenue appropriated to the civil list, he had been obliged to contract debts amounting to 513,511*l*., which his majesty trusted the House would enable him to discharge. The opposition moved for papers to explain the alleged deficiency. Lord North promised the papers, but hoped they would vote the money first, as the papers could not be prepared immediately. This proposition was combated for two or three days, but in the end the minister succeeded, and the money was voted. The charter of the East India Company was prolonged for the further term of five years on conditions similar to those in the last agreement. The company was to continue to pay to government 400,000*l*. a-year, to export a certain quantity of British manufactures, &c., but it was now allowed to increase its dividend up to twelve and a half per cent., provided it did not in any one year put on more than one per cent.: if it found any decrease of dividend necessary, the sum payable to government was to be reduced proportionately, and if the dividend fell to six per cent. such payment to government was to cease altogether.

The king went down to prorogue parliament on the 9th of May, which was the day after the last vehement debate and division on Wilkes's election. The mob grossly insulted him as he passed from the palace to the House of Lords. In his speech he said it gave him great concern to be obliged to recommend to them with more than ordinary earnestness, that they would all, in their several counties, exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace and good order.

The bargain with the East India Company had scarcely been renewed when very sinister intelligence arrived from Hindostan. Hyder Ally had reduced the company, after a most expensive war, to sue for what was considered a dishonourable and disadvantageous peace; for a moment our dominion in the East seemed in jeopardy, great alarms prevailed in England, and India stock fell rapidly. All these Indian events, which form a history in themselves, will be narrated in a continuous manner hereafter. For the present, for the sake of clearness, and to avoid mixing two great and most important narratives, we confine ourselves to the particulars of the American troubles.

The reader has seen how little the Americans were satisfied with the declaratory bill which accompanied the repeal of the stamp act. The discontents were increased by the endeavours of government to enforce what was styled the mutiny act, but what was more properly an act for quartering and better providing for the troops at the expense of the colonies. It was an act carried through in a hurry at the fag end of a session, and yet blindly persevered in. Lord Shelburne thus described it in 1767:—"It was first suggested by the military, and intended to give a power of billeting on private houses, as was done in the war. It was altered by the merchants and agents, who substituted empty houses, provincial barracks, and barns, in their room, undertaking that the assembly should supply them with the additional necessaries: and it passed, I believe, without that superintendence or attentive examination on the part of government, which is so wanting in all cases where necessity requires something different from the general principles of the constitution. I am told that it was carried through by Mr. Ellis without the entire conviction or cordial support of Mr. Grenville, who made it a separate bill, lest it might embarrass the general mutiny act."* In depriving the assembly of New York of its legislative faculties, for opposing this act, ministers threw fresh materials into the black cauldron; and then came Charles Townshend's taxes to make it boil over; and then again, as fuel to keep up the fire beneath it, there arrived at Boston the newly formed American board of commissioners to enforce the payment of the new duties and to put an end to all smuggling. These commissioners could not possibly have been sent to a worse place

* Cavendish's Debates. † Parl. Hist. * Letter to the Earl of Chatham, in Chatham Corresp.

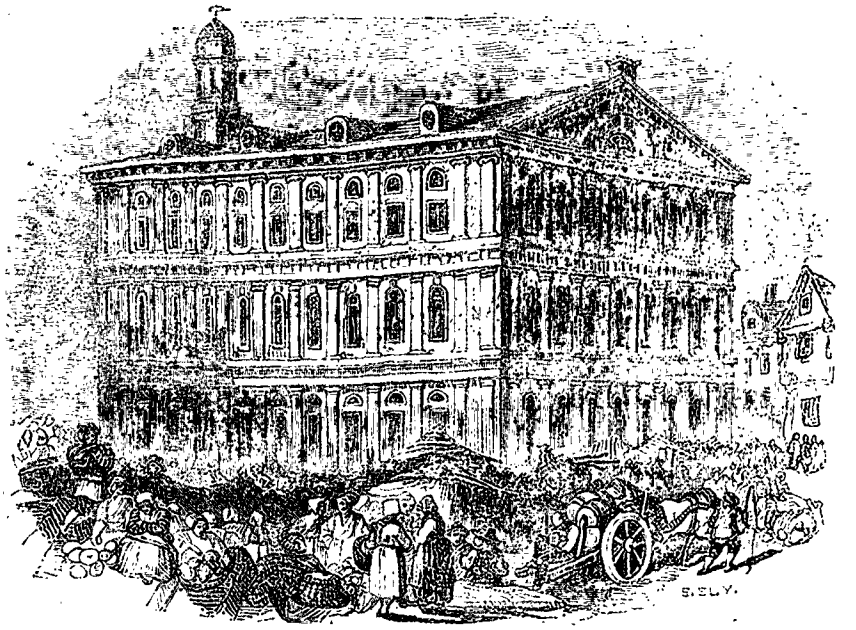
than Boston. New York, for many reasons, was preferable; but whenever there was a choice to make the cabinet committed a blunder. The colonists read in the preamble to Charles Townshend's act that the duties were laid "for the better support of government and the administration of the colonies;" and they detected a clause in the bill which seemed to enable the king, by sign manual, to establish a general civil list in every province in North America, with salaries, pensions, &c. &c.* They instantly declared that all this was unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights; and they insisted that the establishment of any civil list in America independent of the assemblies was altogether illegal. On the 28th of October, 1767, a few gentlemen met at a private club in Boston, the great centre of discontent and pivot of resistance, and arranged plans for making real and effectual the non-importation agreements which had been before suggested. They drew up a bond or subscription paper, whereby the parties signing engaged to encourage the use and consumption of native manufactures only, and to cease importing, buying, or selling anything from Great Britain except a few named indispensable articles; and they appointed a committee to obtain subscriptions to this agreement. One Malcolm, a daring smuggler, who some months before this had fought the custom-house officers sword in hand, and landed sixty pipes of Madeira wine without paying duty, became the most active agent in promoting the non-importation scheme; and he and some of his followers did not hesitate to threaten the persons and houses of such as refused to sign the agreement. The merchants in New York and Philadelphia, however, declined joining in the measure; and the Bostonians for the present gave it up. In the mean time various individuals took up the pen and employed the press to demonstrate the iniquity of the taxing acts, and the little that the American people had to expect from a corrupt and subservient British parliament. The foremost of these writers was Mr. John Dickinson, whose "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies" made a deep and lasting impression. Dickinson, however, recommended his countrymen still to have recourse to petitions to the crown and parliament, and to strong instructions to their agents in England, which, in his opinion, would have the same effect now as they had had at the time of the stamp act. Other writers suggested more violent measures, but not one of them ventured to hint at the disseverance of the colonies from the mother-country. On the 15th of February, 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies inviting them to combine in taking measures to defeat the obnoxious act. The speaker of the New Hampshire assembly immediately replied, by order of his House, that the sentiments contained in the circular letter were highly approved of, but that, as the time of that House's existence was near expiring, they could not engage for their successors. But other colonies readily adopted the sentiments and the plan contained in the letter, and passed votes of thanks to the authors of it. In the month of April Lord Hillsborough instructed Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, to require the House of Representatives, in the king's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and to declare their disapprobation of that rash and hasty proceeding. The House refused compliance, and sent this answer to the governor:—"If the votes of this House are to be controlled by the direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you that this House have voted *not to rescind*, and that on a division on the question there were ninety-two nays, and seventeen yeas." The very next day Governor Bernard, in pursuance of Lord Hillsborough's positive instructions, dissolved the assembly. By this time associations and committees were formed in most of the provinces. In the month of June the sloop Liberty arrived at Boston with another cargo of choice Madeira. The commissioners sent an excise-officer on board, but the skipper and his crew confined the poor man below deck and smuggled the wine on shore without entering at the custom-house or any other formula. The officer was then liberated and threatened with destruction if he noticed what had been done; and the following morning the skipper of the sloop entered at the custom-house four or five pipes, swearing that that was all his cargo. But the commissioners, aware of the truth, ordered a comptroller to seize the sloop and clap the king's broad arrow upon her. As a crowd assembled on the wharfs the comptroller made signals to the Romney man-of-war, which was lying at anchor off Boston, and the captain manned his boats and sent them to assist the excise. Malcolm, the bold smuggler we have already mentioned, who had been actively engaged in running the Madeira the day before, was now at the head of a mob of boys and negroes, who attempted to prevent the seizure of the sloop, and pelted the excisemen and the sailors with stones and dirt; but the man-of-war's boats presently cut the sloop from her moorings and carried her under the guns of the Romney. The mob on shore continued their riot, beating and nearly killing several of the revenue officers. The commissioners applied to the governor for protection, but the governor told them he had no troops, no force of any kind, and thereupon they fled on board the Romney. The capture of the sloop Liberty was made on a Friday; Saturday was a busy day, and Sunday was kept very strictly by the New Englanders; but on Monday an immense mob gathered in the streets of Boston; and in the afternoon of that day placards were stuck up to call a meeting of "The Sons of Liberty"* on Tuesday, at ten o'clock. At this meeting they

* Dr. Gordon, Hist. American Revolution.

* The Americans adopted this name out of a speech delivered by Colonel Barré in the House of Commons, as early as the year 1765.

appointed a committee to wait upon the governor to inquire why the sloop had been seized in so arbitrary a manner, which they declared to be an affront offered to the town of Boston. They pretended that she might have been left with perfect safety at the wharf. The magnates of the town affected to disapprove of a riot which not a few of them were suspected of having promoted; but they took care to mention in extenuation the extraordinary circumstances of the said seizure, and the violence and unprecedentedness of that procedure. They offered a reward for the discovery of the ringleaders, and a few vagabonds were pointed out; but Malcolm, the smuggler, and others of that stamp, sate upon the grand jury and quashed all prosecution. It was this fact which seems to have persuaded the ministry at home that offences in America would not be punished by American juries, and which seems to have recommended to their attention the statute of Henry VIII. The commissioners, who had left the Romney man-of-war to take up their quarters in Castle William, now applied to General Gage, Colonel Dalrymple, and Commodore Hood for troops to support them in their office. Previously, however, to this application, and even a month or six weeks before the news of these Boston riots could have reached London, ministers had resolved to employ force, and Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, had told General Gage that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should forthwith send from Halifax one regiment or more to Boston, to be quartered in that town, to assist the civil magistrates and the officers of revenue. This letter was dated on the 8th of June; and on the 11th his lordship informed Governor Bernard that his majesty had directed one regiment at least to be stationed in Boston, and had ordered a frigate, two sloops, and two armed cutters to repair to and remain in the harbour of Boston, in order to support and assist the officers of the customs. Fresh appeals were made by those who had put themselves in the van of the movement to the hopes, fears, and strongest passions of the American people; and these addresses usually concluded with the significant truism—"United we conquer, divided we die." They called upon all the colonists to resist to the utmost the mutiny act, which granted power to every officer, upon obtaining a warrant from any justice, to break into any house by day or by night in search of deserters. They represented that, if the colonists would only cordially agree as to the non-importation, multitudes in Great Britain who lived and thrived by their trade would be reduced to want, and would then, in their desperation, force from parliament the repeal of the acts. In the month of August the merchants and traders of Boston agreed upon a new subscription paper to this effect:—"We will not send for or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. We will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandize from Great Britain, &c., from the 1st of January, 1769, to the 1st of January, 1770, except salt, coals, fish-hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards and card-wire. We will not purchase of any factor or others any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770. We will not import, on our own account or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import from any other colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, paper, glass, or other goods, commonly imported from Great Britain. We will not, from and after the 1st of January, 1769, import into this province any tea, paper, glass, or painters' colours, until the act imposing duties on those articles shall be absolutely repealed." Although this paper was generally subscribed, several respectable merchants refused their signatures. In the course of the same month the merchants of Connecticut and New York made similar agreements, and in the beginning of September the merchants of Salem did the same. It appears that it was not till the beginning of September that the people of Boston became fully aware of the intention of government to send troops. On the 12th of that month a meeting was called and a committee appointed to make inquiries of the governor, and to pray him at the same time to convene a general assembly. Governor Bernard said that he had intelligence, of a private nature, that a military force was coming; and that, as to the calling of another assembly, it was a measure not to be complied with till he had received the commands of his majesty. It was then resolved, "That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in their royal charter." The inhabitants further agreed that a suitable number of persons should now be chosen to act for them as a committee in convention, and to consult and to advise with such as might be sent to join them from the other towns of the province. They fixed a convention to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the 22nd of September; and before breaking up they voted, "That, as there is an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants who are not provided be requested to furnish themselves forthwith with arms." This was pretty plain! The appproaching war with France was nothing but an ingenious device.

On the 22nd of September, the day appointed, the convention, consisting of deputies from eight districts and ninety-six towns, met at Faneuil Hall; but the day before the men-of-war and transports from Halifax had safely arrived in Nantasket roads, a few miles below Boston. The convention therefore merely conferred and consulted, petitioned the governor, made sundry loyal professions, expressed their aversion to standing armies, tumults,



Faneuil Hall, Boston. From an Original Drawing

and disorders of all kinds and quietly dispersed. Governor Bernard then attempted to prevail upon the town-council to provide quarters for the troops in Boston; but they refused, and stated that the troops by act of parliament were to be quartered in the barracks, that there were barracks enough at the castle to hold them all, and that it was against law to bring any of them into the town. Colonel Dalrymple, who held the command, had positive orders to land at least one regiment at Boston, and he, of himself, concluded it would be better not to separate his small force. Accordingly, on the last day of September, he left Nantasket roads and sailed up to Boston. The ships of war, consisting of the Romney of sixty guns, the Launceston of forty, the Mermaid of twenty-eight, the Beaver of fourteen, the Senegal of fourteen, the Boneta of ten, and several armed schooners, came to anchor with springs on their cables, with their guns ready shotted, and their broadsides covering the town. Resistance was expected, but none was offered; and, on the following day, the 1st of October, 1768, Colonel Dalrymple landed the two regiments he had brought with him—the 27th and the 14th, who, with train of artillery and all, did not much exceed 700 men. They marched from the landing place up to the common on the outside of Boston, with drums beating, fifes playing, and colours flying, and receiving no insult except from some lubberly boys and black men who hissed at a distance. In the evening the town council was again required to quarter the two regiments in the town, and again they refused, quoting charters and acts of parliament. One of the regiments, who had brought with them no tents or camp equipage of any kind, were *humanely permitted*, or, which is more probable, took permission themselves, to occupy Faneuil Hall; the other regiment lay out all night on the cold common. The following being the Lord's day, no business could be done; and the devout Bostonians groaned in the spirit at the desecration of the Sabbath by drums and fifes—sounds hitherto unknown on that day in the presbyterian provinces of New England! Pressed by Colonel Dalrymple and his officers, the governor, towards evening, ordered the Town or State House to be opened to the regiment out on the common. The soldiers instantly came in and took possession of every part of that public building except the great council-chamber. Two field-pieces were placed in front of the edifice, and the main guard was posted at a few yards' distance. These proceedings excited deep resentment, and caused besides many inconveniences, for the lower part of the State House had been used by the merchants as an exchange, and the members of the town council could no longer get to their hall to transact business without passing through files of soldiers. Having thus obtained quarters, the governor and Colonel Dalrymple required the council to provide barrack provisions, as regulated by the mutiny act. The council resolutely replied that they would furnish nothing, and do nothing that might be construed into a submission to that obnoxious law. For the present the Bostonians and their neighbours suppressed their vindictive feelings; but the tranquillity was every moment exposed to the chances of sudden interruption and bloodshed; every one of them looked upon the soldiers as forcible intruders, slavish in-

struments of tyranny, men without faith or morals; and every soldier had been taught to consider the colonists as smugglers, canting hypocrites, and rebels to a most gracious king. At the same time all possible care was taken by the Bostonians to impart an exaggerated picture of the injuries and insults they endured to every part of British America. Philadelphia, which had hitherto been inclined to moderation and compromises, now spoke in a louder tone, and other towns which had been violent from the beginning now became more intemperate. In the month of May, 1769, the Virginia House of Burgesses voted a series of strong resolutions, followed by an address to the king, beseeching him never to employ the act of Henry VIII., or permit the dangers and miseries which must ensue by seizing and carrying beyond sea the inhabitants of America to be tried by English courts and special commissions. Lord Bottetourt, their governor, hastened to dissolve them; but they repaired forthwith to the Raleigh tavern, and in a room, which bore the name of Apollo, they entered into the articles of the agreement, or, as it was now termed, "the association," by which they pledged their honour not to import British merchandize so long as the acts of parliament for raising a revenue in America remained unrepealed. Among the eighty-eight signatures to this Virginia association were those of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others, who afterwards took the lead in the great struggle.* On returning to their respective counties all these Virginia members were re-elected for the next assembly; and the small minority who had opposed the resolutions were rejected to a man. The gentlemen and merchants of Maryland and South Carolina followed the example of Virginia and signed the association. Trade with the Rhode-Islanders and the Georgians was broken off, and those colonies were put under a kind of ban and interdict "for having acted a weak and infamous part from the beginning of the present struggle for the preservation of American rights." The Georgians made haste to remove this excommunication and joined the non-importation association. The Rhode-Islanders and the people of North Carolina soon followed; and, partly through conviction, partly through coercion, the merchants of all the other colonies and towns, with the single exception of Portsmouth, the sole seaport in New Hampshire, joined and signed the bond. It must be confessed that a deal of tyranny was exercised in sowing these seeds of liberty. The houses of the merchants who refused compliance were surrounded by organised mobs, who threatened destruction, not only to house and goods, but also to life or limbs. These threats, not always unattended with actual deeds of violence, generally drove the merchants to the committees; and they signed the agreement and gave up trade rather than risk everything by selling British goods. The "Daughters of Liberty"—for the American ladies had taken their part of Colonel Barré's compliment — entered into associations among themselves proscribing the use of tea.

Meanwhile the storm thickened at Boston. At the end of May, the assembly being called together, a committee from the House of Representatives remonstrated with the governor, complaining of an armament investing their metropolis, of the military guard, of cannon pointed at the door of their State House, and requesting his excellency, as his majesty's representative, to give effectual orders for the removal of the ships and troops. Governor Bernard, who had certainly become less courteous since the arrival of the armament, replied drily, "Gentlemen, I have no authority over his majesty's ships in this port, or over his troops within this town." A few days after the House declared that the use of the military power to enforce the execution of the laws was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution, and that they would not do any business, surrounded as they were with an armed force, threatening their privileges and their personal security. The governor thought to remove the latter strong objection by adjourning the assembly to Cambridge, a town separated from Boston by a narrow arm of the sea, in which there were no troops. But they were not likely to be more compliant at Cambridge than they had been at Boston. They voted "That the establishment of a standing army in this colony in time of peace is an invasion of natural rights; that a standing army is not known as a part of the *British* constitution; that sending an armed force into the colony, under a pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional." They refused to make any provision for the troops, and they were thereupon prorogued by the governor, to meet at Boston in the month of January, 1770. The king, to testify his approbation, created General Bernard a baronet, and took upon himself the whole expense of passing the patent. Sir Francis left the colony on the 1st of August, as poor as when he came there eleven years before, and followed by very few regrets. Before his departure an affray took place in a coffee-house between Mr. Robinson, one of the board of commissioners, and Mr. Otis, one of the patriots, or leaders of the opposition, in the assembly. In consequence of a newspaper attack the commissioner attempted to pull the patriot's nose—the patriot knocked the commissioner down,—friends interfered on either side, and a combat with fists and canes became general. It may be fancied that the excise party proved the weaker—Robinson and his friends were compelled to retreat by a back door. If a few soldiers had chanced to pass at the time there would probably have been bloodshed. Meanwhile smuggling went on in spite of troops, ships, and commissioners; and the Bostonians had adopted the practice of tarring and feathering all informers, or all who

* The Life of Thomas Jefferson, with Parts of his Correspondence, never before published. By George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia. London, 1837.

attempted to assist the government in any way. The process was to strip the patient naked, tar him all over, roll him in feathers, and then drive him out into the streets. The brutal operation was often attended with violence that destroyed health or life!

Shortly after the rising of the English parliament (on the 9th of May, 1769) Lord Hillsborough had written a circular letter to the colonies stating that in the very next session the duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colours, would be taken off, as contrary to the true principles of commerce. But this would leave the duty upon tea; and his lordship said nothing about repealing the odious clauses in the mutiny act. Moreover, the colonists complained that his letter spoke of commercial expediency, and not of the right they claimed to pay no taxes whatever without their own consent. Various other causes are stated to show how Lord Hillsborough's letter failed of producing any tranquillizing effect, and to demonstrate that it ought so to have failed. It will perhaps be sufficient to say, that the storm had now risen too high to be calmed by a little oil thrown upon its waves.*

The city of London was scarcely more tranquil or more contented than Boston. From the prorogation of parliament in May to its tardy reassembling in January, little was seen or heard but noise, strife, faction, and confusion. The Earl of Chatham was no stranger to the movements; the Earl of Temple gave most of them his open countenance and assistance, and did not disdain to make use of John Wilkes as a bugbear to the court, and as a model patriot to the people. Liberal subscriptions were made to pay Wilkes's fines, and to provide for his subsistence when his imprisonment should expire.† Dinners, attended by Burke, Thomas Pitt, Alderman Beckford, Lord Clive, Lord John Cavendish, Colonel Barré, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Byng, and many other parliament men of rank and consideration, were held at the Thatched-house Tavern, where, among other toasts, was drunk—"May future administrations not be so remarkable for incapacity as the present." Allen, the father of the unfortunate youth killed in St. George's Fields, was sent up to St. James's with a petition, demanding "justice upon the cruel murderers of his beloved child, whose blood cried aloud for vengeance." To keep the odium alive, a tombstone, with long and exciting inscriptions, was placed over the youth's grave. On the 24th of May a petition was presented to the House of Commons from 1565 freeholders of the county of Middlesex, who criticised all public measures since his majesty's accession, and who asked nothing less than the immediate dismission of ministers as enemies to freedom everywhere, and traitors to their country. The city of London was only a few days behind the county of Middlesex, and their petition, which was presented in full levee, was equally violent. Westminster contented herself with demanding an immediate dissolution of parliament; and her petition served as a model for many counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom. So much vehemence and discontent had not been witnessed in England for nearly a century. A new enemy, too, terrible and mysterious,—in some respects far more bitter and dangerous than John Wilkes,—had taken the field. This was the anonymous, and *perhaps* still unknown, author of Junius's Letters, who indeed "shot his arrows in darkness," and passed to the grave undetected.* The first of these celebrated letters appeared in the columns of the Public Advertiser at the beginning of the present year, 1769. The extraordinary force of the style, the apparent familiarity with all public affairs and public men, as well as with all court and cabinet secrets, the sharpness of the invective, the uncompromising boldness of the attack, harmonised with the temper of the times, and produced a fresh excitement. But the impression became much deeper when government laid its actions for libel, and when Sir William Draper, the classical captor of Manilla, entered the field against Junius as champion for his friend or patron, the Duke of Grafton. The letters were then sought after and perused by all classes with astonishing avidity, and they became the political text-book of no inconsiderable part of the nation. Many truths in them were palpable and undeniable, and the falsehoods and exaggerations were made to look like truth in the eyes of the multitude, who had no means of examining the secret passages in courts and cabinets, and who are generally disposed to take for true the story which is best told, and most exciting. From the sovereign and his mother—

* Gordon, Hist. Amer. Revolution.—The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American Wars; by C. Stedman, who served under Sir W. Howe, Sir H. Clinton, and the Marquess Cornwallis.—Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

† As early as the 20th of February (three days after the last declaration of the Commons that Wilkes was incapable of being a member), a large and respectable meeting was held at the London Tavern, and was attended by many of the opposition members. A subscription was set on foot, and the sum of 3340*l.* subscribed on the spot. The preamble to the subscription paper ran thus:—"Whereas John Wilkes, esq., has suffered very greatly in his private fortune, from the severe and repeated prosecutions he has undergone in behalf of the public; and as it seems reasonable to us that the man who suffers for the public good should be supported by the public: we, &c." This paper was widely distributed, and a committee was appointed to carry on the subscription throughout England. On the 7th of March the society called "The Supporters of the Bill of Rights" had a meeting at the London Tavern, and sent Wilkes 300*l.* for his immediate necessities, and instituted an inquiry into the state of his debts. On the 6th of June, at another meeting of the same society, it was reported that Wilkes's debts amounted to 17,000*l.*, 7000*l.* of which had been already compromised; and a circular letter was agreed upon to forward the subscription. On the same day, on opening the will of a country gentleman, there was found a legacy of 2000*l.* "to that true Englishman and patriot, John Wilkes, esq." On the 23rd of October the Supporters of the Bill of Rights ordered 300*l.* to be carried by Mr. Oliver to Mr. Wilkes in the King's Bench prison. Patriotism was not an unprofitable calling. From first to last, John Wilkes is said to have got more than 30,000*l.* of public subscription money, besides very considerable sums levied in a more private manner.

* Mr. John Taylor's ingenious pamphlet, entitled "Junius identified with a distinguished Living Character," and first published in 1816, has convinced us that Sir Philip Francis was the author; but others remain in incredulity and doubt; and opinions have been delivered even recently that the charge is best made out against Lord George Sackville. The subject will be noticed more at length in Chap. V.; but in the mean time we may say that we think the famous letters were no more written by Lord George Sackville than they were by King George III.

from the prime minister down to the meanest courtier and meanest clerk in office—from the head of the church and the head of the law down to the last made chaplain or practising barrister, few escaped the scourge of this powerful and invisible flagellant. The king was impatient and resentful; the Duke of Grafton writhed under the infliction, and complained, not without reason, of the envenomed falsehoods aimed at his character and public conduct, which, if far from faultless, was still farther from the black iniquity depicted by Junius. It is said that Grafton was thrown into a perfect agony by these productions, and that their effect on his mind at times utterly incapacitated him, for days together, for the ministerial duties of his office.*

In the month of July, to the astonishment of most present, the Earl of Chatham stalked into the drawing-room at St. James's, and after the levee had twenty minutes' private conversation with the king. Of what passed we know nothing, except that his reception was most flattering, and the king all condescension and goodness.† We may guess, however, that the interview did not satisfy Chatham, or in any way tend to soften the violence of opposition. Some weeks after, Temple and the rest of the Grenvilles got up a grand meeting at Aylesbury, and voted a remonstrance and petition. "The ardent eagerness," says Temple, "which was expressed for the union of the three brothers (that is Chatham, George Grenville, and himself), and the applause with which my assurances that it did exist in the highest degree was received, did indeed give me inexpressible delight. In short, all things passed inexpressibly well; and I hear the holy flame has catched in Dorsetshire, where I suppose I shall find it ready to blaze by the time I get there, which will be by the end of next week."* In the month of November, Mr. Calcraft, a most busy go-between, was deputed by Chatham to confer with the Marquess of Granby, and evidently with the intention of weakening the cabinet by inducing that nobleman to resign. Granby said that his retiring now would look like skulking to Junius, who had dealt him some of his heaviest blows, or might be considered as an admission on his part that he was what Junius declared him to be—unfit for the command of the army. Calcraft saw that Granby was looking up to Lord Chatham, but was not very cordial with Temple and George Grenville. Granby told him that he never knew why Chatham had resigned; that he would advise the king to send for Lord Chatham; and that he would certainly recommend a dissolution of parliament as the only measure likely to quiet people's minds, now that they were so inflamed. This was on the 6th of November. Calcraft waited again on Lord Granby on the 25th; and on the 26th his lordship went down to Hayes, where it appears that Chatham advised him "not to go to a place where it rained snares"—that is to say, not to attend a meeting of the council on the following Monday upon American affairs. During this same month of November, Calcraft, who was living at Shooter's Hill, busied himself in getting up meetings, petitions, and addresses from the men of Kent! All this seemed to denote a fierce parliamentary campaign; but ministerial

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Bart., Historical Memoirs of his own Time.
† Letter from Earl Temple to Chatham, in Chatham Cor.—Letter from Horace Walpole to General Conway.

* Letter to the Countess of Chatham; in Chatham Cor.

IRISH WHITE BOYS.

troubles were growing on every side. Ireland, never well governed, and never tranquil, had now been in a very turbulent state for years, split into factions and overrun by bands of Levellers and White Boys, Oak Boys, and Hearts of Steel, who were bound together by secret oaths, and a detestation of tithes. In the month of October in this present year a bill was brought into the Irish parliament for increasing the military establishment in that country from 12,000 to 15,200 men. It was recommended by the lord-lieutenant, and was carried after a most violent opposition. Hitherto it had been the practice to frame the money bills in the English cabinet, and then send them over for the approbation of the Irish House of Commons, who were expected, in this vital matter at least, to do no more than the parliament of Paris, which was little else than a court of registration. But now, in the month of November, the Irish Commons set forth the pretension that such bills should originate with them, as they did in the English House of Commons; and they rejected the money bill by a majority of 94 to 71. They then proceeded to vote a more liberal supply than was demanded in the money bill sent from England; but the instructions to the lord-lieutenant did not allow him to recognise the right set forth by the Irish Commons;—he called it a violation of the law, an encroachment upon the king's prerogative and the just rights of the crown; he entered a protest against it, and suddenly prorogued parliament before it had done any business. The king and his ministers were of opinion that the spirit of opposition might be laid, as in former times, by playing one party against another, and by the ordinary manœuvres of selfish politicians; but it appeared to other men that the Irish would never be tranquillised except by great constitutional concessions, and the abrogation of those laws which pressed upon their religion, making every catholic, of necessity, the bitter enemy of protestants.

Even the silly pageantry of lord mayor's day in the city of London was a spectacle of woe to the cabinet; for Mr. Beckford, the friend of Chatham, the wealthiest and perhaps the most influential commoner of England, ascended, for a second time, the civic throne in spite of all the efforts made by ministers and their friends to prevent it.*

A. D. 1770.—Parliament did not assemble till the 9th of January. If this unusual delay at a season when so many important topics demanded the attention of the legislature excited surprise, the particular subject made prominent in the royal speech seemed still stranger. His majesty commenced his speech by deploring an unfortunate distemper which had broken out among the horned cattle; and assured the Lords and Commons that, by the advice of his privy council, he had used his best endeavours to stop the progress of the contagion. And this was solemnly uttered when the land was full of wicked wits and scoffers, when Junius was writing, and when Wilkes was making his *bon-mots* and sharpening his sarcasms. It rained, it deluged jokes and repartees in newspapers, pamphlets, and periodical works. The session was nicknamed "the horned cattle session;" the king's love of farming was turned against him, and he was represented as looking after cows, stalls, dairies, and farms, when his empire was breaking to pieces and his people everywhere misgoverned and discontended. "While the whole kingdom," said Junius in a letter to the Duke of Grafton, "was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a king, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." And at the time of these mean-sounding puerilities the great Chatham was in his place in the House of Lords, vigorous and more eloquent than ever, like a giant refreshed by sleep, or like Sampson bursting his bonds at the cry that the Philistines were upon him. Among Chatham's Philistine enemies

* Beckford enchanted the city with sumptuous entertainments and with his bold opposition on all occasions to the wishes of the government. The discontended Spitalfields weavers called a great meeting in Moorfields. The government, in alarm, dispatched a regiment of guards to the spot. Beckford acquainted the commanding officer that he would not give him the trouble to bring his men into the liberties of the city, as he could preserve the peace with the civil power. Two of the riotous weavers called cutters having received sentence of death, it was thought expedient, in order to strike terror, that the recorder's warrant should direct the executions to be made and done at the most convenient place near Bethnal-green church. Beckford objected to the changing of the usual place of execution; and the two sheriffs, Sawbridge and Townshend, addressed the secretary of state, Lord Weymouth, and enclosed a paper to the king, stating that the men had been originally sentenced to be hanged at the usual place of execution, and that they, as sheriffs, doubted whether they could lawfully comply with his majesty's pleasure to have them hanged at Bethnal-green. Lord Weymouth informed them that their mode of application to the king was irregular. The next morning the sheriffs waited on his lordship and delivered a petition to the king in a regular manner. They also left with his lordship a letter, in which they stated that the judgment originally pronounced on the two cutters was their warrant for execution, and that if they varied from it it would be murder; that the king could not by his prerogative vary the execution, so as to aggravate the punishment beyond the intention of the law; that the king undoubtedly could wholly pardon the offenders, or he could mitigate punishment with regard to the pain or infamy of it; that the mercy of the crown was not bounded; but it could not go beyond the letter of the law in point of rigour. "Now, my lord," continued the letter, "it will not be said that the present alteration is, or is intended, as a mitigation of the judgment pronounced. To force, in a manner, the wives and children of the unhappy sufferers to be spectators of the infamous death of their husbands and fathers, by executing them as near as conveniently may be to their own houses, cannot be intended, nor will it be esteemed, a matter of royal grace." The sheriffs added, that, if the crown was allowed in one instance, contrary to the sentence, to appoint a different place of execution, it might in all; and if it could change the usual place of execution it might proceed farther, and set up private executions within the walls of Newgate, making way for all those dreadful consequences with which private executions were attended in every country where they had been introduced. The two unfortunate men were respited for a fortnight, to allow time to consult the twelve judges. The judges declared that the time and place of execution were in law *no part* of the judgment; and that the recorder's warrant was a lawful authority to the sheriffs. *John Doyle and John Balline, the two cutters, were therefore executed* in Bethnal-green without the assistance of the military; though, at the time, and for some weeks preceding, strong detachments of troops had been kept in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields and Bethnal-green. A fortnight after Beckford, as lord mayor, wrote to Lord Barrington, secretary-at-war, to complain that "a relieved detachment of soldiers from Spitalfields (without any previous notice given to the lord mayor) had marched before the Mansion-house and through the heart of the city, with drums beating and fifes playing, and made a very warlike appearance, which raised in the minds of the peaceable citizens the idea of a town garrisoned with regular troops." My lord mayor answered for the peacefulness and good order of the city, and demanded to know what these military demonstrations meant, and by whom they were ordered. The noble secretary-at-war, in reply, acknowledged that no troops ought to march through the city without previous notice given to the lord mayor, and promised to reprimand the officer and prevent such things in future.

he now counted his recent colleague, friend, and nominee, the Duke of Grafton, who had consented to remain in office at his earnest prayer. The address was moved in the Upper House by the Duke of Ancaster, and seconded by Lord Dunmore, the Earls of Carlisle and March having refused the unthankful office. It was as general and unmeaning as the speech from the throne. Chatham presently rose, and, after a little talk about his own age and infirmities, and his respect and duty to the crown, he spoke in thunder. He said that there never was a period which called more forcibly than the present for the serious attention and consideration of that House; and that at a crisis of such importance and danger, when discontent, distress, and injuries were universal, it was the bounden duty of their lordships to lay before the sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects. After indulging in a quiet sneer at the care of the council for horned cattle, he said he was extremely glad to hear what he owned he did not expect when he came into the House, that the king had reason to believe that his endeavours to secure the peace of his country would be successful. "Assuredly," said he, "a peace was never so necessary as at a time when we are torn to pieces by divisions and distractions in every part of his majesty's dominions." He then criticised anew our last treaty with France and Spain, affirming that we had not obtained what we had every right to expect from the successes of the war and the exhausted condition of our enemies; that, having deserted our ally the King of Prussia, we had left ourselves without alliances on the continent, and during a seven years' peace had been every moment on the verge of a new war—a war which might be unavoidable and must be unfavourable to us; as, while we had been doing nothing, all the princes of the House of Bourbon had become closely united among themselves, and had formed the closest connexions with the principal powers of Europe. "But," added he, "I declare, with grief, that there are other matters still more important and more urgently demanding attention. I mean the distractions and divisions which prevail in America and in every part of this empire." Circumstances and views had changed; Chatham no longer called the colonists madmen, but thought that the measures of government—measures which in good part had been framed by a cabinet in which he himself held a place—had *driven them* into excesses which he could not quite justify: he no longer asked what demon blew the coals; and, in brief process of time, this demon of discord changed form and colour, and was converted in his tropes and impersonations into an angel of light and liberty. In his present speech he owned he had a natural partiality for America, and was inclined to make allowance for her excesses. He confessed, at the same time, that he was *entirely ignorant* of the present state of America; but then he said that he feared a noble duke was as ignorant as himself, and had been taking dangerous steps in the dark, without stopping to inquire his way; and one false step would lead him to another, till he would be lost in an inextricable labyrinth. He objected to the word *unwarrantable* as applied, in the proposed address, to the proceedings of the colonists. Unwarrantable he said must mean illegal; and how could their lordships decide that proceedings which had not yet been stated to them in any shape were contrary to law? He had heard, indeed, of combinations in America, and of their success in supplying themselves with goods of their own manufacture: this had alarmed him for the commercial interests of the mother-country; but he could not conceive in what sense these things could be called illegal, and much less how any declaration of that House could remove the evil. He proposed substituting the word *dangerous*. He told them they must look for other remedies; that the discontent of two millions of people could only be removed by removing the causes of it; that they should be cautious how they invaded the liberties of any part of their fellow subjects, however remote in situation; that liberty was a plant that deserved to be cherished—that he loved the tree himself and wished well to every branch of it—that, like the vine in the Scripture, it had spread from east to west, had embraced whole nations with its branches, and sheltered them under its leaves. After reminding the House that their privileges, however transcendent, however appropriated to them, stood in fact upon the broad bottom of the people, and after reading them a lesson or a warning from the fate of the grandees of Castile out of Robertson's History of Charles V., he proclaimed that the liberty of the subject had been invaded not only in our provinces, but here at home. Hence, he said, had arisen universal complaints and demands of redress. "I have," said he, "considered the matter with most serious attention; and, as I have not in my own breast the smallest doubt that the present universal discontent of the nation arises from the proceedings of the House of Commons upon the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, I think we ought, in our address, to state that matter to the king."* He concluded by submitting the following amendment: "That after the words, 'and which alone can render our deliberations respectable and effectual,' be inserted the words, 'and for these great and essential purposes, we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your majesty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the House of Commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq., expelled by that House, to be elected a member to serve in this present parliament, thereby refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to the subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative."

* The report of this speech was furnished in 1792, by Sir Philip Francis, to Mr. Almon, who was then publishing his "Mirror." Sir Philip afterwards (in 1813) revised and corrected it for the "Parliamentary History." It appears he took notes of the debate.

He was followed by the Lord Chancellor Camden, who, upon his patron's resignation of the privy seal, had declared that Lord Chatham should still be his polar star—that he reluctantly consented to retain the great seal, and "to hold on a while longer with this crippled administration." Since then Camden and Chatham had been in amicable communication, and Calcraft had been employed in coming and going between them.* The chancellor now startled the uninitiated with a speech as strong as that just delivered by Chatham. He declared that he had accepted the seals at first without any conditions; that he meant not therefore to be trammelled by his *majesty*—then correcting himself, he said he begged pardon, he meant his *majesty's ministers*. He added that he had suffered himself to be trammelled too long; that for some time he had beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures which were pursuing by ministers; that he had often drooped and held down his head in council, and disapproved by his looks those steps which he knew his warmest opposition could not prevent; but that the time was now come when he would openly and boldly speak his sentiments. As to the incapacitating vote passed against Wilkes he was of the same opinion as the noble lord who spoke before him; he considered that vote as a direct attack upon the first principles of the constitution, and declared, that, if in giving his decision as a judge he was to pay any regard to that vote, or any other vote of the House of Commons, in opposition to the known and established laws of the land, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust and an enemy to his country. He further declared that ministry by their violent and tyrannical conduct had alienated the minds of the people from his majesty's government—he had almost said from his majesty's person—that, in consequence, a spirit of discontent had spread itself into every corner of the kingdom, and was every day increasing, and that, if some methods were not devised to appease the clamours that so universally prevailed, he did not know but the people, in despair, might turn their own avengers, and take the redress of their grievances into their own hands.† This was strange language from one holding the great seal. On the other side Lord Mansfield, *in opposing the amendment, said, that* he would never deliver an opinion as to the legality of the proceedings in the House of Commons in the Middlesex election. He had his opinions, but was determined to keep them secret, and wished to avoid speaking on the subject. He acknowledged that the nation was in a distracted state, but was happy to affirm that this was not owing to him. He said that declarations of law, whether made by the House of Lords or by the House of Commons, were always attended with bad effects; he himself, in his judicial capacity, had never thought himself bound to pay any regard to them, and he never would. He expressed his opinion as to general warrants, declaring that, even if they had been voted by the House of Commons to be legal, the courts at Westminster Hall would have adjudged otherwise, and would have acted in defiance of any such vote. He went on to say that the question of the Middlesex election regarded the House of Commons alone; that it related to the seat of one of their members, and could only be determined by them, from whose decision on such a point there was no appeal. He said he would avoid entering into their decisions about Mr. Wilkes from the conviction that the House of Lords had no right whatever to inquire into the subject; that the amendment proposed was an attack on the privileges of the Commons, and would inevitably occasion a quarrel between the two Houses, or between the king and the Commons.* Chatham rejoined at great length;† but his amendment was negatived, and the original address was carried. Lord Pomfret then moved an adjournment for some days. This called up Lord Temple, who said, "that the House well knew for what purpose the ministry wanted an adjournment: it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, which was now shattered in a most miserable manner, and in all likelihood would soon fall to pieces; and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place with some obsequious lawyer who would do as he was commanded." Lord Shelburne said nearly

* It should seem, however, that, down to the last moment, there was some doubt or misgiving as to Camden or Granby, or both. On Sunday, the 7th of January, only two days before the opening of parliament, we find Calcraft writing to Chatham:—"We are all in a wilderness about the chancellor! Yesterday the report was current that he was out; to-day nothing is said about him. . . . . A letter is just arrived from Lord Granby, to desire he may see me to-morrow afternoon; and it will give me pleasure to convey any commands of your lordship's; *in particular such as may aid his conduct at this crisis.*" And to this note Chatham replies on the same day:—"Lord Chatham desires to return Mr. Calcraft a thousand thanks for the favour of his letter, and hopes, *as Lord Temple is just* come in, he will excuse his answering only with a few lines. With regard to the *reports about my* lord chancellor, he has heard nothing more since he last had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Calcraft. He begs to trouble him with his *warmest, most affectionate, and respectful* compliments to the Marquess of Granby, and just mentions, for Mr. Calcraft's judgment, whether the proposing *a refreshing interview between the marquess and my lord chancellor might not be a good measure.*"—*Chatham Correspondence.*—No doubt Calcraft managed the "refreshing interview."

† Gentleman's Magazine. Sir Philip Francis gave no notes of this speech; but it is quite certain that Camden delivered it, or one very like it.

* As reported by Sir Philip Francis.

† In the course of his speech (as reported by Sir P. Francis) Chatham said:—"My Lords, I have been tender of misrepresenting the House of Commons. I have consulted their journals, and have taken the very words of their resolution. Do they not tell us, in so many words, that Mr. Wilkes, having been expelled, was thereby rendered incapable of serving in this parliament? and is it not their resolution alone which refuses to the subject his common right? The amendment here says, that the electors of Middlesex are deprived of their free choice of a representative. Is this false, my Lords, or have I given an unfair representation of it? Will any man presume to affirm that Colonel Luttrell is the free choice of the electors of Middlesex? We all know the contrary! We all know that Mr. Wilkes—*whom I mention without either praise or censure*—was the favourite of the county, and chosen by a very great and acknowledged majority . . My Lords, the character and circumstances of Mr. Wilkes have been very improperly introduced into this question, not only here, but in that court of judicature where his cause was tried: I mean the House of Commons. *With one party he was a patriot of the first magnitude; with the other the vilest incendiary!* For my own part I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best; and, God forbid that there should be a power in this country of measuring the civil rights of the subject by his moral character, or by any other rule but the fixed laws of the land! I believe, my Lords, I shall not be suspected of *any personal partiality to this unhappy man.* . . . . . ."

the same thing, and added, "that after the dismissal of the present worthy chancellor the seals would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept of them on the conditions on which they must be offered."

In the House of Commons the address was moved by Sir George Osborne. At first it had been resolved by the opposition not to meddle with the address in that House; but Lord Chatham expressed very strongly to Lord Temple that this plan, if followed, would have every possible ill consequence; Temple was convinced of this, and hastened from Hayes to London, and carried the same conviction to his brother, George Grenville, who thereupon changed his tactics, and sent word to the Thatched House, where there was a meeting of opposition, "to try to muster spirits to come down to parliament, where words of amendment were to be moved."* Accordingly, Mr. Dowdeswell moved for the insertion into the address of words intimating the necessity of immediately inquiring into the causes of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of his majesty's dominions. The debate which ensued lasted twelve hours, and was attended with great violence, and other circumstances more extraordinary. The Marquess of Granby powerfully expressed his regret for having in the preceding session voted with ministers on the question of the disqualification of Mr. Wilkes. "That vote," said he, "I shall always lament as the greatest misfortune of my life.

GENERAL CONWAY.
From an engraved Portrait by James Heath.

I see that I was in error, and I am not ashamed to make this public declaration of it, and give my vote for the amendment." It was expected that General Conway, who had gone out of the House to avoid voting on the Wilkes' question, would have followed the example of Granby, but Conway stood up to oppose the amendment, and spoke with great warmth in defence of ministers, and in approbation of the disqualifying vote. Lord North declared he would never consent to annul that vote; Sir Fletcher Norton said, that they could not alter that resolution, but by an act of the whole legislature; and Charles James Fox (the second son of Lord Holland), who was destined subsequently to enchant the House or the nation with his brilliant opposition to every thing that was arbitrary, to every thing that was illiberal in politics, lent his immature abilities to the ministry, in a short speech, being the first of his parliamentary displays of which we have any report, although it appears that he had spoken once before. Young Fox was already involved in great pecuniary difficulties, and was looking forward to a place, which he soon obtained. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 254 to 138. On the morrow, the 10th of January, another warm debate arose on the question of receiving the report of the address. Sir William Meredith objected, that thanking his majesty for his approving the conduct of that House would imply an approval of the vote respecting Wilkes and the Middlesex election. In the course of the debate, or hot altercation, Sir George Saville accused the House of betraying the rights of the people. He was called to order; and General Conway told him that he had grossly insulted parliament—that members had been sent to the Tower before now for such words. This called up in defence of Sir George, Wilkes's friend, Serjeant Glynn, and also a much greater orator in the person of Mr. Burke, who dared ministers to punish Saville, told them that they were abhorred by the people, and asked the speaker if he did not feel the chair tremble under him. Sir George Saville then repeated the offensive words he had used. This called up Fox, who in the course of a few years carried the boldness of parliamentary language to its extreme length, but who now spoke strongly against such licentiousness of language. Burke rejoined, and said he was glad to hear from the ministerial party that the terms in the address meant nothing at all. This was, however, no division.*

After the course pursued by Lord Chancellor Camden, it was not to be expected that the seals would be left in his possession. But, before his open declarations in the House of Lords, his conduct had been so displeasing to ministers that they had dropped all correspondence with him, and the day before the opening of the session they had merely sent him the common invitation to hear the king's speech read at Lord North's.† The great fear of the opposition was that he would have

* Letters from Chatham to Calcraft, and from Calcraft to Chatham.

* Cavendish's Debates, among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum. Mr. Wright, the well-known editor of the Parliamentary History, who is editing and publishing these important MSS., has not yet (except in a specimen part on the Canada Bills in 1774) printed beyond the debate on March 8th, 1768. His work, when complete, will be a valuable addition to our political history.

† Calcraft to Chatham.

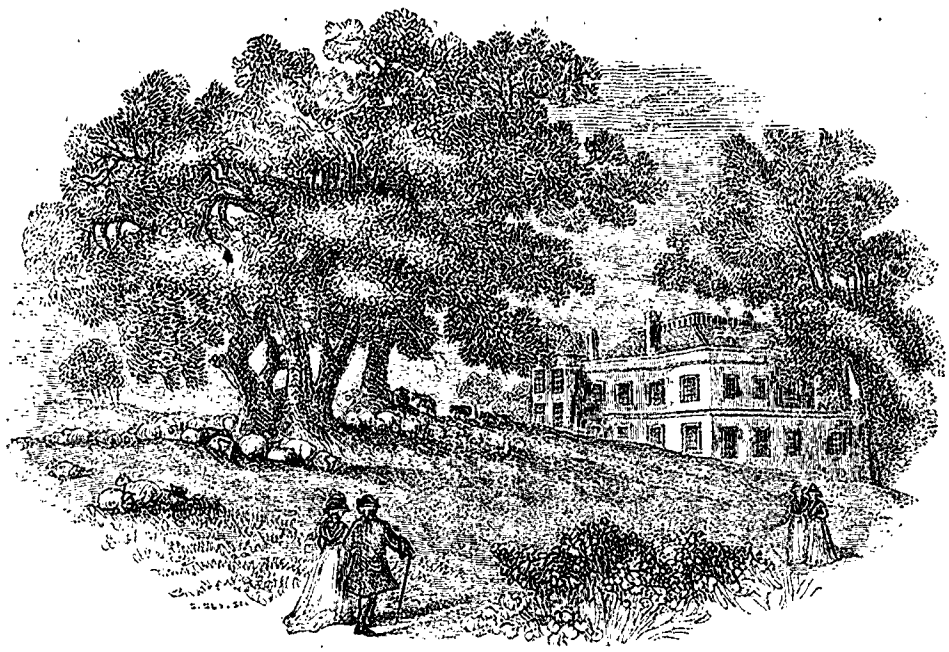
resigned, and have thus thrown away an opportunity for éclat. "Certainly," writes Chatham on the 8th of January, "he will not have the unpardonable weakness to resign in such a crisis: his lordship is firm and in the rightest resolution. . . . . The expectation of the public was never more fixed upon two great men than upon the Marquess of Granby and Lord Camden."* And thus the government was forced into the odium of removing a most popular individual. This was as embarrassing to them as it was unpalatable to the public; for they had no chancellor to put in his place. Lord Weymouth, now the most unpopular of secretaries of state, proposed an adjournment in order to gain time for making arrangements. The lords in opposition forthwith entered a protest in the following terms:—"It is difficult for us to give our sentiments upon a motion, which the lord who mentioned it, though called upon, refused to explain. But, when we reflect that the hint came from a noble lord in high and confidential office, we think it could have alluded only to the removal of the lord high chancellor of England, the speaker of this House; and when we recollect the part, so honourable to himself, but perhaps so offensive to administration, which that noble lord has taken the first day of this session, we cannot but be apprehensive that there may be some evil counsellor hardy enough to attempt punishments for freedom of debate in parliament, and to dare advise his majesty to remove from his office a peer of this House, at the head of the law, for his vote in parliament." Camden was dismissed, and Lord Shelburne's prediction was literally verified: the great seal really went a begging. It was indeed, in the first instance, at the pressing intreaty of the king, most reluctantly accepted by the Honourable Charles Yorke, second son of the former Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who had been attorney general during the short administration of Lord Bute, and subsequently during the shorter one of the Marquess of Rockingham. But Mr. Yorke, who received the great seal on the 18th of January, committed suicide on the 20th, before his patent of peerage could be completed. The seal was then offered to Sir Eardley Wilmot, who refused, and then to Lord Mansfield, who would not accept. Nothing therefore remained but to put the great seal in commission, and to appoint an interim speaker to occupy the woolsack in the House of Lords. Lord Mansfield agreed to fill the latter temporary office: the commissioners, who were not appointed till some time after, were Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, one of the barons of the Exchequer, the Honourable Henry Bathurst, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and Sir Richard Aston, one of the justices of the King's Bench.

While business was suspended in the House of Lords by the want of a chancellor, it was also suspended in the Commons by the illness—real, not feigned—of the speaker, Sir John Cust. The removal of Lord Camden was immediately followed by the resignations of his friend Mr. Dunning, the solicitor general, and of Mr. James Grenville, who held the office of one of the vice-treasurers for Ireland. The Marquess of Granby, who had been assured by his father, the Duke of Rutland, that he had his fullest approbation, and that his spirited conduct had endeared him more than ever, tendered his resignation as master general of the ordnance and commander-in-chief of the forces as early as the 15th of January. On the night of that stormy day Lord Temple writes to Chatham: "I am this instant returned from Calcraft's. Granby is there. The king, it seems, and the Duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby not to resign. He remained to the Duke of Grafton inflexible as to that, but has yielded for twenty-four hours. Calcraft does most earnestly wish, and so do I, that you may take the trouble of writing, either to Lord Granby himself or to Calcraft, your opinion and warm desire that his lordship may to-morrow morning go to the queen's house, desire to see the king, and carry into execution what had been so much better done yesterday. . . . . The ministry live upon moments. Can you yourself come to town to-morrow, to see and fix the Duke of Newcastle?* Heaven and earth are in motion." To this passionately written appeal, Chatham replied, at a late hour the same night, in a tone still more passionate:—"I write, without a hand,† to tell you that my solicitude is extreme, and full of the most real pain, till I hear that the Marquess of Granby has carried into execution a resolution worthy of himself, and that will for ever fix the dignity of his future public life, and go farther than any other thing *to awaken the king into a just sense of this perilous moment.* I honour, to veneration, the unshaken determination of the marquess's mind, *but I own I grieve that generosity of nature should have melted him enough to grant twenty-four hours' respite to a minister's entreaties.* . . . I feel how infinitely too much I presume on his lordship's indulgence to me, when I venture to request him, with the most earnest and faithful entreaties, not to suffer his noble nature to be led into *the snares of delay*, or give to his enemies (if he can have one) a handle to lessen the lustre of his proceeding, and ascribe (though unjustly) a reluctant hesitation to an act of the most manly and noble decision. Full as my heart is of the kingdom's extreme danger and of Lord Granby's true honour and dignity, I will, through you, venture to advise and almost to conjure his lordship to cut at once the cob-web pleas for time, urged by a hard-pressed minister, to whom

* Chatham to Calcraft.

* This was not our old friend, who had died in 1768, but his nephew (the son of his sister, and also the husband of his deceased brother Henry's daughter), Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to the dukedom, having already assumed the name and arms of Pelham in 1761.

† The letter, like so many others, published in the same collection, was in the handwriting of Lady Chatham, who appears to have been an indefatigable amanuensis, and (as became the wife of Pitt, the sister of Temple, and G. and J. Grenville) an ardent politician! It is dated from Hayes.



HOLWOOD HOUSE, HAYES, KENT: the seat of Lord Chatham.
From a Drawing by the Rev. Robert Nixon, 1795.

moments may be safety. My most respectful and warmly affectionate advice therefore is, that Lord Granby should demand an audience at the queen's house to-morrow, and then and there absolutely and finally resign the ordnance and the command of the army." On the following day (January the 16th) Temple announces that his friend the Earl of Coventry had done his part, and quitted the post of lord of the bed-chamber; that the Duke of Beaufort had resigned that of master of the horse to the queen; that Lord Shelburne continued to give perfect satisfaction; that things had passed very amicably between Lord Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond; and that they (the opposition) had had "a most glorious day." Touching the great point, the *sine qua non*, Temple says, "The letter from Calcraft will speak for Lord Granby. Knowing he had not done the deed, and was to dine with Calcraft, immediately upon the receipt of your letter, at my return from the House of Lords, I wrote to the latter such an epistle as he might show to his guest, asking what news I was to send to Hayes concerning his lordship." On the same day or night the ever busy Calcraft* reported to Chatham that he had communicated his manly sentiments to Granby, who was exceedingly affected by them, and, though his lordship could not prevail on himself to press for an audience that day, he promised that he would be firm in the closet to-morrow, and that no persuasion should make him depart from the execution of his purpose and promise. To this Chatham replied—"The assurances renewed on this important article put my heart enough at ease to sleep to-night upon the hope of to-morrow; a pillow which I may well lay my anxieties to rest upon for one *long night*. May this great to-morrow fix my hopes, that the country may yet be saved, and give me the happy certainty that the name of Granby will be as revered by the friends of the constitution as it is honoured and feared by the nation's enemies in the field." Thus spirited on, Granby, on the morning of the 17th, waited upon his majesty, and in spite of all entreaties resigned everything except his regiment, the Blues. The ordnance was then offered to General Conway, who refused it, saying, he would take none of Lord Granby's spoils. Other resignations took place in the royal household, the Earl of Huntingdon, groom of the stole, and the Duke of Manchester, another of the lords of the bed-chamber, quitting the court abruptly. Sir Francis Brett and Sir George Yonge, junior lords of the admiralty, also threw up their places, by letter to the Duke of York, after telling Sir Edward Hawke, the first lord, that they thought it for the honour of Lord Chatham and their country's quiet.*

* Formerly Mr. Calcraft had been an equally active agent for Chatham's rival, Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland. He was one of the many little men hanging on the many great men, as described by General Conway. But he was also a man of indisputable ability.

* Calcraft to Chatham. In this letter, dated the 20th of January, Calcraft says—"*Don't be surprised to find the Duke of Grafton's ground at court but tender.*"

On the 22nd of January the Marquess of Rockingham moved in the House of Lords that the House should, on Thursday, the 24th, take into consideration the lamentable state of the nation. The Duke of Grafton rose and said that he did not intend to oppose this inquiry, and that he was ready to go into the question whenever the House should think proper. The Earl of Chatham then rose and delivered one of the most remarkable of his speeches. He said that he should not speak methodically, and he kept his word. After speaking of the uncertain state of his health, and thanking God for having thus long preserved so inconsiderable a being as himself, to take a part upon this great occasion, and to contribute his endeavours, such as they were, to restore, to save, to confirm the constitution, he declared that there was a capital mischief fixed at home, corrupting the very foundation of our political existence, and preying upon the vitals of the state. "The constitution," he exclaimed, "has been grossly violated; the constitution at this moment stands violated! Until that wound be healed, until the grievances be redressed, it is in vain to recommend union to parliament; in vain to promote concord among the people. If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people. On any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, MAY DISCORD PREVAIL FOR EVER! I know to what point this doctrine and this language will appear directed; but I feel the principles of an Englishman, and I utter them without apprehension or reserve. The crisis is indeed alarming; so much the more does it require a prudent relaxation on the part of government. If the king's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided on according to the forms, and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be decided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birthright to a despotic minister, I hope, my lords, old as I am, *I shall see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government.*" He passed to the popular outcry about Corsica; called the policy that had prevailed in our councils on that subject narrow and selfish; and said that in acquiring that island France had obtained a more useful and important acquisition in one *pacific* campaign than in any of her belligerent campaigns—at least while he had the honour of managing the war against her. He then leaped over to Ireland, and said that the unhappy state of that kingdom ought to form a very material part of their lordships' inquiry. Then from Ireland he leaped back to England, where he found everything wrong and all the national virtues withered by wealth and luxury. "For some years past," said he, "there has been an influx of wealth into this country, which has been attended with many fatal consequences, because it has not been the regular natural produce of labour and industry. The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connexions, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist. My lords, the corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprise of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution." He repeated that some kind of parliamentary reform was absolutely necessary and inevitable, and said that he had hoped his majesty's servants would not have suffered so many years of peace to elapse without paying some attention to that great object. He proceeded to offer to the consideration of the House his own thoughts and sentiments, which he said were not crude and undigested, but ripe and well considered, as the subject had long occupied his thoughts. This matured scheme of parliamentary reform was, not that the rotten boroughs should be disfranchised—not that the unrepresented great towns should be allowed members—though he admitted that in them great part of the strength and vigour of the constitution resided—but that every county should be permitted to elect *three* members instead of *two*—the knights of the shires approaching the nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, *because they represent the soil.** Thus, in Chatham's vaunted scheme no allowance was to be made for the growing importance of the commercial and manufacturing interests; but the landed interest, the country gentlemen, who had not hitherto been the most liberal part of the legislature, were to crowd the House of Commons, to the danger and risk of all other interests whatsoever. We can conceive how such a parliamentary reform as this would have tended to perpetuate game-laws and corn-

* He said—"The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the rotten parts of the constitution. I have lived in Cornwall, and, without entering into any invidious particularity, have seen enough to justify the appellation. But in my judgment, my lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death. Let us try, my lords, whether some gentle remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases. The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greatest cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to would be to permit every county to elect one member more in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties that the strength and vigour of the constitution resides; and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever rise, will the constitution be honestly and firmly defended. I would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown."

laws, the aristocratic distinctions drawn between men of great estates and men who had no lands; but it is more difficult to understand how it could have served to secure liberty to all, to protect the great body of the people, to perfect the theory of the English constitution, and to make its political practice agree with its principles. Not many months after delivering this speech the great orator himself doubted the efficacy of this plan of reform, and admitted that the knights of the shires, or representatives of counties, "were not the most enlightened or spirited part of the House."* In continuation, Chatham proposed that, in increasing the number of representatives for the English counties, the shires of Scotland should be allowed an equal privilege—that is, if the Scots should demand it or agree to it. At the close of his long speech he proclaimed in sonorous language his coalition with the Marquess of Rockingham, whom, at no very distant date, he had overthrown as an incapable and not trustworthy statesman. "My lords," said he, "besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his lordship's motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure that the noble lord and his friends are now united with me and mine upon a principle which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess or divide the emoluments of government; but, if possible, to save the state. Upon this ground we met—upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance. I hope an early day will be agreed to for considering the state of the nation. My infirmities must fall heavily upon me indeed if I do not attend my duty that day. When I consider my age and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question; but I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those who come after me the blessings which I cannot long hope to enjoy myself."

But in the interval between the 22nd and the 24th, Chatham announced that he was too ill to attend. Rockingham, whose health was frail, and whose sensibilities were acute, was agitated and distressed by the melancholy suicide of Charles Yorke, who had formerly been his colleague, and who had never ceased to be his friend. The marquess, therefore, moved the adjournment of the great question, on the state of the nation, from Thursday, the 24th of January, till Friday, the 2nd of February, stating as his grounds for asking this delay, his own feelings and the absence of the Earl of Chatham. There was no division, as none objected to put off the day; yet there was "a kind of sparring debate or conversation," ministers saying that the opposition were inconsistent to retard what they themselves declared could admit of no delay.*

In the mean time Sir John Cust had died, and Sir Fletcher Norton had been elected speaker by the Commons. On the 25th of January, when a committee on the state of the nation was formed, Mr. Dowdeswell moved, by the advice of Chatham—"That this House, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof." To this Lord North proposed adding one of his usual tacking clauses, which went to nullify or change the bearing of the original motion. He said that to Dowdeswell's words should be pinned—"and that the judgment given by this House last session, that Mr. Wilkes was incapable of being elected, &c., was founded upon those principles, namely, the law and custom of parliament." The opposition of course resisted. Mr. Hampden seconded the motion as made by Dowdeswell; George Grenville, Wedderburn, and Sir George Yonge spoke on the same side, as did Lord Granby and others; but Sir John Shelley—"the admirable and incomparable Jack Shelley," as Lord Temple styles him—voted with ministers; "which," adds Temple, "is a bad prognostic of his grace of Newcastle's intentions, upon which, however, the numbers may have great effect." The numbers, upon a division, were, for Lord North's amendment 224, and against it 180.

On the 28th Lord North, already chancellor of the exchequer, became first lord of the treasury: for the Duke of Grafton, to the astonishment of the opposition, resigned the premiership. It was said that the sharp scourge of Junius had driven him from his post; but it is evident that there were a hundred other strong concurrent motives to induce him to retreat. To mention only a few of these, the court had already evinced a preference for the readier services and more complying temper of Lorth North; Camden, and Granby,† and others of his warmest friends or best adherents had fallen from him; the cabinet and the household were both ungarnished, and the greatest difficulty

* Chatham to the Earl of Shelburne, Chat. Cor.

* Letter from the Marquess of Rockingham to the Countess of Chatham.

† Calcraft, in his letter to Chatham, announcing Grafton's retreat, says decidedly—"*The Duke of Grafton has resolved on this step ever since Lord Granby's resignation*, and the *unreasonable demands of his Bedford friends* have confirmed his grace in the resolution."—*Chatham Corresp.*

existed in filling them so as to please the king and strengthen the ministry at the same time; the great strength of the opposition; the increasing might and eloquence of Chatham, against which it seemed no cabinet could hope to stand; the coalition of Rockingham with Chatham; the turbulent state of the country; the troubles in the colonies; the difficulties of official business, which became every day more perplexing and more burdensome; all contributed, no doubt, to drive from office a minister who loved his pleasure and his ease, and who had never much loved business. Calcraft was the first to assure Chatham that Grafton had certainly resigned, and that the present plan of the court appeared to be merely a trial with Lord North. To this information he added that he had reason to believe that the court had some thoughts of sounding his lordship (Chatham) or other heads of opposition. Chatham, replying to this letter by the hand of his wife, expressed his great perplexity, for he had believed that, if Grafton resigned, the whole ministry would be entirely changed. "The resignation of the Duke of Grafton," he writes to Calcraft, "seems an incomprehensible mystery, on any other supposition than that of the ministry breaking up; and even in that case it is equally without a solution. Time, and that a very short one, must clear up this riddle, and for the present a suspense of conjecture naturally takes place here."* And a short time did clear up the riddle; and the solution was, that Lord North was to remain with all of the cabinet Grafton had left, and with power, or limited instructions, to fill up the vacancies; and that Chatham and his friends were to be left, unconsulted and defied, on the hard and barren benches of opposition! The great seal was left in commission, with the commissioners already named. Granby's places of the ordnance and the command-in-chief were left vacant for the present; the post of groom of the stole, resigned by the Earl of Huntingdon, was given to the Earl of Bristol, who again was succeeded in his office of lord privy seal by the Earl of Halifax; the Earl of Coventry was succeeded as a lord of the bedchamber by the Earl of Pembroke, and the Duke of Manchester's bedchambership was left vacant; the Earl of Waldegrave (brother to the honest nobleman who had been governor to his majesty when a minor and Prince of Wales) succeeded the Duke of Beaufort as master of the horse to the queen; Sir Gilbert Elliot succeeded Lord Howe in the treasurership of the navy; Mr. Charles James Fox became one of the junior lords of the Admiralty in the place of Sir Percy Brett, and Admiral Holburne another, in the place of Sir George Yonge; the other junior lords (including Viscount Palmerston, who had not resigned) continuing as before. Mr. Welbore Ellis became one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in lieu of Mr. James Grenville; and Mr. Edward Thurlow, a rising lawyer, recommended to notice not less by his daring dash-through spirit than by his abilities, was called up to be solicitor-general instead of Mr. Dunning. There were a few minor substitutions and interchanges of offices; but these were the principal; and, as a recent writer has observed, they left Lord North's ministry, a *continuation*, for the greater part, of that of the Duke of Grafton. The only really *new* name in it was that of Halifax.*

The new Palinurus, who thus boldly took the helm, Frederick Lord North,—in private life one of the most amiable and worthy of men,—was eldest son to the Earl of Guilford, about thirty-seven years old, married, the father of a family, and poor. In manners, person, and countenance he bore a most striking resemblance to the royal family, or all that part of it which descended from Frederick Prince of Wales, the father of George III. Like them, he had a fair complexion, bushy eyebrows, and grey eyes rather prominent in the head. His face, it was said, might be esteemed a caricature of the king's; and those who remembered the great intimacy which subsisted between Frederick, the king's father, and the Countess of Guilford, found no difficulty in accounting for the similarity. Lord North's tongue being too large for his mouth rendered his articulation thick; his sight was so very defective that he could not see clearly even at the distance of a few feet; and across the House of Commons he could not distinguish persons with any accuracy. He not only wanted grace, but was to the last degree awkward; and between his awkwardness and his short-sightedness he often got into ridiculous difficulties. On one occasion he took off on the point of his sword, and carried a considerable way across the House, the wig of the old treasurer of the navy, who was accustomed to sit at the lowest corner of the treasury bench, a few feet from Lord North. And, in addition to this defect of sight and awkwardness, Lord North was subject to a constitutional somnolency, and would often fall fast asleep even in the midst of the most eloquent or most noisy debates. But, to balance these physical defects, he had a good knowledge of the House of Commons, which he took care to improve, a ready command of words, a happy art of talking a long while and keeping up attention without disclosing anything that it was his business to conceal, a fund of wit, or of quiet ready humour which looked like it, and was perhaps better than wit; and, above all, he possessed an unalterable equality of temper, a stock of good humour which was proof to almost every provocation, and which hardly ever failed him. It has been said of him by one who witnessed the war, that the sarcasms, the accusations, the denunciations of his adversaries produced no more impression upon him than cannon-balls do upon a woolsack.† At the same time his speech, though thick, was not indistinct; he had considerable powers of argument, and a good clear demon-

* Chatham Corresp.

* Changes of Administration and History of Parties, in Companion to Newspaper.

† Wraxall, Memoirs,

strative style in opening a budget or expounding matters of finance and routine. As chancellor of the exchequer he had borne the principal weight of the administration before Grafton's secession, and his promptness in complying with the king's wishes at that trying moment was not soon forgotten. Perhaps he had an additional claim to the royal favour through certain private circumstances, which seemed to imply that he could have no great affection for the Earl of Chatham, who had stepped between his wife and the rich inheritance of Sir William Pynsent.*

The opposition soon began to make Lord North feel that he had not taken possession of a bed of roses. Mr. Dowdeswell moved another resolution—"That by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right can be incapacitated by a resolution of the House, but by an express act of parliament only." In the course of this debate Colonel Barré compared the state to a vessel in a

COLONEL BARRE.
From a Painting by C. G. Stuart. 1795.

storm, which had parted with her main-mast (the Duke of Grafton), and was trying to scud under a jury-mast (Lord North). North acknowledged that the storm was *great*; but he told the opposition that the ship was not yet compelled to hang out distressed lights for pilots—that her own crew were quite capable of conducting her into port. Dowdeswell's motion was negatived by a majority of 226 to 181. Lord Rockingham, in imparting this division to Chatham, said, "Lord Chatham will not be much surprised at this majority, as his lordship must have seen for some years that it is neither men nor measures, but something else which operates in these times."†

On the 2nd of February, pursuant to Lord Rockingham's adjournment, the debate on the state of the nation came on in the House of Lords, where Rockingham moved, "That the House of Commons, in the exercise of its judicature in matters of elections, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which is part thereof." Lord Sandwich, who remained in office as joint postmaster-general, reprobated the whole inquiry, and, in a particular manner, any attempt of that House to interfere in a question of privilege which regarded the Commons alone. He denied that the nation was in that extremity of discontent and alarm which had been described by Rockingham and his friends. "We are told," said he, "that the majority of the people of England have petitioned for redress of grievances. Now, the whole people of England are contained within forty counties, of which thirteen only have petitioned." He asserted that means of intimidation had been used to force freeholders into petitioning —that *menacing* letters, in gazettes, and newspapers, had been addressed to those who wanted to be guided by their own consciences and their own opinions—and that all these alarms were nothing but "*the feeble echoes of despondent ambition.*" He concluded by saying that, if the Commons felt themselves aggrieved by the expulsion of Wilkes and the intrusion of Colonel Luttrell, they had the means of redress in their own power. Here the Earl of Chatham rose—for he was well enough not only to attend but to make a very long speech. Lord Sandwich had referred to the expulsion from the Upper House, "for certain crimes and misdemeanours," of Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, and the great Lord Bacon; and had urged that the peers *now* ought to take no more notice of the expulsion of Wilkes than the Commons *then* had taken of the sentence pronounced by their lordships on Middlesex and Bacon. To this point Chatham replied—"Neither of those cases bears any analogy to the present case. They affected only themselves: the rights of no *constituent* body were affected by them. It is not the person of Mr. Wilkes we complain of: as an individual he is personally out of the dispute. The cause of complaint, the great cause, is, that the inherent rights and franchises of the people are in this case invaded, trampled upon, annihilated. Lord Bacon and Lord Middlesex represented no county or city: the rights of no freeholder, the franchises of no elector, were destroyed by their expulsion!" He maintained that, in a constitutional question of this magnitude, the three estates, or King, Lords, and Commons, were equally interested and equally bound to interfere. The Commons, indeed, were the proper protectors of their own rights and privileges; but he lamented that they had, by their recent conduct, forgot what those privileges were, and had "added to the long list of venality from Esau to the present day." As to the petitions, he said, that in many cases there had been a want of a few principal persons to call

* See ante, p. 36.

† Chatham Corresp.

the people together and collect their opinions—that interest had been made use of on the side of government to suppress all petitions—and that it was surprising that, out of forty counties, thirteen had spirit and independence sufficient to stem such a tide of venality. And, then, numbers did not constitute right. The right was in the laws of the land, which were fixed and unalterable. He called the vote of the Commons which had made Colonel Luttrell representative for Middlesex a gross invasion of law and of the rights of election—a dangerous violation of the constitution—a treacherous surrender of invaluable privilege, and a corrupt sacrifice of honour. He said that, to gratify the resentment of certain individuals, the laws had been despised and destroyed—"those laws which had been made by the virtue of their ancestors, the iron barons of old, to whom we were indebted for all the blessings of our present constitution; to whose virtue and whose blood, to whose spirit in the hour of contest, and to whose tenderness in the triumph of victory, the silken barons of this day owe their honours and their seats, and both houses of parliament owe their continuance." He insisted that these measures made a part of a regular system which had been formed in the present reign with a view to alter the constitution—that these measures had originated, he would not say, with his majesty's knowledge, but in his majesty's councils—that the Commons, in slavishly obeying his majesty's servants, had exhibited and proved, to the conviction of every man, what might have been only matter of suspicion before, that ministers held a corrupt influence in parliament. It was therefore necessary for their lordships, at this critical and alarming period, to step forward and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed and perhaps speedy, intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of his majesty's ministers. The House was excited, but the daring orator made few or no converts, and Rockingham's motion was negatived by more than two to one. The Earl of Marchmont then moved, on the ministerial side, "That any resolution of the Lords directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two houses of parliament, and leading to general confusion." In the course of his speech the Scottish lord lost his temper and his discretion, and had the madness to talk of the necessity of calling in *foreign assistance* if the opposition went one step further. The Duke of Richmond called to order, and asked him what he meant by the words *foreign assistance*. Marchmont stammered and shuffled; and Lord Mansfield rose to relieve him, declaring, as a lawyer and statesman, that their lordships had no right to interfere in any determination of the Commons. He was succeeded by the Earl of Egmont, who said that the late petitions were highly censurable, if they were not *treasonable*. Upon this Chatham rose again, and, after sarcastically thanking Lord Egmont for his lenity in allowing the petitioners to wear their heads, and then solemnly affirming that the petitions were laudable and constitutional, he fell upon Mansfield, praising his abilities at the expense of his honour, honesty, and patriotism. He next complained of Lord Marchmont's motion, and of the late hour (midnight) at which it had been made. "If," he exclaimed, "the constitution must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour, when honest men are asleep in their beds, and when only felons and assassins are seeking for prey." His proposed adjournment for only two days was, nevertheless, rejected, and at half past one in the morning Marchmont's motion was carried. During this rough debate Sandwich accused the ex-chancellor Camden of double dealing, and of having permitted, while in office, the proceedings against Wilkes to take place without remonstrance and without any opinion given by him as to their illegality. Camden declared, upon his honour, that long before Wilkes's expulsion, and the subsequent vote of incapacity, he had informed the Duke of Grafton, the head of the government, that he thought the proceedings both illegal and imprudent; and that he had frequently delivered this opinion. The Duke of Grafton, thus referred to, admitted that Lord Camden, once before the expulsion of Wilkes, had intimated that he thought the measure impolitic or ill timed; but maintained that he had never given his opinion on the subsequent vote of incapacity: and that, whenever that subject was discussed, he had remained silent or had retired from the cabinet. Lord Weymouth corroborated these assertions of Grafton, and particularly recalled one occasion when Camden had withdrawn from the council on the mere mention of the expulsion and incapacity measures. Still, however, the ex-chancellor persisted in asserting, on his word of honour, that he had repeatedly delivered his opinion; but then, he added, that, finding his opinion despised, he had, indeed, absented himself from the cabinet rather than be present at measures which were pre-determined, and which his single voice could not prevent. Lord Chatham, who had himself been suspected before now of the kind of duplicity attributed to his friend, declared that, in private conversation with him, Lord Camden had certainly declared his opinions on those matters, and had demonstrated the illegality and danger of the course pursuing by his colleagues. The opposition peers entered a strong protest against the decision which had been come to upon Lord Marchmont's motion. The protest, no doubt furnished by one of those who drew it up, was printed a day or two after in a newspaper. Lord Gower complained of this as a breach of privilege, and the poor printer was ordered to attend at the bar. Instead of obeying, the printer absconded. Lord Sandwich then moved for an

order to take him into custody of the usher of the black rod wherever he could be found; and this was carried in spite of the opposition of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Temple. The printer, however, could not be found, and the protest continued to be read out of doors, to the no small increase of the popular fermentation. On the 5th of February there was another debate in the Commons, where the opposition urged that the expulsion of Wilkes had been determined by ministers in council, and where the majority voted the expulsion good, &c. A motion was made for leave to bring in a bill to regulate and define the consequences of expulsion from the House; but it came to nothing.

On the 2nd of March, while the city of London was busy in getting up memorials and remonstrances, Lord Craven, acting with the opposition, moved an address to the throne, beseeching his majesty forthwith to take proper steps for such an increase of seamen in the royal navy as should effectually preserve the honour and security of his majesty's kingdoms and colonies. As previously arranged, this motion was to lead to severe censures on the dismissal of able officers for their votes in parliament, and on the whole management of the navy. The Earl of Chatham supported the motion, and condemned the conduct of the ministry in every particular in regard to that important branch of the national service. He then took up his old war-cry against favourites and the secret influence which had pervaded the councils of the present reign. This influence, dangerous, base, unconstitutional, and wicked, had, he said, begun from the first moment of his majesty's accession, had subsisted ever since, and had undermined and overturned every administration however constituted or supported. He spoke of an invisible, irresponsible influence—of the pernicious counsel of a favourite, who had occasioned all the unhappiness of the nation, and whose agents had extended his destructive politics and principles to the government of the colonies. This favourite, he allowed, was gone abroad; but Mazarine absent was Mazarine still; his influence, by means of secret agents, was strong as ever! Lord Bute, at this moment, was gone or going to Turin, a little fact which gave double force to the accusations which followed. The late peace, Chatham said, was the favourite's measure, and a proof of his influence: others participated in the guilt, but he was the principal. Then, raising his voice, he exclaimed, "This country was sold at the late peace! We were sold by the court of Turin to the court of France!" Continuing his harangue, he almost directly accused the king of insincerity and treachery to himself personally during the time he was minister. He said he had been duped when he least suspected treachery; that the king, after giving his approbation to plans and measures one week, would let them vanish into thin air the next; that, in accepting office, he had received promises and assurances, which were all broken by the same secret, invisible influence which had displaced all ministers as soon as they declined to act under it. Here the Duke of Grafton rose, and hinted, as Lord Chesterfield had done before, that Chatham's intellect had been affected. "I rise," said his grace, "to defend the king; though, if I understand the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a *distempered mind, brooding over its discontent.*" But this defence of the king only elicited a stronger repetition of the accusation. "I rise," said Chatham, "neither to deny, or retract, nor to explain away, the words I have spoken. As for his majesty, I have always found him every thing gracious and amiable in the closet; so amiably condescending as to *promise*, in every repeated audience, not only to forgive, but to supply, the defects of health by his cheerful support, and by the ready assistance of all his immediate dependants, &c. Instead of this, all the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure did not arise from those out of government; they were suggested, nourished, and supported by that secret influence I have mentioned, and by the industry of those very dependants: first by secret treachery; then by official influence; afterwards in public councils. A long train of these practices has at length unwillingly convinced me that there is *something behind the throne greater than the king himself.*" We have now certainly got beyond the limits within which there could be any doubt as to the king's total estrangement from Bute; but Chatham's charges made all the impression they were intended to make: the popular credulity on this head had known no abatement, and there were plenty of persons to declare that they knew who were the secret agents that went between the absent lord, the princess-dowager, and the king. Two individuals were more particularly pointed out at this period: the one was Mr. Bradshaw, commonly called "the cream-coloured parasite," the other Mr. Dyson, both placemen and members of parliament. Subsequently Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Baron Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool), who had begun life as private secretary to Bute, and who remained in office as a junior lord of the treasury, was reputed the chief agent.

Four days after this debate in the Lords, in which, as usual, the opposition had been outvoted, the Common Hall of the city took into consideration a memorial complaining that no answer had ever been returned to the city petition presented to his majesty. The lord mayor, Beckford, delivered a long and exciting harangue, and a prepared remonstrance to the throne was presented and adopted by acclamation and with three rounds of applause. It appears that, at first, the king refused to receive this harsh lecture, and that, at last, he consented with extreme reluctance. The paper, entitled an address, remonstrance, and petition, was carried up to St. James's on the 14th of March by the lord mayor, and about 220 common

councilmen, liverymen, and city officers, and was there read to his majesty sitting on the throne. The royal ear has not often been vexed by such sharp and dissonant periods. The paper told him that secret and evil counsellors and a corrupt majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights, had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles I. or the dispensing power assumed by James II.—a deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of the present parliament. It told him that the House of Commons did not now represent the people; and that, if the parliament under James II. had been as submissive to the commands of that tyrant as the present parliament was to the dictates of a minister, the nation would have rung, as now, with outcries for a dissolution. It called God and man to witness that, as the citizens did not owe their liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions which places, and pensions, and lucrative employments had invented, so neither would they be cheated of it by them; but, as it was gained by the stern virtue of their ancestors, so it should be preserved by themselves. In conclusion it prayed that the king would instantly dissolve parliament, and remove for ever all evil ministers and advisers. In reply the king told them that it gave him great concern to find that they should have been so far misled as to offer him an address and remonstrance, the contents of which he could not but consider as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. He said that he had ever made the law of the land the rule for his conduct, esteeming it his chief glory to reign over a free people, and that he had a right to expect from the people a steady and affectionate support. His countenance was clouded, and some of his courtiers showed their resentment in gestures and broken sentences as the city deputation withdrew from the royal presence. The court instantly determined to bring the petition and remonstrance before parliament. The plan was to move against one Mr. Lovell, as the first of the city committee who signed the request to the lord mayor which led to the meeting and the strong paper. This, it was thought, would induce my lord mayor and the sheriffs to rise in their places in the House of Commons to say they were equally parties, which would bring the attack upon themselves. "The alarm at court," writes Calcraft, "is beyond imagination. If our friends stand firm they own all is over with them. Every temptation is or will be forthwith held out to Lord Rockingham. *There* is their only hope." And he advises Chatham by all means to contrive and see Lord Granby, and talk over with him the state of the times and the city remonstrance. To this Chatham replied, that the high tone which the court meant to take upon the petition and remonstrance was most absurd; that their counterfeited firmness was real despair; that he would be in town on the morrow to see Lord Granby, and that he felt assured all temptation would be vain in the Rockingham quarter. "Or if," said he, "here and there an individual should be found base enough or silly enough to turn tail in this great moment, a good riddance, say I, of such miserable company! Such defections, should any happen, will, in effect, strengthen rather than weaken the real friends and true votaries of *liberty*." On the 15th of March, the day after the visit of the lord mayor to St. James's, Sir Thomas Clavering moved that a copy of the city address to the king should be produced. Although the original intention had been given up, of charging Mr. Lovell, Beckford (the lord mayor), Townshend and Sawbridge (the two sheriffs), and Alderman Trecothick acted precisely as it had been calculated they would act if Lovell had been charged: they all rose in their places, avowed the active part they had taken in the whole transaction, and said that they were ready to answer for it. The Marquess of Granby, George Grenville, Burke, Wedderburn, and others opposed the motion as unusual and inexpedient; but it was nevertheless carried by a majority of 271 to 108: and the petition, together with his majesty's answer to it, was laid upon the table. But the fright at court continued, and they were not only puzzled but undetermined what to do with the petition and remonstrance, now they had got it before parliament. The only resolution taken was, to be more temperate, and to avoid any expulsion or commitment to the Tower, seeing that that was the very thing which the lord mayor and the sheriffs courted. The consternation was the greater as it was known that other petitions and remonstrances, much in the same tone, were preparing for Westminster and for the county of Middlesex. On the 18th of March Calcraft wrote to Earl Temple that there was a strong report that ministers were disagreeing amongst themselves, were discovering the difficulties they might get involved in, and were resolved not to proceed upon the city remonstrance to-morrow. The same busy informant, who had his eyes everywhere, added, "Lord Chatham's proposal about Westminster adds to their alarm. The *greatest person* requires cordials." Chatham, it appears, had said he would go down to the Hall to support the Westminster remonstrance. When the morrow came (the 19th of March) all that was moved for in the Commons was a vote of disapprobation in regard to part of the city address, or, as it was worded by the mover, Sir Thomas Clavering, "That to deny the legality of the present parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable, and has a manifest tendency to disturb the peace of the kingdom, by withdrawing his majesty's subjects from their obedience to the laws of the realm." Nor was this much carried without violent opposition. The debate was prolonged till three o'clock in the morning, when, upon a division, the opposition counted 127 to 284. The whole of the next day was spent in fighting about an address

to the king in condemnation of the city remonstrance. This was finally agreed to by 248 against 94; a large majority, which was attributed to the squeamish moderation, or some less honourable motive, of the Rockingham party. The address thus voted was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, and was then presented to the king, who received it most graciously. It is said, however, that his majesty was far from being satisfied with this half measure; that he thought the city magistrates ought to have been proceeded against by parliament; and that he said, bitterly, "My ministers have no spirit; they do not pursue measures with any spirit!" On the other hand, the city and the people of Middlesex were highly offended by the conduct of the opposition and the smallness of the minority that voted against the address. They called this a half support given to the city remonstrance, and they passed certain resolutions expressive of their discontent. They laid the whole blame on the Rockingham party; and the Rev. Mr. Horne—better known by his later designation of Mr. Horne Tooke—who had already begun to rule the fierce democracy by caustic wit and stirring harangues at Mile End and Brentford meetings, announced his intention of exposing the whole Rockingham party. This would have been very fatal to the opposition; and every effort was made by Chatham, through Calcraft, to prevent it. On the 22nd Beckford, as lord mayor, gave a splendid entertainment to a *select* number of the members of both houses of parliament. Chatham pleaded gout and did not attend; but the Marquess of Rockingham was there, and Chatham assured Beckford that he still considered the marquess as "public-spirited, and firm to the cause of the constitution." Meanwhile the court party continued to complain that they had been given up by ministers, who had not properly supported in parliament the strong answer the king had given to the city remonstrance. A meeting of the cabinet was called to discuss the subject; and then Lord North, Lord Halifax, Lord Hillsborough, and Lord Rochford, prevailed upon the rest to drop all thoughts of going farther, or of prosecuting the city magistrates.* On the 28th the electors of Westminster agreed upon a petition and remonstrance of their own to the king. But it appears that there was a poor attendance on this occasion. Alderman Sawbridge, the Rev. Mr. Horne, and Calcraft, had a private meeting at the alderman's house, where they agreed that it would be cruel not to stand by the people after the struggle they had made against this arbitrary and weak administration; and that it would be madness to sow dissension among the opposition at a moment when the court was making use of all its endeavours to win over the Rockingham party. The reverend orator agreed to drop his intention of denouncing the Rockinghams at the Mile End meeting, and also to get up at that meeting another strong petition and remonstrance to the king from the freeholders of Middlesex. On the 30th Horne redeemed his promises: he harangued the Mile End meeting for two hours, gave a very clever account of what ministers had been doing, and got the remonstrance carried as spicy and hot as Chatham himself could have desired. On that very night Calcraft received the great orator's thanks for his able management. "I deeply lament," wrote Chatham, "any tendency towards jealousies or animosities between different parts of the combined forces who stand for the public, and upon the maintenance of whose union all hope of good depends. If that transcendant and indispensable object shall be thrown away, I shall esteem nothing worth pursuing with a moment's thought. Your weight with Mr. Sawbridge has been most happily exerted; and the conclusion at Mile End has saved the cause of the constitution from the irrecoverable contempt which was impending from silly resentments and pernicious jealousies. May a temper of more manly wisdom and some public-spirited candour and indulgence prevail amongst those who happen to differ in particular points, than that which seemed first bursting forth! *As for Lord Rockingham, I have a firm reliance on his zeal for liberty, and will not separate from him.*"* And yet within a few short months these resentments, jealousies, and misgivings were revived, and Chatham accused not only Rockingham, but the more impetuous Temple and the devoted Camden, of a moderation amounting to lukewarmness. The Middlesex remonstrance was presented on the 31st of March.

On the 2nd of April Mr. George Grenville's celebrated bill for regulating the trial of controverted elections was passed in the House of Commons, the court having given up their design of opposing it on the third reading.† The Bill was undoubtedly an immense improvement upon the loose, unfair practice which had hitherto prevailed; it went a great way to rescue the trial of contested elections from being a mere open struggle of parties; and by shortening such cases saved the time of parliament for the dispatch of business. Ever since the famous Aylesbury case in 1704,‡ the House of Commons had been admitted, without dispute, sole judge of the qualifications of electors, and of all other matters regarding the election of their own members. Controverted elections were tried before a committee of the whole House, the members not being bound to impartiality by any oath, promise, or pledge. The present bill simply provided that the judicature, in all cases of controverted elections, should be transferred from the House to a *sworn* committee of fifteen members, whereof thirteen were to be chosen by the contest-

* Chatham, a day or two before, had hinted that they dared not go farther:—"As for the anger you mention in a certain quarter, at being given up, as they call it, after the silly answer to the city, I can only say they have nothing to be angry with but their own *folly* and the *wisdom* of the constitution, expressed with so much precision in the Bill of Rights. As for all talk of going farther, I can only look on it with the contempt it deserves."—*Letter to Calcraft.*

* Chatham Corresp.
† Earl Temple to Chatham.
‡ See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 158.

ing claimants for the seat, out of a list of forty-five chosen by *ballot* by the whole House, and two were to be named by the contesting parties themselves, one by each. The committee, whose decision was made final, were to have full power to send for and examine witnesses, papers, and records, and their oath bound them to a strict impartiality. Before the third reading the bill met with considerable opposition from ministers, and at one stage Mr. Welbore Ellis moved that it should be thrown out altogether, and was seconded by Mr. Fox. Burke lent all his eloquence to the

Burke.
From a Painting by G. Romney.

bill, and is said to have spoken "inimitably well." Temple informed Chatham that Lord Mansfield had approved the bill, and would support it in the Upper House, so that no ministerial opposition was to be expected there. On the 5th of April it was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Grenville, attended by a hundred members. Chatham was present to give it his support and to eulogise the framer. He took this opportunity of stating that, as he had begun his life out of a court, he hoped he should end it out of a court; that he had no views of personal interest; that all he meant was to rouse his country to a just sense of the blessings of the constitution. He then desired that there might be a call of the House immediately after the Easter holidays, as he intended to bring in a bill to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election.

Previously to the passing of Mr. Grenville's famous act Mr. Dowdeswell had made and lost a motion for bringing in a bill to disqualify officers of the excise and customs from voting at elections; and a very necessary act was passed by both Houses putting an end to the odious protections granted by peers and members of parliament to their servants. Lord Sandwich increased his unpopularity by warmly opposing this bill as an encroachment upon the privileges of the peers. Lord Mansfield, on the other side, gave his warmest support to the bill. Mr. Grenville had also moved for an account of the civil list expenditure, the excess of which, according to Wilkes and many others, had been chiefly incurred in bribing and corrupting members of parliament, or in buying votes at the last general election. It was shown that the civil list expenses had been greatly on the increase, and that his majesty, besides his regular revenue, had already received more than 500,000*l.* from his parliament. This motion had been rejected at the end of February: in March Mr. Dowdeswell had moved for certain accounts relative to the present king's debts and to the amount of money left in the exchequer at the time of the decease of George II.;* and, having failed in this, Dowdeswell, on the 2nd of April, in the committee which was still sitting on the state of the nation, had proposed an address requesting the king to retrench his expenses. This motion was not only lost, but it also led to the dissolution of the committee on the state of the nation, which Lord North declared had existed for months without doing any good. On the very next day Dowdeswell had repeated his motion in the House; and Sir Edward Astley, two days after, had moved for a list of pensions. Moreover, Chatham himself had seconded in the Upper House a motion for an inquiry into the expenses of the civil list. In the course of his brilliant speech on this occasion he had proclaimed that the minister who was bold enough to spend the people's money before it was granted—*even though it were not for the purpose of corrupting their representatives*—that every unthrifty or corrupt minister deserved death! He had pronounced a panegyric on George II., meant evidently as a contrast to the character of George III. "The late good old king," he said, "had something of humanity about him, and, amongst other royal and manly virtues, he possessed truth and sincerity in an eminent degree; so that he had something about him by which it was possible to know whether he liked you or disliked you." Some lord on the opposite side of the House had reminded him, that he too when in office had granted pensions. To this he replied with wonderful animation:—"It is true; and here is a list of them: you will find there the names of General Amherst, Sir Edward Hawke, and several others of the same nature; they were given as rewards for real services, and as encouragements to other gallant heroes. They were honourably earned in a different sort of campaigns than those at Westminster; they were gained by actions full of danger to themselves, of glory and benefit to this nation; not by corrupt votes of baseness and of destruction to their country. You

* Lord Mountstuart, Bute's eldest son, requested in the course of this debate that the accounts might be produced, saying that, if they were, they would fully disprove the foul accusations against his father.

will find no secret service there; and you will find that, when the warrior was recompensed, the member of parliament was left free. You will likewise find a pension of 1500*l.* a-year to Lord Camden. I recommended his lordship to be chancellor; his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all; they made his station more precarious. I could not reasonably expect from him that he would quit the chief-justiceship of the Common Pleas, which he held for life, and put himself in the power of those who were not to be trusted, to be dismissed from the chancery perhaps the day after his appointment. The public has not been deceived by his conduct. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more a poor and private man; he was dismissed for the opinion he gave in favour of the right of election in the people." Here Lord Marchmont, who had had lately the audacity to talk in parliament of employing foreign force, called Lord Chatham to order; and some other lords called out, "To the bar, to the bar!" When something like silence was restored, Marchmont moved that Lord Chatham's words should be taken down. Chatham seconded this motion, adding, "I neither deny, retract, or explain these words; I re-affirm the fact; I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honour of every lord in this House whether he has not the same conviction." The Marquess of Rockingham, Earl Temple, and other lords affirmed upon their honour that they had. Lord Sandwich and Lord Weymouth would have withdrawn the motion for taking down the words; but Marchmont persisted, and then moved that nothing had appeared to justify Chatham's assertion. "My words," thundered Chatham, "remain unretracted, unexplained, and re-affirmed. I desire to know whether I am condemned or acquitted; and whether I may still presume to hold up my head as high as the noble lord who moved to have my words taken down." No answer was returned, and the orator continued his denunciations:—"I will trust no sovereign in the world with the means of purchasing the liberties of the people. When I had the honour of being the confidential keeper of the king's intention, he assured me that he never intended to exceed the allowance which was made by parliament; and, therefore, my lords, at a time when there are no marks of personal dissipation in the king—at a time when there are no marks of any considerable sums having been expended to procure the secrets of our enemies—that a request of an inquiry into the expenditure of the civil list should be refused is to me most extraordinary. Does the king of England want to build a palace equal to his rank and dignity? Does he want to encourage the polite and useful arts? Does he mean to reward the hardy veteran, who has defended his quarrel in many a rough campaign, whose salary does not equal that of some of your servants? Or does he mean, by drawing the purse-strings of his subjects, to spread corruption through the people, to procure a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit his ministers at all adventures? I do not say, my lords, that corruption lies here, or that corruption lies there; but, if any gentleman in England were to ask me whether I thought both houses of parliament were bribed, I should laugh in his face, and say, 'Sir, it is not so.'" He concluded with saying that an inquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list revenue was expedient, proper, and just; and that a refusal of it would only add ridicule to disgrace, and folly to enormity. The Lords, nevertheless, negatived the motion.

But a more important debate, or one attended with more immediate consequences, which also took place before the Easter recess, was upon a ministerial bill for repealing all the American taxes and duties, except the duty upon tea. A petition had been presented by the English merchants trading with America, representing that, in consequence of the duties and taxes, the discontents of the Americans, and their combinations to prevent the importation of goods from England, their trade had gone to ruin, and that in the year 1769 their exports had fallen short of what they had been to the value of 740,000*l.* It was also shown that since the year 1767 the revenue actually received by government from duties paid in America, had decreased from 110,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* On the 5th of March Lord North himself moved for leave to bring in the repealing bill. Mr. Grenville, the parent of the unlucky stamp act, argued as he had done before that he at least had acted systematically; that in imposing the stamp duties he had reason to think that they would be paid; that the succeeding ministry in repealing that act had re-affirmed the right of parliament to tax the colonies; that Mr. Charles Townshend, under the next ministry, had laid his duties upon unwise and anti-commercial principles, and that these duties had turned out far more odious to the colonies than his stamp act; that now a partial repeal would not do; that ministers must give up the whole, the duty upon tea as well as the rest, or stand by the whole. A partial repeal, he said, would do no good, nor would the Americans now rest satisfied with anything short of the renunciation by parliament of the right to tax them in any way, either externally or internally. He declined giving any vote. Governor Pownall proposed as an amendment that the repeal should be extended to all articles as the only way of quieting the colonies. General Conway, Colonel Barré, and Sir William Meredith, supported this amendment. Lord Barrington and some others opposed alike the original motion and the amendment, declaring their conviction that even a total repeal would fail in satisfying the Americans, and that they would never again be obedient to English laws until reduced by English arms. In the end Pownall's amendment was rejected by 204 against 142; and leave was given to bring in North's bill. A subsequent motion to repeal the duty on tea was also lost. It was urged

by, and for, Lord North that the duty on tea was preserved merely for the purpose of saving the national honour, and maintaining the authority of parliament (*the very question at issue!*); and that this tea duty was so insignificant that it could not be felt financially, and would not be noticed by the colonists, unless they were pre-determined, at all events, to seek a quarrel with the mother country. It was even shown afterwards that the Americans would drink their tea at a cheaper rate than ever; for, while the duty was only threepence in the pound, one shilling per pound was to be taken off all teas to be exported to the colonies.*

During the Easter recess Beckford gave another *convivium* to the opposition at the Mansion House, "that seat of liberty and spirit," as Lord Temple called it; Chatham, in spite of another attack of gout, aided in getting up another strong remonstrance from the county of Kent; Alderman Sawbridge called another Common Hall; Lord Stanhope, full of zeal, arrived at Hayes from Geneva; Calcraft went and came between the great opposition chiefs; and some of the Tories were so dissatisfied with Lord North as to send him word that he was not to expect their constant support. To increase the embarrassments of the premier, whom Chatham now styled *Lord Deputy North*, very alarming news arrived from America; and John Wilkes was once more at large, haranguing everywhere on his sufferings, and declaring to the freeholders of Middlesex that he was ready to die in the cause of liberty. The time of his imprisonment had expired, his fines had been paid out of the public subscription money, and men of character and substance had given security for his future good behaviour. Lord Temple paid every possible attention to the enlarged patriot, and Chatham, after arranging his plan of attack with Temple, Rockingham, Shelburne, and others, stood up in the House of Lords on the 1st of May, when the holidays were over, and presented a bill for reversing the adjudications of the House of Commons, whereby John Wilkes, Esq., had been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middlesex had been deprived of one of their legal representatives. The bill itself was couched in the strongest language, and concluded with declaring all the resolutions of the Commons in Wilkes' case to be arbitrary and illegal. Lord Temple, Lord Lyttelton, and the Duke of Richmond strongly supported the motion for the second reading, which was as violently opposed by Lord Denbigh, who called the mover and his supporters a faction. Chatham retorted and treated Denbigh with sovereign contempt, saying that his lordship was very angry, but angry in such a sort that none could be angry with *him*. He then proceeded to treat of the Middlesex election and of the new state arithmetic by which Colonel Luttrell's 296 had been held a greater number than Wilkes's 1143. He said this was flying in the face of all law and freedom—a robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of the birthrights of Englishmen. He described Colonel Luttrell as sitting in the lap of John Wilkes, and the majority of the House of Commons as being turned into a minister's state engine. "I am afraid, my Lords," he added, "that this measure has sprung too near the throne. I am sorry for it, but I hope his majesty will soon open his eyes and see it in all its deformity." Here Lord Pomfret called him to order. But Chatham presently went on and concluded with saying, "I do not retract my words; I esteem the king in his personal capacity, I revere him in his political one; and upon these principles I hope he will see it, and see it in such a light that he will redress it by the dissolution of a House that could adopt such a measure." Lord Mansfield contended that the House had no right to interfere with the decisions of the Commons, and that those decisions were strictly legal. He said that in consequence of previous votes and sentences Wilkes was nobody in the eye of the law, and that, though the freeholders gave their votes, it was for the House of Commons to judge as to the point of qualification. Lord Camden declared that Lord Mansfield was delivering most unconstitutional doctrines; and that Wilkes had been expelled in an arbitrary manner in consequence of a secret influence which had said the word, "Mr. Wilkes shall not sit." He exclaimed, "I will join my feeble efforts to the voice of the people; and, the louder I hear them cry, the more I shall be pleased!" He persisted that the judgment of the Commons on the Middlesex election was a worse wound on the constitution than any of those inflicted during the twelve years when Charles I. was governing without parliaments; and he expressed his hope that, if this reversing bill should be rejected, the good sense and spirit of the people would make them persevere session after session, till they compelled parliament to pass it. The bill was rejected by 89 against 43. Thirty-three peers signed a protest; and Lord Chatham demanded that the House should be summoned for the 4th, as he had a motion to make of great importance relative to the king. When that early day arrived he moved a resolution to the following effect:—That the advice inducing his majesty to give the answer to the late address, remonstrance, and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, was of a most dangerous tendency; inasmuch as thereby the exercise of the rights of the subject to petition the king for redress of grievances, to complain of violations of the freedom of election, to pray dissolution of parliament, to point out mal-practices in administration, to urge the removal of evil ministers, &c., had been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted citizens of London had heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address could not but be considered by his majesty as disrespectful, injurious, &c. Chatham

* Cavendish's MS. Debates.—Chatham Corres.—An. Reg.

said that an answer so harsh exceeded everything in this country—that the very essence of the constitution not only permitted but required petitioning—that the Stuarts themselves never dared to prevent it. He eulogised the livery of London and the lord mayor; and then, returning once more to Colonel Luttrell, he proclaimed that he was no representative of the people, but a mere *nominee* thrust in by the enemies of the law and constitution. The motion, as had been fully foreseen, was negatived.* But Chatham had another piece ready charged for the annoyance of ministers; and within a fortnight he pointed it against them. It appears that Rockingham and others of the noble lords in opposition were growing weary of this incessant warfare, and did not think that his proposed address for the dissolution of parliament was particularly called for or expedient, though they agreed on the expediency of the measure itself—that is to say on a dissolution, if procurable, which they knew it was not. They were also tired of being thus constantly kept in mind of their word pledged to the city, and of their allegiance to their great chief. "I cannot admit," writes Lord Rockingham to Chatham, on the 11th of May, "though some people may throw out suspicions or reflections, that there is *lukewarmness*, or that we or others do not adhere to the measure of dissolution; yet I must hold an opinion, that it is neither for your lordship's honour nor for ours to suffer ourselves to be sworn every day *to keep our word.*" Chatham said in reply that the necessity of clearing up certain doubts which some had spread, or attempted to propagate among the people, was not the only reason for moving the address now; that there were other weighty arguments; and, finally, that the address for dissolution *must* be moved at once. Thus absolute was the will of Chatham, whether in office or out; and it is quite clear that he rode his colleagues in opposition with as heavy a hand as he had driven his brother ministers. The Marquess of Rockingham acquiesced, and so it seems did the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Portland, and some other peers.

In the mean while the opposition in the House of Commons had, on the 1st of May, called for the correspondence with the American colonies; and on the 9th Mr. Burke moved eight resolutions relating to those troubles, and censuring the plan, or rather the no plan, ministers were pursuing. The previous question was carried against the first of these resolutions; it became necessary to alter the second; then the second, third, and fourth, were negatived; and the previous question was carried against all the rest.† Subsequently similar resolutions were moved in the House of Lords, so altered as to prevent the previous question, and drive the ministry either to an affirmative or a negative.‡ They were moved by the Duke of Richmond and negatived by a majority of 60 against 26.

On the 14th of May Chatham rose again. Ministers knew what was coming, and determined to keep it, as much as possible, from the ear of the public. On the motion of Lord Denbigh written orders were issued to the door-keepers of the House to admit on no account whatever any person but peers' sons and members of the House of Commons. This stopping of reporting, this jealousy, was not new but very old, yet the carrying of it to its utmost limits in both Houses during nearly the whole of this unpopular parliament did not augur well of the spirit and intentions with which the thing was done. The pretext was, that it was dangerous to increase the popular excitement by the disclosure of their measures and debates, and the stirring harangues of the opposition; but the people were more excited by this forced and arbitrary silence, and this attempt at mystery and concealment. Chatham moved "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most dutifully and earnestly beseeching his majesty that in the dangerous state wherein his kingdoms are involved, from the high dissatisfactions generally prevailing at home, and from the most alarming disorders which have unhappily manifested themselves in his American dominions, his majesty will, in his great wisdom and necessary care to prevent more fatal mischiefs, be graciously pleased to take the recent and genuine sense of his people, by dissolving this present parliament, and calling, with all convenient dispatch, a new parliament." In his speech he again declared that the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons; and he again hinted at his plan for reforming parliament by adding to the representation of the counties. Little else is known of the debate, except that the motion was negatived by a majority of 72 to 23. On the same day the Common Council of London carried a vote of thanks to the orator for the zeal he had shown in support of their most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition; as also for his wishes and declaration that he would hereafter use his best endeavours to restore parliaments to their purity, by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation. On the 19th the king put an end to the session by prorogation.

On the 23d my lord mayor, Beckford, and some aldermen in their formalities, and with a very numerous train, went up once more to St. James's with another petition, complaining of his majesty's former answer from the throne. His majesty replied that he should have failed in his duty if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at their last address; that his sentiments on that subject continued the same. Upon this Beckford adopted the unprecedented course of asking leave to add a few words from himself; and, his request having been assented to in the confusion of the moment, the bold citizen proceeded to harangue

* In a note to Chatham, dated the 27th of April, the Marquess of Rockingham says—"We are indeed very sure of being beat; but we have our option on what ground we shall be beat."

† Dowdeswell to Chatham. ‡ Id.

his majesty, telling him how much the bare apprehension of his majesty's displeasure would at all times affect the minds of the loyal city —that the declaration of that displeasure had already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction—that there were none more faithful than the citizens of London, more dutiful, more affectionate, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the true honour and dignity of his crown. He then intreated that his majesty would not now dismiss them from his presence without expressing a more favourable opinion of his faithful citizens, and without giving some comfort, some prospect at least of redress; and, in conclusion, he told the king that whoever raised false insinuations and suggestions to alienate his majesty's affections from his loyal subjects, or to withdraw his confidence in, and regard for, his people, was an enemy to his majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution. "What I spoke in the king's presence," said Beckford, in reporting the business to Chatham, "was uttered in the language of truth, and with that humility and submission which becomes a subject speaking to his lawful king: at least I endeavoured to behave properly and decently; but I am inclined to believe I was mistaken, for the language of the court is, that my deportment was impudent, insolent, and unprecedented. God forgive them all!"* We believe, however, that the lord mayor was too warm to be very polite, and that his tone was much louder than the etiquette of the place allowed. His majesty showed his anger by issuing through the medium of the lord chamberlain a positive order that lord mayors should in future confine themselves to delivering their papers and not presume to deliver speeches. Chatham, on the other side, hastened to applaud Beckford for asserting the rights of the city with weight and spirit; and the Common Council were so highly offended at the king's conduct, that they demurred about voting a congratulatory address on the birth of a princess, which happened at this time. Chatham, however, represented that, though their feelings of resentment were just, they must allow him, as a friend to the city to offer them a sincere opinion; which was, that it would give much advantage against them to their enemies, if the usual compliment were not paid on the birth of the princess.† In obedience to this suggestion the common council changed their minds and voted the congratulatory address. At the same time the lord mayor's speech to the king was published verbatim in the Public Advertiser. Wilkes, who had contrived to get himself made an alderman even while he was a prisoner in the Bench, and who was now wearing the civic gown, notwithstanding the charges of sedition, impiety, and blasphemy, did what he could to prevent the address, or to make it as unpalatable as possible. He declared, in Guildhall, that this was no time for compliments; that the citizens of London had been treated of late with great indignity; that the only study of administration was to affront the city and provoke the people, as they had plainly shown by heaping favours upon those whom the people detested, such as Lord Barrington, Lord Holland, and Governor Bernard. He said that his reason for not attending the lord mayor on his last visit to St: James's was, that, from the eagerness of ministry to butcher the people, he was convinced, if he had gone, and only a few boys had shouted "Wilkes and liberty," there would have been another story of St. George's Fields.

On the 1st of June, three days after presenting the compliments on the birth of the princess, Beckford, with a numerous deputation of the corporation, went down to Hayes and presented the vote of thanks to his friend Chatham. This was the great lord mayor's last public performance. On the 15th Calcraft announced that he was in a very alarming state; and on the 21st Beckford died! His loss was a serious blow to the cause of opposition, for, though the election for a new mayor fell upon Alderman Trecothick, a steady Whig and an excellent debater, there was no one to furnish the weight of Beckford's wealth and munificence, or to supply his ardour and fearlessness. The city voted that the deceased magistrate should be honoured with a statue in Guildhall, and that the speech he had delivered to the king should be engraved on the pedestal. Chatham was deeply affected by his death, and continued his affection for his son and heir, then a boy full of promise and of fire.*

As orders in council respecting the affairs of America came out in rapid succession in the interval of parliament, and as the bad news from the colonies continued to be succeeded by worse, the great orator repeated his complaints against the tameness of the opposition. In the month of July he writes—"I was in town, saw Lord Rockingham, and learnt nothing more than what I knew before; namely, that the marquess is an honest and honourable man, but that 'moderation! moderation!' is the burden of the song among that body. For myself I am resolved to be in earnest for the public, and shall be a *scarecrow of violence* to the gentle warblers of the grove, the moderate Whigs, and temperate statesmen."†

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, committees had been appointed by the people in nearly all the principal seaports of the colonies to examine cargoes arriving from Great Britain, and to report to their constituents how far the act of association was carried into effect, and in what instances it was infringed. At Boston meetings of the associators were regularly held at Faneuil Hall; and there strong votes of censure were passed upon such as

* Chatham Cor.

† Letter to Mr. Sheriff Townshend.—The unconscious cause of all this commotion was the late Princess Elizabeth, who was born on the 22nd of May, 1770, married in 1818 the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, and died in 1829.

* The present Mr. Beckford, author of Vathek and other remarkable works.

† Letter to Calcraft.

dared introduce or sell any of the prohibited goods. Still farther to increase the odium and the danger of such departures from the popular will, the names of offenders were published in the newspapers, with comments representing them as selfish slaves and traitors. It appears, however, that there was gross partiality exercised in this particular; and that, while many shopkeepers were ruined in their trade and beaten in their persons, a chosen few were permitted to make a fine market by selling the prohibited articles, which could be obtained only from them. This fact is admitted even by writers who are enthusiastic in the cause and disposed to paint all American measures as pure and noble, and all American citizens as spotless patriots. Incensed at the distinction, Mr. Theophilus Lillie, a tradesman of Boston, resolved to sell what was sold by others. The mob, to point him out as one whose shop was to be shunned, placed a rude figure, a kind of Guy Faux, opposite to his door. A Mr. Richardson, Lillie's friend or servant, attempted to remove the nuisance, but was driven into the house by a number of boys, who continued to pelt him with stones through the window. Richardson, in his wrath, took up a loaded gun and fired upon his assailants. The shot killed one Christopher Snider, a dirty little boy, who was forthwith recorded in the newspapers as the first martyr to the glorious cause of liberty. This was indeed the first life that was sacrificed; but the blow was dealt by an American and not by an English hand, and the condition of the victim and the circumstances attending his death seemed to throw an air of ridicule over Snider's canonization. Nevertheless the boy was buried with great pomp, and the procession which followed him to the grave was said to be a quarter of a mile long. Other boys became candidates for a place in the new hagiology; but they were encouraged and paid *by men*, the New Englanders having resolved to put striplings and negroes in the vanguard of their holy war. The death of Christopher Snider took place in February. In March the new lieutenant-governor attempted to set on foot an association in opposition to the non-importationists; but the merchants to whom he applied declared that, until parliament should make provision for the punishment of the confederates, all would be ineffectual and the associators would be exposed to popular rage. The merchants, generally, wished to see the trade free from restraint; but, having in the height of their zeal called in the populace, as their servants, to intimidate those who refused to join in the combination, they were now forced to submit to them as their masters.‡ The populace of course had few immediate sacrifices to make on their part; they preferred grog to tea, and were not much given to decorating their abodes with painters' colours; besides they were *paid* to cry down such luxuries and abominations. Their boldness seems to have increased after the catastrophe of Snider. Several of the merchants implored that at least they might be permitted to keep the goods they had imported in store, as if bonded, until the duties in England should be repealed; but this was refused them; and one of their number who was bolder than the rest, and kept his goods in his warehouse, was waited upon by a committee with an axe-man and a carpenter at their head, who told him that there were a thousand men close by waiting for his answer, and that if he did not comply there was no saying what would happen to him. The poor merchant yielded to this logic and sent back his goods to those who had shipped them; and, in the like manner, most other bales and parcels were returned to England. A suspicion, however, still rested upon several of the Bostonian leaders; and it was asserted that Mr. Hancock, the owner of the Liberty sloop, whose seizure had made so much noise, and one of the chief promoters of the non-importation, was importing himself and selling largely, or at the very least was permitting goods to be imported in his vessels. The New Yorkers raised a terrible clamour, taxed the Bostonians generally with unfair and selfish dealings, and renounced the non-importation agreement. The Bostonians then said that the New Yorkers were no patriots, and the New Yorkers then called the Bostonians pedlars.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Boston and the soldiers quartered there were calling each other by worse names. No man in a red coat could go through the streets without being insulted, and no discipline could prevent the soldiers from retorting. People, above the mob, held that, as the troops had not been called in by the civil magistrates of the place, their presence was illegal, and that every means that might be employed to hasten their departure or make their stay uncomfortable was both lawful and laudable. In this state of things it is not possible to see how desperate contentions could be avoided. It was attempted to throw some blame upon Colonel Dalrymple and his officers for not keeping their men separate from the inhabitants; but this could not have been done except by keeping them close prisoners in their quarters, without air and exercise, and discontinuing the practice of mounting guards at the government offices, &c. No sentinel could stand at his post without being insulted. The fault was in the government that sent them there; and ministers had been warned of what would happen. As soon as the arrival of the troops at Boston was known at home, Governor Pownall had declared that, if ministers meant to govern the country by military force, they had not sent a sufficient number of troops; and that if they did not intend this they had already sent too many —that the people of Boston and the military were set in array against each other—that, though the sword was not drawn, the hand was on the hilt—that, though the word for action was not yet given, mischief was on tip-toe, and the slightest circum-

* Gordon, Hist. Amer. Rev.

stance would in a moment throw everything into confusion and bloodshed.*

The Boston newspapers gave insertion to a fictitious narrative of a defeat which the people of New York had given to a body of soldiers, and to a series of fictions representing the king's troops as a set of poltroons who could never stand before the sons of liberty. On the 2nd of March, while these galling reflections were fresh in the minds of the soldiers, a private of the 29th regiment got into a quarrel while passing by Mr. John Gray's ropewalk, and was beaten by several men. Resenting this unfair play, a dozen of his comrades returned with him to the spot, and then the soldiers beat the ropemakers and pursued them through the streets. The townspeople took fire, armed themselves with clubs, and were with difficulty stopped from renewing the action. Meetings were held by the mob, who determined upon fighting it out with the soldiers; but, as the next day was pay-day, and the day after that the Lord's day, they put off the combat to Monday the 5th of March. Between seven and eight o'clock on the evening of that day, an unusual crowd with sticks and clubs met at the south end of the town; and about two hundred men armed in the same manner collected at the north end of the town, shouting "Let us go to the south end, join our friends there, attack the red coats and drive them out of Boston, where they have no business to be." Presently fresh parties with sticks and clubs came running in, in all directions, and an attack was made in Dock-square upon some soldiers. An officer ran up and ordered the men to their barracks. It was difficult to get the soldiers thither, and still more difficult to keep them in, for the mob followed them to the gate and dared them to come out, using the most provoking language. At the same time fellows ran through the streets shouting "Town-born, turn out!" others cried "Fire! fire!" and soon, as had been preconcerted, the bells were rung as in times of dangerous conflagrations. About nine o'clock the mob began to tear up the stalls of the market-place in Dock-square, swearing that they would go and attack the main guard. Some peaceable citizens interfered, and were persuading some of the mob to go home and to bed; but at this moment a new demon of discord appeared in the person of a tall, large man in a red cloak and white wig. He harangued the rioters for three or four minutes, and his discourse was followed by loud huzzas and shouts of "To the main guard! To the main guard! We will do for the soldiers!" They then separated into three divisions, and took different roads. As one of the divisions were passing the Custom House a boy came up, and, pointing to the sentry upon duty there, said, in coarser language than we can repeat, that that was the fellow who had knocked him down. Instantly some twenty sturdy youths cried out, "Let us knock him down! Kill him! kill him! kill him!" The sentry loaded his gun: they then began to pelt him with snowballs, pieces of ice, and anything that came to hand, hallooing "Fire, and be d——d!" Seeing that the man had no inclination to fire, they closed upon him and obliged him to retreat up some steps to the door of the Custom House: there he knocked and begged for admittance, but those within were afraid of opening the door; and then the sentry shouted out for assistance to the main guard, which was within hearing. Captain Preston, the officer of the day, sent off a corporal and six privates to rescue the sentry and protect the king's chest in the Custom House. The men marched off with their pieces unloaded, and the captain followed at a short distance. As they approached the Custom House they found the mob increasing, and they were pelted worse than the sentry had been with lumps of ice, pieces of wood, and other materials, the chief combatants being a certain mulatto named Crispus Attucks, and a party of sailors, or of strapping fellows disguised like sailors, who kept crying out "Let us strike at the *root*! Let us fall upon the nest—the main guard!—the main guard!" At the same time the soldiers were assailed with oaths and execrations; called rascals, lobster scoundrels, bloody-backs, cowards, for bringing arms against unarmed men; and were told that they knew that they dared not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. Meanwhile, however, the soldiers had loaded and fixed their bayonets on their guns. But the mob continued to increase, and to press in upon them until the boldest or foremost were close upon the points of the bayonets. The conduct of the soldiers did honour to their discipline; they maintained their presence of mind; they stirred not a step from the place where they were posted, and merely used their weapons to keep off the mob. But presently Crispus Attucks, the mulatto, and the fellows dressed as sailors gave three cheers, hemmed in the soldiers, struck at their bayonets and muskets with clubs, and cried out to the rest, "Come on; don't be afraid of them; they dare not fire; knock them over; kill them." Attucks aimed a blow at Captain Preston, who was behaving in a most humane and officer-like manner, begging the rioters to desist, and keeping his men steady and quiet: the mulatto not only hit the captain on the arm, but also struck down one of the men's muskets and seized the bayonet. At that moment there was a confused cry, proceeding in part from some persons who were behind Captain Preston, "Why don't you fire? Why don't you fire?" Montgomery, the private whose bayonet had been grasped by Attucks, and who had been thrown down in the struggle, recovered his legs and the command of his piece, and then fired into the mulatto, who fell dead or mortally wounded. After six or eight seconds another soldier fired, and then, at short intervals, to allow time for reloading, other five men fired, one by one. The rioters ran off; but three persons were killed, five very dangerously wounded, and a few more slightly wounded. The mob, however, soon collected again in an adjoining street with dreadful yells;

* Cavendish's Debates.

the alarm-bells were rung more violently than before; and the cries were redoubled of "Town-born, turn out! turn out with your guns!" The drums beat to arms—a call gladly obeyed by the infuriated soldiery; and it seemed as if a nocturnal combat of the fiercest kind was about to take place. But Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, repaired to the spot, and asked Captain Preston how he had dared to fire at the people without the orders of a civil magistrate; and certain persons who had been gliding among the mob, and who, having obtained what they wanted, did not wish the riot to go farther, now used their influence with the people, and induced them to retire. The rest of that cold, frosty, clear, moonlight night was silent and tranquil; but at an early hour of the next morning the sons of liberty began to collect again in vast bodies: the lieutenant-governor summoned a council, and the magistrates and chief citizens met in full assembly and chose a committee. This committee soon waited upon the governor and council to declare that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town, and prevent blood and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops from Boston. Colonel Dalrymple proposed a half measure, saying that he would consent to remove the 29th regiment, whose men had been engaged in the riot, out of the town to Castle William. He was told by the citizens that, if he could take upon himself to remove the 29th, he could remove the 14th also; and that, if he did not send every soldier out of Boston, the consequences would be terrible, and might be fatal to himself. In the afternoon another deputation, who said they spoke in the name of three thousand of their fellow-citizens, told the lieutenant-governor that nothing but a total and immediate removal of the troops would tranquillise the town. Mr. Royal Tyler assured the governor that he must not think the demands were urged merely by a set of vagabonds and rioters; that people of the best character, men of estate, men of religion, had made up their hearts and minds, and had formed their plan for removing the troops out of town by force if they would not go voluntarily. "The people," said he, "will come in to us from all the neighbouring towns; we shall have 10,000 men at our backs; and your troops will probably be destroyed by the people, be it called rebellion or what it may." The governor said, at first, that nothing should ever induce him to order the troops out of the town. He then wavered, and seemed willing to have the troops removed if Colonel Dalrymple and the members of the council would take the responsibility upon themselves. But Dalrymple said he would and could do nothing unless the governor himself gave orders. At last the governor, the colonel, and the council agreed to divide the responsibility; and on the Monday following the troops were all removed to Castle William. Thus a scheme which had been rashly begun seemed to be given up—and given up to threats and intimidation! After such proceedings nothing was to be hoped for from the New Englanders but scorn, contempt, and a bold advance of claims and pretensions. The provincial newspapers took care to represent the affair of the 5th of March as a deliberate murder on the part of the troops; the victims who had fallen were carried in procession through the town, and were buried with great pomp, the procession being closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal persons of Boston and the neighbourhood. Nothing was neglected to exasperate the public mind and perpetuate the memory of the "bloody and inhuman massacre:" and yet, when Captain Preston and his men, who had quietly delivered themselves up to the civil power, were put upon their trials, American judges and a Bostonian jury were compelled to admit that they had acted only in self-defence. The verdict on Captain Preston was, simply, "Not Guilty;" and Judge Lynde declared from the bench that the affair turned out to the disgrace of every person concerned against that officer, and to the shame of the town in general. On the trial of the captain's eight men, thirty-eight witnesses proved a fixed design on the part of the mob to attack the soldiers; thirty witnesses swore to words of provocation, threats, and defiances uttered by the mob; twenty-five swore to lumps of ice, snowballs, sticks, &c., being thrown by the mob; and evidence was given that Patrick Carr, one of the rioters who had been mortally wounded, had declared upon his deathbed that he went with a design against the soldiers—that he forgave, and did not blame, the soldier, whoever he was, that shot him—that he blamed himself for going to the riot—that he had seen soldiers called to quell riots before, but never saw any bear half so much. The jury, after deliberating for two hours and a half, were of opinion that the soldiers had been too hasty in firing, but that the crime in no case amounted to murder; that, if there was evidence of all the men having fired, they would convict all of manslaughter, but, as it was agreed on all hands that no more than seven guns had been fired, there must consequently be one innocent, and they chose that the guilty should escape rather than one innocent person be convicted even of manslaughter. Their verdict, therefore, was, that six of the soldiers were not guilty, and that two—Montgomery, who had fired the first shot and killed Crispus Attucks, and Killroy, who was proved to have shot another man—were not guilty of murder, but of manslaughter only. Montgomery and Killroy prayed the benefit of clergy, which was allowed; each was burnt in the hand in open court, and they were then discharged like their six comrades.

When news arrived of the repeal recommended by Lord North and passed by the British parliament, the Bostonians were far from being thankful for the act, proclaiming that the retention of the duty upon tea did away with all its merits, and proved the unalterable resolution of asserting the disputed right. After the disaffection of New York, however, they could not hope to keep up

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the whole of the non-importation agreement; and in the month of October it was resolved in a meeting of the Boston merchants to follow the example of the New Yorkers, and import everything but tea. The Philadelphians joined in this resolve, intimating that those who could not live without tea must smuggle it. Great efforts were made by the head patriots, or leaders of the movement, to induce people to adhere strictly to the non-importation agreement until the tea duty should be repealed; but the articles which had been excluded were now much wanted; some of the provinces were not desirous of persevering in the quarrel on account of a trifling duty and a principle that might not be asserted or carried farther than the claiming of threepence a pound upon tea; and, generally, they renewed their commercial intercourse with the mother-country as if no quarrel had existed. Large orders came over to England, and our exports to the colonies in this and the following year exceeded in amount what they had ever been before. Many ardent American spirits were grieved at what they considered a political backsliding; and some few, perhaps, in every one of the colonies, were proceeding in the ways of revolution without pause or hesitation. We cannot condemn their aspirations, but we may reasonably complain of their want of frankness and sincerity; for, while they were aiming at much higher objects, they kept constantly declaring that all they now wanted, or should hereafter want, was the repeal of the tea duty. The warmest of the zealots were in New England and in Virginia. In the great southern province they were headed by Patrick Henry, the wonderful self-taught orator, fondly called the Chatham or the Demosthenes of America, and by Thomas Jefferson, then a young lawyer, who was about equally dissatisfied with the aristocratic constitution of the colony and with the dependence on England. By their means the popular party in Virginia, which had not hitherto shown any very great affection for the New Englanders, whose manners and habits were the very opposite of their own, were led to deplore the murder and massacre of the unoffending Bostonians on the 5th of March, to uphold Boston as a new Sparta and seat of liberty, and to execrate the conduct of the British troops and British government. The Virginia House of Burgesses, in a petition or remonstrance to his majesty, expressed their strong dissatisfaction at Lord North's imperfect repeal act, and their deep affliction at seeing that the pretension of the mother-country was not wholly given up, as the duty upon tea was retained for the avowed purpose of establishing a precedent against them. They criticised the conduct of Lord Bottetourt, their governor; they represented that no reliance was to be placed upon the good will or moderation of those who managed the affairs of the mother-country; and, in whatever part of the colonies discontented and active men existed, they maintained a correspondence and fellowship by means of travelling agents and corresponding committees. In various parts of the country the maypoles of former days were re-christened or converted into "liberty poles,"—a very significant name, and the prototype of the trees of liberty of the great French revolution. The Houses of Assembly, now re-opened, were found scarcely less difficult to manage than they had been in the preceding year; and in nearly every instance the governors hurried on prorogations.

During a good part of the summer and autumn of this present year (1770) the attention of government at home was absorbed by a very different subject. This was the affair of the Falkland Islands, which at one moment seemed to threaten a new war with Spain and France. This group of islands, situated in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, off the extremity of the South American continent and the eastern entrance to the Magelhaen Straits, consists of two larger islands called East and West Falkland, and a number of isles and islets, which are said to amount in all to ninety. By right of priority of discovery they certainly belonged to England. They were discovered in the year 1594 by one of Elizabeth's bold mariners, Captain Hawkins, who called them "Hawkins' Maiden Islands." They were afterwards visited, in 1689, by Strong, who gave them the name which they now bear. Some French navigators touched at them in 1710, and, as their ships belonged to St. Malo, they christened them "Isles Malouines." In 1764 the French, under Bougainville, formed a settlement at Berkeley Sound, an excellent harbour on West Falkland; and in the following year (1765) the English made a counter-settlement at Port Egmont, on East Falkland.* The Spaniards, who had utterly neglected the islands and their resources, now took the alarm, exaggerated their importance, and demanded, both from France and England, the immediate evacuation of them, as territories belonging to their crown by right of papal bulls and degrees of latitude and longitude. The French yielded the point at once, having no right to plead, and gave up Berkeley Sound and West Falkland; but the English, who had more use for their settlement, and who could stand upon the right of discovery, refused to abandon Port Egmont and East Falkland. Early in 1769 the Spanish commandant of the island the French had abandoned sent the English settlers at Port Egmont orders to retire, and, on their refusal, dispatched an armed schooner to enforce his orders. But at that moment Captain Hunt, of his majesty's ship Tamar, was there, and the Spanish schooner, instead of driving away the settlers, was glad to get off herself. Encouraged, however, by the discontents prevailing in the British colonies, and by assertions too frequently made by our opposition at

* The French settlement was a ministerial measure. Bougainville's expedition was set on foot by the Duke de Choiseul, and the navigator was ordered by that prime minister to take possession of the island, and to denominate the settlement Port Louis, in honour of the King of France. And, if Choiseul's bold advice had been followed, the French would never have given up the island except to force. In consequence of this settlement the British government sent the famous Captain Byron to occupy Port Egmont.

home, that the British government was in no condition to go to war, and that Lord North and his colleagues might be insulted with impunity, the Spaniards resolved to repeat their experiment with a greater force. Don Francisco Bucarelli, governor of Buenos Ayres, fitted out an armament of 1600 men with artillery and stores; and in the month of June, 1769, this imposing force appeared off Port Egmont. Some of the ships got into the port, pretending that they only wanted to take in fresh water: they found that Captain Hunt and the Tamar were returned to England, and that the whole force of the settlement consisted of a handful of soldiers with four small pieces of artillery, and two armed sloops under the command of Captain Maltby; and with this comfortable assurance the Spanish general came in and landed his troops. A few shots were fired, merely for the honour of arms, and then the English surrendered the island by capitulation. But they were not permitted to depart for some time, as the Spaniards were anxious that the first news of their irregular and somewhat treacherous proceedings should not be reported by English lips. Thus, the first regular communication was made to our court by the Spanish ambassador, Prince Masserano, who, pretending that his court had not originated the harsh measure, simply signified that the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken on himself to dispossess the English of an island which rightfully belonged to Spain. It does not appear that Lord North showed any want of spirit on this occasion. He consented, indeed, to negotiate, but his tone was high and positive, and it was no fault of his if the negotiations were long and lingering, inasmuch as negotiations with Spain had never been otherwise. But the subject recommended itself in many ways to the attention of the opposition, who represented the nation as dishonoured, the ministry as crouching to Spain to avoid a war which they could not manage, and which was, nevertheless, inevitable. And it must be admitted that there was good ground for the belief entertained by many persons, that the Spanish court had struck the blow in the Falkland Islands expressly to try the temper of the English government, and ascertain what they would endure rather than venture on a war with the whole House of Bourbon; and it was proved, beyond a doubt, that both Grimaldi, who directed the Spanish councils, and Choiseul, who directed the French, were eager for a renewal of hostilities with England, thinking that the moment was most favourable, and that they might recover more than had been lost in the last war. In the month of October of the present year, when the negotiations were nearly a year old, Calcraft announced to the Earl of Chatham that war, inevitable war, was the cry in London, and that Lord Weymouth, as secretary of state, was degrading his office and his country by running to the door of Prince Masserano to learn whether his dispatches were not more favourable. But by this time Lord North had certainly made preparations for the worst: he had put ships in commission, and he had instructed Mr. Harris (afterwards Earl of Malmesbury), who, though only in his twenty-fourth year, was acting as resident minister at Madrid, to demand that the Spanish government should forthwith disavow the conduct of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and restore Port Egmont. Our warlike preparations were attended with a circumstance too curious and characteristic to be overlooked. Then, as now, no proper system had been adopted for manning the fleet without interfering with the liberty of seamen; and Lord North, like his predecessors, and like his *successors*, found himself obliged to resort to the odious practice of impressment. When the press-warrants were carried into the city with the usual and necessary requisition to the lord mayor to back them, the city authorities refused to comply, and John Wilkes and his party declared that press-warrants were far worse and more illegal than general warrants. At this Chatham's warlike ardour and national pride took great offence, and he determined to resist what he called an "ill-judged attempt," which he said arose out of "a race for frivolous and ill-placed popularity."* And a little later, after reprobating the objection, and strongly advising the lord mayor and the great men in the city to give it up, he, in one of his daring orations in the House of Lords, spoke "of bringing the refractory aldermen to the bar of that House to answer for their disobedience!" The potentates of the Mansion-house and Guildhall submitted at once, and signed the warrants.†

But in other matters wherein war, France, and Spain, and the martial character of England were not concerned, Chatham continued to encourage the warm opposition in the city, and even to advise them as to the steps they ought to pursue. Thus he saw at Hayes Wilkes's friend, Sergeant Glynn, who was brewing a storm, and declared the sergeant to be "a most ingenious, solid, pleasing man, and the spirit of the constitution itself."‡ Thus he recommended the city to put their ministerially-inclined recorder on the shelf, and employ on all legal occasions Sergeant Glynn;§ thus he recommended that the freedom of the city should be given to Mr. Dunning, for having, when solicitor-general, defended the right to petition and remonstrate; and thus, by means of Calcraft, Alderman Sawbridge, Sheriff Townshend, and

* Letter to the Earl of Shelburne.

† The sailors, generally eager and ready for a war with Spain, were deterred from voluntary entries on board of men-of-war by a conviction, not altogether unfounded, that they had been defrauded of their fair share in the Havanna prize-money. Government had also committed a mistake in applying to the lord mayor through the lords of the Admiralty, instead of sending a written request from the privy council. Wilkes boldly liberated a man who had been impressed in the city.

‡ Letter to Calcraft. Chatham also says in the same epistle, "Mr. Sergeant Glynn has just left me. . . . . I never was more taken by a first conversation in my life."

§ The recorder had given great offence by declining to attend at St. James's with Beckford and the city remonstrance. When called to account before the common council he urged in defence that his *conscience* would not suffer him to be present at the delivery of, much less to read, so harsh an address to the sovereign. This delicate *conscience* was soon rewarded; for he became, instead of recorder, Sir James Eyre and chief justice of the Common Pleas.

other lieges, the stately recluse of Hayes absolutely regulated the most serious parts of city business. During the recess, on the 19th of October, the Marquess of Granby, after a short illness, died at Scarborough in the forty-ninth year of his age. Chatham, who had made such exertions to keep him steady in opposition, and who really admired and loved the marquess, apart from political considerations, was deeply affected; and on the 13th of November he had to mourn the death of Mr. George Grenville, whose loss was grievously felt in the House of Commons by a large section of the opposition.

A few days before the meeting of parliament a violent discussion took place at a tavern in Westminster, as to the proper measures to be pursued against the unpopular ministry. Wilkes proposed a formal impeachment of Lord North; Alderman Sawbridge another remonstrance stronger than the last.* Wilkes prevailed in the tavern; but on the next day, at an immense assembly of freeholders and others, Sawbridge's opinion was preferred; and it was modestly determined that in the remonstrance his majesty should be prayed to remove for ever from his presence and councils all his ministers and secretaries of state, particularly Lord Mansfield; and not to admit a single Scotchman into the administration!

On the 13th of November, the day on which Grenville died, the king opened parliament in person. The prominent part of the speech from the throne related to the Falkland Islands; his majesty informing his Lords and Commons, that, *by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres*, in seizing by force one of his possessions, the honour of the crown and security of the people's rights had been affected; and then calling upon parliament for their advice and assistance. The address in the Lords was carried without much debate; for Chatham, Lord Temple, and others, were absent on account of the death of their relative. The Marquess of Rockingham, however, charged ministers with neglect in not having prepared ships and troops much earlier: to which Lord Gower replied that they had been vigilant, but that they had also been good stewards and good economists in not incurring expense before it was necessary.† In the House of Commons Mr. Dowdeswell opposed the address; and Barré, Burke, Sir William Meredith, and Sir Charles Saunders, joined in assailing the government. The minister was blamed for putting forward the governor of Buenos Ayres instead of complaining of his master, the king of Spain, who must have previously authorised the expedition against Port Egmont. Lord North said that, as there was that opening to a quiet settlement of the dispute, and as the Spanish ambassador had thrown the responsibility upon the governor, it was proper to allow his Spanish majesty time to disavow the proceedings. His lordship also endeavoured to show that the Falkland Islands, even taken altogether, were of little value to anybody, and not of sufficient importance to justify a hurrying into war. The debate on the address was not wholly confined to this topic, for Burke brought up again the story of St. George's Fields, and made a strong attack upon Lord Barrington, the minister at war, for his conduct upon that occasion. On Tuesday, November the 20th, the House of Lords was summoned for Thursday, the 22nd, on notice given by the Duke of Richmond that a motion would be made. On the appointed day, Chatham being in his place, Richmond moved for an address praying the king that all papers received by the ministry between the 12th of September, 1769, and the 12th of September, 1770, touching hostilities commenced, or designed to be commenced, by the crown of Spain, or any of its officers, should be laid before parliament. In urging his demand the duke said, that the affair of the Falkland Islands was only one of many acts of insult and aggression; and he declared that, at that very moment, when sailors were so much wanted, three thousand British seamen, taken by the Guarda-Costas, out of trading-ships, under pretence of smuggling, were rotting in Spanish prisons, or pining away in perpetual slavery in South America. Two of the secretaries of state, Lords Weymouth and Hillsborough, contended that the production of the papers called for by his grace would embarrass a negotiation which was now in good train; that the pride and punctiliousness of the Spaniards were entitled to respect and delicate management; and that they and their colleagues in the British cabinet had not been wanting either in vigilance or in vigour. Chatham supported the Duke of Richmond's motion, and delivered one of the most admired of all his orations. "My lords," said he, "something must be done, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country; and, if not to save the state, at least to mark out and drag to public justice those servants of the crown by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great flourishing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my lords, and should be given to the world for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. I do not mean, my lords, nor is it intended by this motion, to impede or embarrass a negotiation which we have been told is in a prosperous train, and now promises a happy conclusion." Here he was interrupted by Lord Weymouth and then by Lord Hillsborough, who rather ridiculously excepted to the word *train*, and said he had not used it. "This is the second time," cried Chatham, "that I have been interrupted; this is not fair and candid treatment; this is contrary to the orders of the House, and a gross violation of decency and politeness. The noble lord's design in

* Wilkes objected to the paper of petition and remonstrance; "because," as he said, "it would only serve to make a paper-kite for the young Prince of Wales." Sawbridge objected to the impeachment, "because Lord North, by his influence over the bishops and Scotch peers in the Upper House, and over the placemen in the Lower, would be infallibly acquitted."

† Letter from Rockingham to Chatham.

interrupting me is as mean and unworthy as the manner in which he has done it is irregular and disorderly. He flatters himself that, by breaking the thread of my discourse, he shall confuse me in my argument. But, my lords, I will not submit to this treatment. I will not be interrupted. When I have concluded, let him answer me if he can! . . . . . His verbal objections are mean, frivolous, and puerile." Continuing his argument, he fell upon the Spaniards, and their character for honour and sincerity, which Lord Hillsborough had drawn rather with a reference to poetry and romance than to historical, and recent, and notorious transactions. "The noble lord," he said, "talks of Spanish punctilios in the lofty style and idiom of a Spaniard. We are to be wonderfully tender of the Spanish point of honour, as if *they* had been the complainants—as if *they* had received the injury. I think he would have done better to have told us what care has been taken of the English honour. I am well acquainted with the character of that nation, at least as far as it is represented by their court and ministry, and should think this country dishonoured by a comparison of the English good faith with the punctilios of a Spaniard. My lords, the English are a candid and ingenuous people; the Spaniards are as mean and crafty as they are proud and insolent. The integrity of the English merchant, the generous spirit of our naval and military officers, would be degraded by a comparison with *their* merchants or officers. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour or dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive manner." He said that a foreign power had forcibly robbed his majesty of a part of his dominions, and he asked whether it had been restored? After such restoration it might be time to treat with the Spaniards upon the satisfaction they ought to make for the insult which had been offered at Port Egmont. As to the throwing the blame on Don Francisco Bucarelli, he declared that a more odious, a more infamous falsehood had never been imposed upon a great nation; that it was degrading to the honour of the king, and an insult offered to parliament. And then going to as great length as Wilkes had gone in his North Briton, he said—"His majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an *absolute falsehood*." After other declarations equally strong, he said, "I cannot quit this subject without comparing the conduct of the present ministry with that of a gentleman who is now no more (Mr. George Grenville). The French had taken a little island from us called Turk's Island. The minister then at the head of the treasury took the business upon himself; but he did not negotiate; he sent for the French ambassador, and made a peremptory demand. A courier was dispatched to Paris, and returned in a few days with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of everything that the English subjects had lost." He predicted that, if ministers patched up an accommodation for the present, they would still have a Spanish war in six *months*: he declared that their incapacity and gross mismanagement made war as much to be apprehended as a dishonourable peace. "I charge them," he exclaimed, "with the greatest crimes that men in their station can be guilty of: I charge them with having destroyed all content and unanimity at home, by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures; and with having delivered up the nation defenceless to a foreign enemy." And in concluding his long speech he said, "Let me warn them of their danger. If they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads; if, by an ignominious compromise, they should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to the consequences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety!" The Duke of Manchester, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, and Lord Lyttelton spoke on the same side; but the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected by a majority of 65 to 21. On the same day a similar motion was made in the Commons, and negatived by a majority of 225 to 101. The protracted suspense as to whether we were to be at peace or at war was most painfully felt; and the stocks kept tumbling down very fast. As if in apprehension of immediate hostilities, the governors of Gibraltar and Minorca, with all officers on leave of absence, were ordered to their posts; Lord Howe was appointed to command the fleet (when it should be ready) in the Mediterranean; and ministers began to devise plans for augmenting the army. A few days later Chatham moved in the House of Lords that Captain Hunt, late captain of the Tamar sloop of war, who had driven off the Spanish schooner from Port Egmont, should be ordered to attend the House; but this was negatived by 55 against 21. Chatham then moved an address to his majesty, praying that the House might be acquainted at what time the first demand was made for reparation from Spain; and this was negatived by 54 against 20. The great orator was vexed by Lord Temple having declined attending, and by Lord Camden keeping away from the debate. "Matters," said he, "are hastening to some crisis in the interior of the thing called opposition. . . . The times are pollution, in the very quintessence; and the little manœuvres in opposition, behind the scenes, are deplorable." He even threatened he would separate from "so unorthodox a congregation." Sandwich had told him in the House that the opposition was splitting into sections and fragments, and that from Chatham and Rockingham, Temple and Camden, down to John Wilkes and Alderman Sawbridge, there was division and discontent; and in Chatham's published correspondence there is sufficient evidence to prove the fact.

Before this time the government, urged on, as we believe, by the king, had involved itself in new troubles, and exposed itself to sharper attacks than ever by prosecuting the printers and publishers of Junius's Letters. In the month of June, Mr. H. S. Woodfall was tried for printing in his newspaper, the Public Advertiser, one of these letters, which was addressed to the king, and deemed a scandalous libel, &c.; and Mr. Almon was tried for having sold a republication of the same letter in the "London Museum," a periodical work which appeared once a month. Almon's case was settled first, and the jury found him guilty of *publishing*. In Woodfall's case the jury found him guilty of *printing and publishing only*. Almon's counsel moved for a new trial, on the ground that the evidence had not proved any criminal intention, nor even any knowledge on the part of Almon of the London Museum being sold at his shop. Affidavits were produced to show that the London Museum was not the property of Almon, but of another bookseller named Millar; that it had been sent to his shop and sold by his servant without consulting him; and that, upon discovering the fact, he (Almon) had prevented the further sale of the magazine. The court, however, refused to grant a new trial; and Almon was sentenced to pay a fine of ten marks, and to give security for his good behaviour for two years; himself in 400*l.*, and two sureties in 200*l.* each.

Lord Mansfield.
From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In Woodfall's case the defendant moved to stay the entering of judgment on the verdict; and the attorney-general demanded the entering of the verdict according to the legal import of the finding of the jury. The attorney-general's motion was attended to first; and Lord Mansfield, before whom both cases had been tried, in reporting the proceedings, repeated the directions he had given to the jury, which were, that they were merely to consider whether all the innuendos and blanks left in the letter or libel upon the king had been properly filled up in the criminal information, and then to determine whether the printing and publishing had been proved upon the defendant. No proof of malice, he said, was required, the epithets in the information being formal inferences of law from the paper itself and from the printing and publishing of it. The court agreed with his lordship, but, considering that the word *only* in the verdict had been employed in an ambiguous sense, they ordered Woodfall a new trial on that ground. The opposition in parliament, no inconsiderable portion of the legal profession, and the great body of the nation took exception to Lord Mansfield's conduct, which they represented as an attempt to infringe the rights and powers of juries, and to reduce their verdicts to be a mere echo of the opinions of judges and the wordings of informations and indictments, inasmuch as it was not allowed them to judge whether the matter in question was a libel or not, but merely to inquire into the fact of printing and publishing. On the 28th of November Lord Chatham denounced what he called this modern manner of directing juries from the bench. Lord Mansfield avowed what he had done, justified it, and laid it down as an axiom—"That a libel, or not a libel, was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and the question to be left to the jury was only the fact of printing and publishing." Sergeant Glynn almost immediately gave notice of a motion in the House of Commons for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the proceedings of judges in Westminster Hall, particularly in cases relating to the liberty of the press and the proper power and duty of juries. The debate, which had been carefully arranged, and the parts distributed, at several meetings and conferences of the opposition, came on on the 6th of December. Sergeant Glynn, in opening it, declared that it was generally believed that judges were unfriendly to juries, were encroaching on their powers, and misleading them in their verdicts. His motion was supported by Dunning, Wedderburn, Burke, and others, but, upon a division, it was negatived by 184 to 76. Lord Mansfield, having previously demanded a call of the House for that day, went down to the Lords on the 10th o December, and informed them that he had left a paper with the clerk of the House, which contained the opinions delivered by the judges in the case of the King against Woodfall, which their lordships might read and copy if they pleased. Lord Camden, who had tried before to draw him into a discussion, asked whether this paper was intended to be entered on the journals and submitted to debate? Mansfield replied, no; that he only meant to leave it with the clerk, to give the peers an opportunity of seeing, and, if they chose, taking copies of it. And he then suddenly moved an adjournment and quitted the House. Some days before Sergeant Glynn's motion, the power of filing *ex officio* informations by the attorney-general in cases like Almon's gave Burke

occasion to deliver a splendid oration, in which he exalted the fame of Junius as a writer. "How comes this Junius," said he, "to have broke through the cobwebs of the law, and to have ranged uncontrolled, unpunished through the land? The myrmidons of the court have been long, and are still, pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or upon you, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will all their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one than he strikes down another dead at his feet. For my own part, when I saw his attack upon the king, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and that there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many bold truths. Yes, sir, there are in that composition many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck. But, while I expected from this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of parliament. . . . . Not content with carrying away our royal eagle in his pounces and dashing him against a rock, he has laid *you* prostrate, and King, Lords, and Commons thus become but the sport of his fury."

Meanwhile the opposition continued to press ministers about the lingering negotiations with Spain and the bad state of their preparations for hostilities. The Duke of Manchester, while haranguing in the House of Lords on the defenceless condition of Gibraltar, Minorca, and Jamaica, was interrupted by Lord Gower, who desired that the House might be cleared of all persons except those who had a right to sit there. This enthusiast for closed doors and no reporting declared that, when motions like this were brought on by surprise, no persons but peers should hear them, as in a crowded House there was no knowing but that there might be present *emissaries from the court of Spain and other powers*: and then he added that there was another strong reason why the House ought to be cleared;—persons had been admitted who took notes of what passed there, as was evident from a speech lately made by a noble lord, which his lordship said he had at that time in his pocket in print. All this he said was contrary to a standing order, that none but peers should come there. The standing order No. 112 was then read. The Duke of Richmond observed that the enforcement of that order would spread alarm among the public, and induce them to imagine that their lordships were afraid their proceedings should be known. Upon this, the ministerial majority raised a most violent shouting of "Clear the House! clear the House!" Lord Chatham then rose, but the uproar continued and grew louder than before. Lord Marchmont and Lord Denbigh were principal performers in this noble riot. Chatham, after speaking for some time without being heard, sent the Duke of Richmond up to Mansfield, who was still acting as speaker (no chancellor being yet appointed), to state that he wished to speak to the construction of the standing order. But the message was of no avail, their lordships would not hear the great orator, and, wearied out at length with insult and noise, Chatham declared that, if he was not to enjoy the privilege of a peer of parliament with the exercise of free debate, it was idle for him to attend; and he indignantly left the House, followed by eighteen peers. The party who remained next insisted that all the members of the House of Commons then present should be turned out without ceremony. Some of the Commons represented that they were there in discharge of their duty—that they were attending with a bill. They were commanded to hand up their bill. They no sooner delivered it than the outcry recommenced, and they were actually hooted out of the House! When the loud-tongued Lords were left to themselves it was moved and carried—"That the lord on the woolsack be desired to give strict orders to the officers of the House, that no person be permitted to be in any part of the House during the sitting thereof, except such as have a right to be in the House, according to the standing order." The Dukes of Richmond, Manchester, Northumberland, Portland, Bolton, and Devonshire, the Marquess of Rockingham, the Lords Huntingdon, Wycombe, Fitzwilliam, Abergavenny, Torrington, Milton, Abingdon, and Ponsonby, joined Chatham in a strong protest against these violent and unmannerly proceedings. They represented that the Duke of Manchester, when delivering a most spirited, but *proper and decent* speech, introductory to a motion of importance to the nation's safety, had been interrupted in a manner equally *insidious* and *disorderly;* that, when another peer (Chatham) got up to speak to order, he could not obtain a hearing owing to the irregular, clamorous, and indecent behaviour of several lords; that this indecent and unprecedented uproar was continued even when the noble lord on the woolsack stood up, with his hat off, to explain order; that every idea of parliamentary dignity, free debate, reason, and argument had been lost and annihilated; and that the manner in which the House had been cleared by the personal interference of peers, who went to the bar to require the members of the other House to withdraw, was equally derogatory from the dignity of the Lords and disrespectful to the House of Commons. The protest, which is said to have been drawn up by Chatham's pen, further declared that they considered these proceedings as premeditated, and prepared "for no other purpose than to preclude inquiry on the part of the Lords, and, under colour of concealing secrets of state, to hide from the public eye the unjustifiable and criminal neglects of the ministry."

On the same day on which the Lords had turned out the Commons, Colonel George Onslow moved in the Lower House that it should be cleared, "peers and all." Onslow spoke merely from pique at the treatment of the members of his

House; for he had no idea of giving encouragement to the notion that debates ought to be open, reported, and published, and in general politics he did not side with Manchester, Chatham, and Richmond, but with those who had insulted them. Mr. Dunning followed him with a better motion, for a committee "to inspect the journals of the House of Lords of that day, as to what proceedings and resolutions were therein, with relation to the not permitting any persons to be present in any part of the said House during the sitting thereof." The motion was negatived by 48 against 27. But neither votes in the Lords nor votes in the Commons could remove the odium which had been brought down upon ministers by the late tumult and violence, or check the growing desire among the people for the publication of the debates of both houses of parliament. Chatham recommended that everything should be done by opposition to make the incident more odious; that search should be made by the Commons in the journals; that a conference should be demanded with the Lords, with all the solemnities attendant upon collisions between the two Houses, &c. On the 15th of December* the hero of Minden, who now hid his unpopular name of Sackville under the designation of Lord George Germaine,† and who was acting with opposition until he could make a good bargain with Lord North, moved in the House of Commons for a conference with their lordships. He was seconded by Lord George Cavendish, and most ably supported by Dunning, Burke, and Colonel Barré. All these speakers dealt in humour as well as argument. Barré described the riot in the Lords as a mob broke loose headed by Lords Marchmont and Denbigh, of whose persons and performances he gave a most laughable description. The House, however, showed little disposition to proceed to extremities, although the conduct of the Lords in turning out their members was condemned on all sides; and the motion for a conference was negatived by 77 against 42. Lord George Germaine next moved that the speaker should write to such eldest sons and heirs apparent of peers, king's sergeants, and masters in chancery, as were members, and to the attorney and solicitor-general, and request them to attend in their places every day at two o'clock, to assist in carrying bills to the Lords. In supporting this motion Lord George observed that it was for the honour of the nation. Governor Johnstone said that he wondered the noble lord should take so much care of the honour of the country, seeing that he had hitherto been so regardless of his own! This led to a duel in Hyde Park. Lord George's second was Mr. Thomas Townshend, Governor Johnstone's Sir James Lowther. The principals exchanged shots without hurting each other, and did not reload. Great pains were taken to prove that Lord George had behaved very manfully; but, to thinking persons, no conduct in a duel could affect his behaviour at Minden, or the decision of the court-martial which had turned him out of the army; and it was absurd to think that the character of a general officer should be retrieved by his not running away from *one* pistol-shot. Lord George might have been as brave as Achilles, and yet have merited the sentence of the court-martial by pride, insolence, and insubordination, or even by wavering and indecision, faults which had cost Byng his life.

In opening the budget Lord North insisted that the land-tax must remain at four shillings, as our situation was precarious, and war too probable. He stated that so many more ships had been ordered to be fitted out as would require 9000 additional seamen; and that, though Spain should come into terms of accommodation, it would be unwise to disarm *whilst the warlike preparations of France and Spain continued.* Six millions, he said, would suffice if we remained at peace; nine millions would be required if we went to war. He pledged himself to take off the additional shilling on the land-tax next year, in case of peace. Sir Edward Hawke attended to comfort the House as to the state of our navy, urging that we were as ready for war now as we had been at the last breaking out of hostilities; but the admirals in opposition, Sir Charles Saunders and Keppel, damped the confidence in Sir Edward's declarations; and Barré extracted from the old man a strange story about some recent promotions in the navy.*

At this moment Lord Weymouth, who had for some time been complaining of the want of decision in his colleagues on matters of foreign policy, resigned the seals of secretary of state, which, on the 19th of December, were given to Lord Sandwich, who was succeeded as one of the post-masters-general by the Honourable H. F. Thynne, Lord Weymouth's brother. Chatham thought this a very unexpected and very significant resignation, which would probably lead to greater changes; but at the same time he was grieved at learning that Wedderburn and other conspicuous members of the opposition were treating with Lord North.

On the 21st of December a messenger was dispatched to Spain to recall our minister, Mr. Harris, and to intimate to the English merchants and commanders of ships that it might be expedient for them to leave the Spanish ports immediately. This conduct, but certainly still more the great political changes which took place in France during the month of December, where the Duke de Choiseul, through the influence of Madame du Barry, the king's last mistress, was disgraced and exiled, and succeeded by a more pacific prime minister, the Duke d'Aiguillon, had the effect of

* Chat. Cor.—On the 14th, Junius wrote, in a letter for the Public Advertiser, "The riot in the House of Lords has shocked the delicacy of Sir Fletcher Norton (the speaker of the Commons). Upon occasion of some clamour yesterday, he called to them with all the softness of a bassoon; *Pray, gentlemen, be orderly; you are almost as bad as the other House.*"—*Woodfall's Junius.*

† He assumed the name of Germaine by act of parliament in 1770, pursuant to the wills of Sir John and Lady Elizabeth Germaine, of Drayton, in Northamptonshire.

* Calcraft to Chatham.

bringing the long negotiations to a close. Louis XV. wrote to Charles III. with his own hand—"My minister would have war, but I will not." This letter settled the business with the Spanish monarch, who felt that, without the co-operation of France, he was wholly unable to maintain a war against England. He commanded Grimaldi to send immediate instructions to London to Prince Masserano to accept the propositions offered by the British cabinet. The apprehensions of war were, therefore, at an end for the present; but we shall presently see that the convention with Spain, though that power restored Port Egmont, was far from giving universal satisfaction.

During the Christmas recess ministers employed themselves in gaining over willing converts and in making arrangements to complete and strengthen their administration. Wedderburn, who had been petted by Chatham and the city, and who had been prized for his ability and boldness as a debater, abandoned his old friends to become solicitor-general; Thurlow verified the prediction which had been made, by becoming attorney-general in the place of Mr. de Grey, who was made chief justice of the Common Pleas; and at last a lord chancellor was found in the person of the Hon. Henry Bathurst, who took the title of Baron Apsley. Lord Sandwich, who had declared all along that he should prefer the Admiralty, was put at the head of that board instead of Sir Edward Hawke; Lord Halifax succeeded Sandwich as secretary of state, giving up the privy seal, which he held, to the Earl of Suffolk. "I make no remark upon all this," said Camden; "I am not surprised, but grieved." Chatham was grieved too, and thought Wedderburn's conduct most deplorable and Lord Suffolk's pitiable; but there was no help for it.*

A. D. 1771.—Immediately after the holidays Lord Rochford in the Upper House, and Lord North in the Commons, announced the happy termination of the dispute with Spain, and the intention of government to lay before parliament the convention which had just been signed. Burke moved a call of the House; and the debate in both Houses was numerously attended and warm. In the Lords the Duke of Manchester moved for all the information which had been received by government touching the designs of Spain upon Falkland Island, and for all the papers that had passed in the subsequent negotiation. Lord Rochfort moved an amendment, limiting the inquiry strictly to the subject of Falkland Island. Lord Sandwich moved another amendment, which the Duke of Richmond said would so narrow the motion as to deprive the House of the information they required. Chatham, who, like all orators, felt the want of the exciting presence of an audience, and who now called speaking in the Lords *talking to the tapestry*,† rose and declared that, if the administration had no objection to produce the papers, they would not thus attempt to alter the motion. He said he would not go into the matter of the convention, but, upon the face of it, it appeared to him an ignominious compromise. There was no satisfaction, no reparation. Our right was not secured, it was not even allowed by Spain; and even the restitution was incomplete, for Port Egmont alone was restored, not Falkland Island; and the governor of Buenos Ayres had not been sufficiently censured. Ministers withdrew their amendments, and agreed to the original motion of the Duke of Manchester. The Duke of Richmond, who, like Chatham, digressed a little to recommend this ignominious business to further censure, next moved for all the memorials or other papers which had passed between his majesty's ministers and the ministers of the King of France relating to the seizure of Falkland Island by the Spaniards. Lord Rochford said he knew of no such papers. Chatham then rose again, and spoke for an hour. He said that the House ought *never* to take the word of a minister; that the refusing this motion showed that some transaction with France had passed, though perhaps not papers or memorials. As the noble lord had said none had passed, he must believe him; but that France *had interfered* he knew to be a fact that could not be denied. We know that Chatham here spoke the truth, but we do not believe that the interference of France proceeded from any correspondence or transaction of the English ministers:—it was the fiat of Madame du Barry, with the eagerness of Louis XV. to remain quiet, that had prevented the war. The Duke of Richmond's motion was, of course, negatived.

The sudden signing of the convention, at a moment when the prime minister had just been talking so alarmingly of war, had given rise to an immense deal of stockjobbing; and in the course of a few days or hours large fortunes had been lost and won in 'Change Alley. The opposition had resolved not to lose sight of these facts, and Chatham spoke out about the "weight of the alley being prevalent." But, in the debate in the Commons, Colonel Barré made a bolder use of this weapon of attack: he told ministers that "the nation was exposed to insults abroad, and left a prey to jobbers and sharpers at home!" "A *Frenchman*," he continued, "being in *your secrets*, has made nearly half a million of money by gaming in your funds; *and some of the highest among yourselves have been deeply concerned in the same scandalous traffic.*" The Frenchman alluded to was M. Francois, secretary to the French ambassador; and it appears pretty certain that at least he or his chief had made a profitable use of diplomatic intelligence. The speeches of

* Chat. Cor.

† In a letter to the Countess Stanhope, dated the 16th of December, 1770, Chatham says:—"The labours within the House are now the labours of Hercules; for, the House being of late kept clear of *hearers*, we are reduced to a snug party of unhearing and unfeeling lords and the *tapestry hangings*; which last, mute as ministers, still tell us more than all the cabinet on the subject of Spain and the manner of treating with an insidious and haughty power."—The allusion is to the subject of the old tapestry, the destruction of the Spanish Armada.

Barré and of others led, in the course of the session, to a bill "for the more effectual preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." It passed the Commons, and was then left to sleep; but King, Lords, and Commons could not have prevented the practices complained of.

Chatham, meanwhile, called a meeting of the opposition leaders to consider and regulate the best modes of attacking the convention; and the powerful and mysterious author of Junius endeavoured to drive or to shame both Houses into a suspension of their orders for excluding strangers and debating with closed doors. The incognito wrote to Woodfall, the proprietor of the Public Advertiser, on the 31st of January, that, as it was of the utmost importance to the public cause that the doors of the House of Lords should be opened on Tuesday next, the 5th of February, his inserting successively the following paragraphs in his newspaper might perhaps help "to shame them into it:"—"(First day.) We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both houses of parliament on Tuesday next in the usual manner, being desirous that *the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island.*—(Next day.) The nation *expect* that, on Tuesday next at least, both Houses will be open as usual, *otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear public discussion.*—(Next day.) We hear that the ministry fully intend to move that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either House on Tuesday next. *Lord North, in particular, thinks it touches his character to have no part of his conduct concealed from the nation.*"* This ingenious *ruse*, however, failed completely; neither Lords nor Commons were to be shamed; and when Tuesday arrived—the great field-day in the Lords—all strangers were rigidly excluded. Chatham, after criticising the convention, which did not admit the sovereignty of his Britannic majesty over Falkland Island, but, in granting repossession, left the right or claim of his Spanish majesty as it stood before the seizure and restitution, moved that the following two questions should be referred to the judges:—1. Whether, in law, the imperial crown of the realm can hold any territories or possessions otherwise than in sovereignty? 2. Whether the declaration or instrument for restitution of Port Egmont, to be made by the Catholic king to his majesty, under a reservation of a disputed right of sovereignty expressed in the very declaration or instrument stipulating such restitution, can be accepted or carried into execution without derogating from the maxim of law touching the inherent and essential dignity of the crown of Great Britain? All that we know of the debate which followed is, that 22 peers divided with Chatham, and 69 against him.* On the 14th of February the Duke of Newcastle moved for an address to the king in approbation of the convention, and of the wise and moderate measures which had been employed to procure it. Another vehement and unreported debate followed, and the minority entered a protest in eleven articles. The opposition was equally warm and equally ineffectual in the House of Commons; and, as far as parliament was concerned, the question of Falkland Island was set at rest.† But out of doors it long continued to be a vexed question; one party maintaining that the honour of the country had been meanly sacrificed, and that, in the convention, there was a secret article implying that, after all, we were to give up Port Egmont. Upon this side it was attempted to be proved by the powerful, caustic Junius, and by other writers, that the possession of Port Egmont was of the utmost importance to us, both in a commercial and in a military sense, and that the Falkland group was highly favoured by the hand of nature, and would be invaluable in the hands of any great power. To combat these opinions Dr. Johnson again took up the pen political,‡ and in a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts concerning Falkland Islands," written with more vigour of style than geographical knowledge, he laboured to demonstrate that the whole group was worth little or nothing, and that it would have been monstrously absurd to go to war about them. Johnson was at least as far from the truth as Junius. Those islands contain numerous and excellent harbours; and Port Egmont in East Falkland, and Berkeley Sound in West Falkland, are two safe and spacious bays, with depth of

* Woodfall's Junius. There was another paragraph to be inserted after the others had told upon the public:—"The resolution of the ministry, to move the opening both Houses on Tuesday, does them great honour. *If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation and to the king's honour.*"—And the letter ends with this pithy advice to Woodfall—"Pray keep it up!"

* Ex-Chancellor Camden had that very morning expressed his doubts as a lawyer as to the propriety of the motion. "Indeed, my dear Lord," said he, "I have my doubts: for I cannot satisfy myself that the reservation of the question of right, in the King of Spain's declaration, does in anywise touch the King of Great Britain's right of sovereignty. That becomes absolute, *jure coronæ*, from the moment the restitution takes place. Nor does it seem to me the king's title is abridged or limited, inasmuch as the reservation neither denies the right on one side nor asserts it on the other. That question remains as it stood before the hostility; the King of Spain declaring, only, that he ought not to be precluded from his former claim by this act of possessory restitution." —*Letter to Chatham, in Chat. Corres.*

† Not a word was said in the agreement on the subject of the Manilla ransom, about which Junius, Sir William Draper, and numerous other writers had made such a stir for years. The Spaniards were all along determined never to pay the money, well knowing that England would not engage in a war on that account. Four or five years ago their ministers had told our ambassador, Lord Rochford, that the Archbishop of Manilla might as well have drawn upon the King of Spain for the province of Grenada or the city of Madrid; that they would wage eternal war rather than submit to pay a single dollar; and that, if the English would restore the two millions of dollars they had already got from those eastern islands, they would give them up Manilla with all its dependencies.—*Dispatches from Lord Rochford, as cited by Archdeacon Coxe, in Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.* In the end, Sir William Draper was pacified with a pension, &c.; and the English soldiers engaged in the expedition, and disappointed in their share of the ransom, turned the *matter into a joke*, by expressing their hopes that, on a future occasion, they might not be led by a *learned* general, whose *Latin* had robbed them of their booty.

‡ In the preceding year (1770) Johnson had published a political pamphlet called "The False Alarm," intended to justify the conduct of the House of Commons with respect to Wilkes, the introduction into the House of Colonel Luttrell, &c. The reader will remember Boswell's *naiveté* about the two pamphlets.—Bos. "Pray, Sir, is it true that Lord North paid you a visit, and that you got 300*l.* a-year in addition to your pension?"—Johnson. "No, Sir; except what I had from the bookseller, I did not get a farthing by them. And, between you and me, I believe Lord North is no friend to me."

water sufficient for the largest men of war, and excellent anchoring ground. The climate, though changeable, is healthy, bearing a pretty close resemblance to that of England. Anti-scorbutic plants, of such inestimable value to mariners, grow there in abundance. All vegetation is rapid; the soil in the plains is very good; wheat, flax, and potatoes have been raised; and cabbages, turnips, and other kinds of vegetables have been produced in great quantities and of excellent quality. The islands swarm with rabbits, which are unusually large, and have a fine fur; the penguins which visit the shores are valuable on account of their eggs; seals are very numerous; and the sea abounds with good fish. Other comestible resources exist in wild ducks and other game, in herds of wild horned cattle, and wild hogs; and there is a breed of horses, small in size, but very hardy.* To ships about to double the stormy Cape Horn, or to attempt the more dangerous passage of the Magalhaens Straits, these harbours were invaluable as places of refuge; to sailors employed on long voyages the resources of the islands were precious in the highest degree, and more so *then* than *now*, as the ravages of the scurvy were not yet checked by medical science, and by the better care now taken in ventilating, finding, and provisioning our ships. But, even if the Falkland Islands had been as barren and as valueless as Dr. Johnson chose to represent them, it behoved England to resent the conduct of the Spaniards in falling upon her little colony at Port Egmont in a time of peace. Any mean submission to a small injury or affront inevitably leads to a greater; and until states, and governments, and individuals are better than they are—until some notable improvement takes place in human nature,—the best way to preserve peace is always to be ready for a war. Whether it was in consequence of any secret agreement or tacit understanding with the Spanish government, or from the false notion that the place was not worth keeping, the English force was recalled, and Port Egmont was abandoned in 1774, or about three years after the signing of the convention. Yet, some five-and-twenty years later, when the whale fishery in the seas surrounding the Antarctic Pole began to become important, the Falkland Islands again attracted the attention of English mariners; and they assumed a still more valuable aspect when our trade along the Pacific side of the South American continent grew and extended itself. As the Spaniards had not ventured to take possession, our whalers and trading-ships, to the great comfort and benefit of the crews, resorted to Port Egmont. In 1817 some private individuals formed a settlement there; and in 1832 the English government took possession of Berkeley Sound, which the Spaniards and their emancipated colony of Buenos Ayres had equally abandoned.†

In the month of February the House of Commons terminated a very long series of discussions on the disfranchisement of New Shoreham. In consequence of a petition lodged against Hugh Roberts, the returning officer of that insignificant place, the House, or at least the public, were startled by strange disclosures of venality, corruption, and atrocious hypocrisy. It appeared that the majority of the freemen of New Shoreham had formed themselves into an association, denominated "The CHRISTIAN CLUB," and professing to be established solely for the advancement of Christian piety and evangelical charity; that these associated Christians offered the borough, at elections, to the highest bidder; that they were bound to secrecy by solemn oaths, and by bonds with large penalties attached to them; that they carried on their negociations with candidates by means of a select committee, who, under pretence of scruples of conscience, never voted themselves, but, having sold the borough and received the money, directed the suffrages of the rest, who, when all was over, shared the booty. The scheme was well contrived to escape detection; but it appears that the holy men disagreed among themselves; and their returning officer, their chief instrument, proved a double Judas. At a recent vacancy occasioned by the death of Sir Stephen Cornish, five gentlemen had offered themselves as candidates for the honour of representing the borough. The Christian Club sent their secret committee to treat with the bidders. The best offers were those made by General Smith and Mr. Rumbold. The General offered 3000*l.* in cash, and promised to build at Shoreham, and for the benefit of the place, 600 tons of shipping: Rumbold offered 35*l.* a man, to all the freemen. The returning officer, it appears, preferred the General; but the secret committee preferred Rumbold. A quarrel took place among the rogues, and an old proverb was verified. Hugh Roberts consulted lawyers, divulged the secret, and then, when summoned before the House, let daylight into the darkest recesses of the Christian Club. The opposition were of opinion that nothing less than total disfranchisement would be an adequate punishment for this surpassingly rotten borough; but the majority decided, after many debates, that eighty-one of the present freemen should be disqualified and rendered incapable of ever voting at any election of members of parliament; that the Shoreham franchise should be extended to all the freeholders of the neighbouring district, called the Rape of Bramber, who occupied forty shilling tenements; and that the castigation should stop there.

Before this business was disposed of the majority in the House of Commons engaged in another long

* London Geographical Journal, Parts iii. and vi.—Penny Cyclopædia, Art. Falkland Islands.

† Geog. Journ. The republic of Buenos Ayres, however, sent a small colony to Berkeley Sound, and showed an intention of keeping it, just before the English government took formal possession. We have been informed that, if we had delayed, the United States would have set up a claim and taken possession of Berkeley Sound, which is better situated than Port Egmont for vessels bound round Cape Horn. It is understood that the occupation and colonization of the Falkland Islands have of late engaged the attention of government, and that a scheme for that purpose is at present under the consideration of the Colonial Land and Emigration Board.

and troublesome quarrel with printers and publishers. Hitherto the mutilated, and, occasionally, *invented* speeches of honourable members and noble lords had only appeared under fictitious names in monthly magazines and other periodical works, published at considerable intervals. By this system the public were partially informed of what their representatives had done; but they did not get this information till after discussion was completely over, and the matter in debate settled. Thus, all power of interfering with or influencing the discussion, either by petitions, or by the exposure of misstatements or false reasoning, or by any other demonstration of opinion, might be said to be taken away from the people. The proceedings in the House of Commons in the case of Wilkes, the Letters of Junius, the interest felt about the Falkland Island question, the growing enlightenment and curiosity of the people, with the efforts made by the legislature to repress it, all contributed to make the public long for a full reporting newspaper, and encouraged the printers to venture upon giving the proceedings of parliament (in as far as they could procure the information) from week to week, or from day to day, as they occurred, instead of giving them, as formerly, as mere matters of history or chronicle at the end of the month.* As has been observed,—"The exercise of such a liberty or power appears to be contemplated, not only by the spirit of the constitution, but even by nearly all its forms; for why the repeated discussions of every measure, with generally considerable intervals between, which the rules of parliament require, unless it were intended that members should thus have an opportunity of fully learning the sentiments of their constituents, or of the nation in general, before coming to a final decision, and of availing themselves of all the new information respecting every subject brought before them which the agitation of it without doors may call forth? If not, why are not the members of either House of parliament rigorously secluded, like a jury, from all communication with the outer world while discharging their functions, and called upon to declare, by a single vote, a determination upon each case submitted to them, which no reconsideration must shake? There is every reason to believe that the attempt to keep the public out from a knowledge of the debates during their progress, either by prohibiting their publication, or by locking the doors of the House, *is a mere modern usurpation*, and that the universal understanding of the constitution in earlier times was entirely consistent with the principle of the existing practice. By the mode now established the parliament is kept constantly under the actual observation of the country, and no determination can be come to there without the public voice having been allowed its fair opportunity of influencing the legislative vote." † But the parliament sitting in the year 1771 were not likely to anticipate this conclusion, or admit the right without a struggle. They had been labouring with all their might to shut their doors, and to keep them shut, in the face of the nation, to choke all attempts at publicity, and to seclude themselves as rigorously as a jury, or as a secret irresponsible tribunal. The newspaper people, who must have foreseen, and who, no doubt, provided for what followed, began to give accounts of debates as they occurred about January. On the 5th of February Colonel George Onslow, now one of the lords of the treasury, rose in the House of Commons to denounce the insolence and wickedness of these proceedings; and to move the reading of the resolutions of the 26th of February, 1728. The resolutions were read accordingly, being to this effect—"That it is an indignity to, and a breach of privilege of, this House, for any person to presume to give in written or printed newspapers any account or minutes of debate, or other proceedings of this House, or any part thereof; and that, upon discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers of any such written or printed newspaper, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." It was then ordered that there should be a call of the House on the 8th of February. Upon that day Onslow renewed his complaints, and said that the newspaper people had been calling him names. "They call me," said he, "little Cocking George! but I am a cock they will not easily beat. I never will give up this point!" Alderman Trecothick said, "I wish every man in England might hear what passes in this House. I doubt whether this House has a right to punish publications respecting public proceedings, if they are given correctly." Burke delivered a good speech, in the course of which he said, "As long as there is an interest out of doors to examine the proceedings of parliament, so long will you find men that will do what these printers have done." Onslow's stern award was, however, carried by a majority of 90 against 55, and two of the printers, Thompson and Wheble, were called to the bar of the House to answer the charge of infringing the standing order, &c.* The printers took no notice of the order; and towards the end of the month the sergeant-at-arms was directed to take them into custody. That functionary could not find them, and was taunted and laughed at while prosecuting his search. On the 1st of March there was another debate upon printers; and it was moved by ministers that Evans should attend at the bar. Mr. Whitworth moved to add, "and with all his compositors, pressmen, type, and devils." Mr. James Townshend begged that "the devils, at least," might be left out: but Burke said, "The devil is the most material person in all this business—the most material evidence for discovery!" Sir Cecil Wray, who did not like these facetiæ, complained that on both sides gentlemen were behaving in a gross and ludicrous manner.

* Companion to Newspaper; Changes of Administration and History of Parties. † Id. Id.

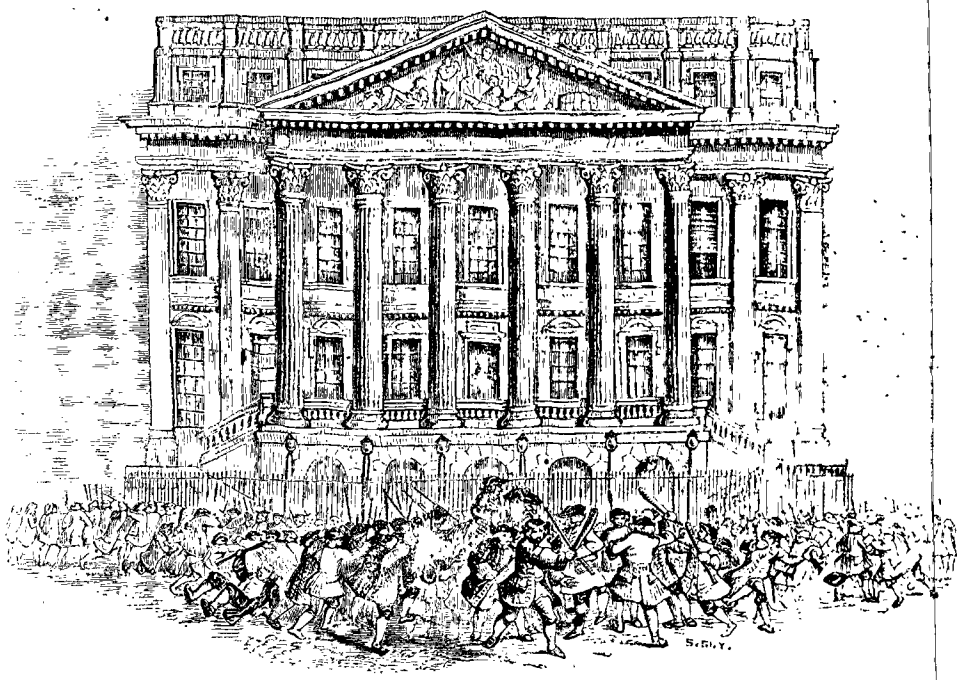
* Cavendish's Debates; from the Egerton MSS.

In the end, a motion for adjournment being lost, Evans, the printer, was ordered to attend.* Evans treated the order with contempt. On the 4th of March Colonel Onslow moved for an address to the king to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of fifty pounds for the apprehension of either of the contumacious printers. This was agreed to, and the royal proclamation was issued accordingly. On the 12th of March the gallant colonel enlarged the campaign by denouncing six more printers as guilty of the same enormities. The minority, though weak in numbers, had made a strong opposition at every stage of these harsh proceedings: they now kept up the debate till four o'clock in the morning, and divided the House no fewer than four-and-twenty times! The battle was renewed on the 14th, when twelve more divisions took place, but it was in the end carried by an immense majority that all the printers accused should be brought to the bar of the House. On the next day (the 15th of March) Wheble was carried before Alderman Wilkes by another printer, or printer's man, named Twyne Carpenter. Wilkes instantly discharged Wheble from custody, and made him enter into his own recognisance to prosecute Carpenter at the next Old Bailey sessions for false imprisonment or an illegal arrest. Then Wheble went at large and Carpenter claimed the fifty pounds reward, as having done his part in apprehending one of the printers and carrying him before a magistrate. The secretary of state refused to pay the money, as government suspected his intention in carrying his prisoner before Wilkes. Wilkes wrote to the secretary of state to justify his own conduct and to declare that the proclamation did not charge Wheble with any crime, and that the taking him into custody had been a gross violation of the liberty of the subject, and of the chartered privileges of the city. On the same day Thompson, another printer named in the proclamation, was carried before Alderman Oliver, who followed Wilkes's example, and discharged him. Of the six other printers charged by Colonel Onslow, four presented themselves; a fifth (W. Woodfall) could not attend, being already in custody in Newgate by order of the House of Lords; and the sixth (Millar) refused to obey the summons of the Commons. Colonel Onslow obtained another order to the sergeant-at-arms. The sergeant sent into the city Whitham, one of the messengers, who, instead of taking Millar, was taken prisoner himself by John Town, a city constable, who carried him off to Guildhall. Wilkes, the sitting alderman, said he had finished the business of the day and would not enter upon the case. The messenger was then conveyed by Millar and the constable to the Mansion House. The lord mayor, Brass Crosby, being, or pretending to be, indisposed, the messenger was kept there for three hours. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening the lord mayor, attended by Wilkes and Oliver, admitted the parties, among whom was now included the deputy sergeant-at-arms. The printer having stated his complaint the mayor asked the messenger by what authority he had presumed to commit the assault? The messenger pleaded the order of the speaker of the Commons, and produced his warrant; and then the deputy-sergeant announced in a technical and solemn manner, that he was there by the speaker's command to carry off not only the messenger but also his prisoner Millar. The bold triumvirate who sate in judgment represented that by the city charters no caption could be made east of Temple Bar without the authority of the lord mayor; and that the arrest of any citizen by one who was neither peace officer nor constable was an offence not to be overlooked. They discharged Millar out of the custody of the messenger, and then allowed the printer and his witnesses to prove the assault which had been committed upon him, and which consisted in the messenger's having taken hold of him by the arm. By direction of the sergeant-at-arms, the messenger refused to give bail; and thereupon my lord mayor Crosby and Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver signed a warrant committing him to the Compter. The officers came in to carry off the messenger, but bail was then offered and accepted; and the deputy-sergeant and the messenger took their departure for the more courtly end of the town. Crosby was a stanch lord mayor, and Oliver an intrepid alderman, but in all these transactions people perceived the daring genius of John Wilkes. Alderman Sawbridge and Mr. Sheriff Townshend took no sort of part in the proceedings, and differed in opinion from those who did; and even Chatham thought that the lord mayor and his two allies had gone rather too far in committing the messenger of the House and holding him to bail.* The deputy sergeant-at-arms, on the 18th of March, reported what had passed to the Commons;† and the Commons, in a fury of indignation, issued orders for the lord mayor to attend in his place, and to the lord mayor's clerk to bring up the Mansion-house minute-book, in which the proceedings had been entered. The lord mayor went down to the House followed by an immense mob and loud huzzas, on the afternoon of the 19th. He alleged that he was ill, and that he was bound by his oaths of office to guard the city franchises, and to act as he had done. Mr. Charles Fox, who had been hissed and hooted by the people, was exceedingly irate. He said that there were two other criminals, aldermen both, and he moved to proceed against Oliver, adding, that

* Cavendish's Debates: from the Egerton MSS

* Colonel Barré to Chatham and Chatham to Barré, in Chatham Cor.

† The speaker went into the whole story. He said that the messenger had arrested Millar in his shop, laying hands on him with, "You are my prisoner; I arrest you by virtue of a warrant of the speaker of the House of Commons:"—that Millar said he knew of no offence on his part, and of no authority in the speaker to order his arrest; and declared he would not submit. "This," continued the speaker, "occasioned a *little struggle*, when Millar sent for the constable, who came accompanied by three other persons. . . . . I ordered him (the deputy sergeant-at-arms), if they were so disposed in this business as to go to extremity, to have patience to wait till the messenger was actually committed; my reason being that it might appear *who* had been the committing magistrate."—*Cavendish's Debates; Egerton MSS.*



Mansion House, London. From a Print by Bowles.

delays were dangerous, that no business ought to go on till this was settled; that the question was, whether the privileges of the House should die or live: he also spoke of assassins, but even in the height of his wrath he abstained from pronouncing the name of Wilkes. Colonel Barré told Fox that the worst kind of assassin was he who stabs a man behind his back. Alderman Oliver, who was in his place, said that he was ready to justify his conduct; that he bared his breast to their blow, and that he wished to attend *de die in diem*. Alluding to Fox, he said, "There is a very young member of great abilities who is taking a sort of lead in the House, and who is to be allowed the privileges of youth and inexperience!" As none of his enemies ventured to name Wilkes, his friend Sir Joseph Mawbey stood up, and with a very obvious motive begged to move the attendance of John Wilkes, Esq., &c. &c., saying that, as they had attacked the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver, it would be exceedingly strange if they passed over Wilkes, who had taken so capital a part in the city proceedings. The House was thus obliged to meddle again with this dangerous adversary, and to command his attendance at the bar.*

Wilkes set them at defiance, refusing to attend unless in his seat as member for Middlesex! The summons was repeated three several times, but without producing any effect. "I observe," said Wilkes, in a letter to the speaker, "that no notice is taken of me in your order as a member of the House, and that I am not required to attend in my place: both these circumstances ought to have been mentioned in my case, and I hold them absolutely indispensable. In the name of the freeholders of Middlesex I again demand my seat, having the honour of being freely chosen, by a very great majority, one of the representatives for the said county." Nothing remained but compulsion, and this ministers were afraid of using. His majesty said, "*I will have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.*"* And so he was left to do as he pleased. This miserable, avowed weakness with regard to one who was considered as being the very head and front of the offence brought the whole cabinet into contempt. The lord mayor's clerk appeared with the minute-book and submitted at the order of the House to erase the commitment of the

* It was during these debates (on March the 19th) that Wedderburn continued the jokes about printers' devils. Mr. Dowdeswell having alluded to the hardship of the case of Twyne Carpenter, who had not been allowed the 50*l.* reward offered by government, but had been obliged by Wilkes to enter into a recognisance for his appearance to answer for an assault, Wedderburn said that the whole thing was a plain and manifest collusion to get the 50*l.* As Carpenter was a printer, Wedderburn chose to convert him into a printer's devil. "This Twyne Carpenter," said he, "is printer's devil to Mr. Wheble; Mr. Wheble is arrested by his own devil, and carried before his own author (Wilkes); this arrest, arising out of a compact between the devil and Wheble, is determined by the author to be illegal, and they bind the devil over to answer for what he had done. . . . . I think the wisest thing we can do is to leave the devil to the printer, and the printer to the devil. Whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no consequence; there may possibly be the devil to do, and certainly there will be the devil to pay; but that is nothing to us. If the devil has been paid, and received the 50*l.* reward offered by the proclamation, he has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me. Whether he has or has not I do not know; but I hope that the devil will find no friends in this House, however busy he may have been in the city, or however busy the city may have been with him."—*Cavendish's MS. Debates.—Parl. Hist.*

* Letter to Chatham.

messenger and the whole of that record; for which conduct a severe reprimand was passed upon him by a general court of aldermen.* The town-clerk was amusing himself at Bath, so that the charters of the city could not be had for reference; and, on this account, and because of the mayor's indisposition, some delay was allowed. But on the 25th of March the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver were both in the House. His lordship refused the assistance of counsel under the limitations proposed, which were, that they should not be allowed to dispute the privileges of the Commons, and spoke at large in his own defence, reading, among other things, the oaths of office and city charter. Mr. Welbore Ellis moved the ministerial resolutions—"That, to release a person taken by virtue of the speaker's warrant, to apprehend a messenger of the House for executing his warrant, and to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault, were all breaches of privilege;" and, upon a division, at midnight, this was agreed to by a majority of 272 against 90. After this division Sir George Saville, Lord George Cavendish, Mr. Dowdeswell, and other members of opposition seceded, and the lord mayor, on account of his health, was allowed to withdraw. The mob, waiting outside the House, received the mayor with loud huzzas, took the horses from his carriage, and dragged him home in triumph. All the avenues to the House were crowded, many members were insulted, and the magistrates of Westminster were called in to keep the peace and disperse the mob. Late as it was, ministers proposed to proceed against the alderman. The opposition moved an adjournment; but this was negatived by 214 against 97. When the alderman was called upon for his defence, he said, he owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge; he knew that, whatever punishment was intended by the majority, nothing he could say would avert it; as for himself, he was perfectly unconcerned; and, as he expected little from their justice, he defied their power. This provoked Lord North, who had not meant to go so far, to prompt Welbore Ellis to move the alderman's commitment to the Tower. Upon this, Colonel Barré made a most violent speech against the treasury bench, and then left the House with Dunning, Cornwall, Sergeant Glynn, Aldermen Trecothick, Townshend, Sawbridge, and several others. [Notwithstanding their disapprobation of a part of the proceedings against the messenger, both Sawbridge and Townshend had declared that they would have done the same thing, had they happened to have been called upon as city magistrates.] Sir John Griffin moved a middle measure by way of amendment, proposing that the words "reprimanded by the speaker" should be inserted instead of "committed to the Tower of London;" but this was negatived by a majority of 170 to 38. Alderman Oliver asked leave to call at his own house before going to prison, which was granted; the House then (at four in the morning) adjourned, and, at seven o'clock the alderman was carried quietly to the Tower. In the course of the long and outrageous debate Alderman Townshend had declaimed against the wanton abuse of privilege by both Houses, and their foul attempt to keep the people ignorant of what they were doing: he had spoken of the general discontent prevailing out of doors, and had told them that the real great cause of that discontent was the king's mother. "Many," he exclaimed, "who support the present motion are more assiduous to please the wantonness of female caprice, than to answer the expectations of their constituents: instead of gaining the esteem of their country, they are only solicitous to gratify the ambitious views of one aspiring woman; who, to the dishonour of the British name, is well known to direct the operations of our despicable ministers. Does any gentleman wish to know what woman I allude to? If he does, I will tell him;—it is to the Princess-dowager of Wales. I aver that we have been governed ten years by a woman. It is not the sex I object to, but the government; were we well ruled, the ruler would be an object of little signification. It is not the greatness of the criminal's rank which should prevent you from punishing the criminality." The public had never ceased coupling the names of the princess-dowager and Lord Bute, and this was not the first time that her royal highness had been hinted at within the walls of parliament. Hitherto, however, no one had ventured to name her or denounce her in this broad manner. Yet ministers remained mute, and let Townshend's censure pass almost unnoticed; for it was not till five hours after that Lord North, the only one who spoke, assured the alderman that he was mistaken in the fact, as he (Lord North) had been in a large share of confidence for the last five years, and knew of no such influence. He did not even venture to pay the princess-dowager the smallest compliment. This caused Junius to remark that the mother of the sovereign had been branded by name as the authoress of all our calamities, and the charge had been allowed to pass without censure or contradiction. On the 27th they called up the lord mayor. All the avenues were again beset by an immense mob, who insulted several of the ministerial members, and treated Lord North and Mr. Fox still more roughly. The motion first proposed was, that the lord mayor, on account of his delicate health should not be sent to the Tower, but only be committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. But Crosby disdained this indulgence, and, repeating that he had done his duty as a citizen and a magistrate, he defied the treasury-bench, and desired that he might be sent to join his honourable and noble-minded friend in the Tower. Mr. Welbore Ellis, therefore, moved an amendment to that effect; and this

* We have examined the Minute-book at the Mansion-house. The erasure—in all about ten lines—seems to have been done by a very angry or determined pen. It is so broad and black that it is not easy to read the words beneath. It appears that Millar was accompanied by Henry Page, of Newgate-street, printer, and by John Topping, of Little Old Bailey, printer; and that Millar was regularly bound over to prosecute the messenger.

was carried by a majority of 202 against 39. Mr. Burke and Sir George Saville left the House before the debate was well begun, stating that they considered the refusal to hear the lord mayor by counsel on all the points as a denial of justice. Barré, Cornwall, Mr. James Grenville, and others went away before the division, and the Rockingham party in general absented themselves. The report had spread that Lord North would assuredly resign. His lordship now declared that, though he wished much for ease and retirement, he had no thought of going out; that nothing but the king or the mob, who were near destroying him that day, could remove him; and that he was determined to weather out the storm. He was affected to tears while he spoke, and then so far forgot his habitual good-nature and discretion, as to accuse the minority of having hired the mob to destroy him.* This called up Burke's brother William, who exclaimed, "It is a falsehood, a most egregious falsehood; the minority are to a man persons of honour, who scorn such a resource. Such a charge could only emanate from a man hackneyed in indirect measures." The tumult out of doors continued to be so violent that the House was obliged to stop business for some hours; the justices of Westminster came to the bar to declare that they could not read the riot act, and that the constables were overpowered; and, upon this, the sheriffs were called upon, who went out of the House with many of the popular members, who spoke to the people and succeeded in restoring tranquillity. About ten o'clock at night the lord mayor left the House in custody of the deputy sergeant-at-arms. The mob again took the horses from his carriage and drew him in triumph to the Mansion-house. But for his interference the deputy sergeant would not have been allowed to pass Temple Bar, and would in all probability have sustained some bodily injury. His lordship remained at the Mansion-house till the Tower gates were open, and then went privately to his prison. After he left the House of Commons Mr. Welbore Ellis moved that a secret committee of twenty-one members, to be chosen by the then unusual and solemn process of ballot, should be appointed "to examine into the several facts and circumstances relative to the late obstructions to the execution of the orders of the House, and to consider what further proceedings may be requisite to enforce a due obedience thereto." To this Mr. Wedderburn added a motion for an open committee to inquire into the causes and occasion of the present riots and tumults in the avenues leading to the House, where the persons of members had been attacked. Mr. Ellis's secret committee was agreed to, and it met for the first time on the following day; but Wedderburn's open committee was got rid of through an adjournment. The trick of adjournment was also resorted to, in order to save the dignity of the House with regard to the non-appearance of Wilkes. They had appointed the 8th of April for his compulsory appearance at the bar, and they adjourned till the 9th. In the mean time all honour was paid to the captives in the Tower: they were visited by the Dukes of Manchester and Portland, Earls Fitzwilliam and Tankerville, Lord King, Admiral Keppel, Sir Charles Saunders, Mr. Dowdeswell, Mr. Burke, and many others: the two sheriffs waited upon them to express their entire disapprobation of all the proceedings against them; and at a meeting of the Common Council the day after their commitment the thanks of the city were unanimously voted to such members of the House of Commons as had supported the lord mayor and his colleagues and maintained the rights and privileges of the city. They had already engaged to pay any law expenses that might occur, and they now voted that all the expenses of the lord mayor's and Mr. Oliver's table, &c., while in confinement, should be defrayed by the city. While these things were doing in Guildhall a poorer class of performers expressed their sentiments upon Tower Hill by hanging and cutting off the heads of effigies meant to represent Lord Bute, Lord North, and other great men. On Friday, the 5th of March, the two captives were brought by *habeas corpus* from the Tower to Lord Chief Justice de Grey's chambers, attended by a host of friends. After hearing Sergeant Glynn and Mr. Lee, the lord chief justice said that he could neither bail nor discharge them. They were then taken to Lord Mansfield's chambers. "This," said Mansfield, "is no new case. I am obliged to go by law and precedent. I can neither bail nor discharge you while the parliament is sitting:" and so they were carried back to the Tower, where they remained till the 8th of May, when parliament was prorogued. In the grand mêlée of lord mayor and aldermen, the printers and the newspapers were allowed to escape unnoticed and unscathed. They had, in fact, obtained advantages equal to a victory, and had little more to fear from publishing speeches and debates. On the 30th of April the secret committee of twenty-one members, which had been sitting regularly, produced their anxiously expected report. This document consisted merely of a long and tedious deduction of facts and cases, ending with a recommendation to the House to consider whether it might not be expedient that Millar, the printer, should be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.* The reading of it was followed by a universal roar of laughter at the impotency of the conclusion. Mr. Burke compared the secret committee to the assembly of mice, who came to a resolution that the cat, to prevent her doing any farther mischief, should be tied up, but unfortunately forgot to say

* The mob had seized Lord North, had got him amongst them, and, but for the interference of Sir William Meredith, one of the chiefs of the opposition, it was thought they would have demolished him. On the next day Mr. Charles Fox complained to the House that he too had been grossly insulted by the mob in Palace-yard, who had broken the glasses of his carriage and pelted him with oranges and stones.

* The grand jury at the quarter-sessions at Guildhall, in direct opposition to the House of Commons, found bills of indictment against Twyne Carpenter and Whitham, the messenger.

how the tying up was to be managed. Eventually nothing was done, or even attempted; and thus was established the practice of publishing the debates in newspapers—a practice now justly considered to be essential to the effective working of the representative system.* But for John Wilkes the right might not have been established for years.

To eke out the ways and means Lord North thought himself obliged to resort to a lottery, which has been properly described as one of the worst ways of raising money. In the course of a speech, on the 12th of April, his lordship had said that there was now no fear of war, and that there was nothing to interrupt peace and prosperity except the internal discontents which a desperate faction was fomenting with falsehoods and inventions. He was answered by Mr. Burke and Colonel Barré, who declared that, notwithstanding ministerial glosses, war was not far distant, and who stigmatised the lottery as an iniquitous project to bribe the servants of the public—a use to which lotteries had certainly been applied before now. On the 30th of April the question of the Middlesex election was again brought before the Lords by the Duke of Richmond, who moved for expunging the resolution adopted on that subject. Chatham delivered a long harangue—apparently without being interrupted—and the speech was reported at full length in the Public Advertiser. The great orator had been consulting with his friends whether it would not be proper to get up a question about shortening the duration of parliaments and increasing the number of county members; but he collected little encouragement, and therefore contented himself with moving, on the 1st of May, for an address to the king to dissolve the present parliament at the end of the session, and to call a new one with all convenient dispatch. The exciting speech he delivered on this occasion was also published forthwith in the Public Advertiser. It drew a sad contrast between the state of the country now and the condition it was in only a few years before. Then we were victorious abroad and tranquil at home, the envy and terror of all our enemies: then, though there might be animosities among the grandees, the people were satisfied, happy, and loyal. "But now," he exclaimed, "how is the prospect darkened! How are the mighty fallen! On public days the royal ears are saluted with hisses and hoots; and he sees libels against his person and government written with impunity—juries solemnly acquitting the publishers. What greater mortification can befall a monarch! Yet this sacrifice he makes to his ministers. To their false steps he owes his disgrace." The treaty of Fontainebleau, the late convention with Spain concerning the Falkland Islands, were again stigmatised as mean and dishonourable; the occurrences in St. George's Fields were again held up to detestation; the proceedings against Wilkes were once more recapitulated; and America, where the storm was lulled, not past, was described as being injured, insulted by an inept ministry and corrupt parliament. He did not lower the popular tone in speaking of the occurrences in St. George's Fields: he called them "*murders*;" he reprobated the conduct of the Commons in refusing to inquire into those murders, and into the proceedings of those who had advised his majesty to bestow thanks and rewards upon the persons immediately concerned in the murders. He complained of the immense private debt contracted by the crown, and of the Commons paying that debt without inspecting any account. "All, these circumstances," said he, "have justly alarmed the nation, and made them uncommonly attentive to the operations of parliament: hence the publication of the parliamentary debates. And where is the injury, if the members act upon honest principles? For a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published is monstrous, and speaks for itself. No mortal can construe such a procedure to their advantage; and the practice of locking the doors is sufficient to open the eyes of the blind; they must see that all is not well within. Not satisfied, however, with shutting their doors, the Commons would overturn the liberty of the press. The printers had spirit, and resisted. The irritated Commons exalted their privilege above the laws of the land, and their servants acted illegally in the execution of their illegal orders. The magistrates of London undertook the cause of the printers, and the protection of the laws and of the city's franchises. The Commons still proceeded with the same outrageous violence. They called upon the magistrates to justify their conduct, and would not suffer them to be heard by counsel. These men, who had allowed the prostituted electors of Shoreham counsel to defend a bargain to sell their borough by auction, would not grant the same indulgence to the lord mayor of London, pleading for the laws of England and the conscientious discharge of his duty. Accordingly they committed him to the Tower for not violating his oath. The most sacred obligation of morality and religion they voted criminal, when it happened to stand in competition with their assumed privileges. Their next step was the act of a mob, and not of a parliament. I mean the expunging of the recognisance entered at Guildhall. We have heard of such violence committed by the French king; and it seems much better calculated for the latitude of Paris than of London. The people of this kingdom will

* Changes of Administration and History of Parties, in Comp. to Newspaper.—Parl. Hist.—Letters from Calcraft and Colonel Barré to Chatham, in Chat. Corres. While this war was raging the city and the legislature had another serious contest. It arose out of a bill for enclosing and embanking part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham-yard. The city considered that this would be an invasion of their property: they were heard by counsel, and they produced a grant of Henry VII., conferring on them all the soil and bed of the river from Staines Bridge to the mouth of the Medway. On the other side a charter was produced of Charles II., in which he reserved the bed of the river; and it was contended that the city, by receiving the latter grant, abandoned the former. The enclosure and embankment proposed was for a great public improvement, and the extreme right claimed by the corporation was absurd: nevertheless, some of the opposition opposed the bill and divided the House three times. It was carried at last by a majority of about 54 to 16; and the pile of buildings called the Adelphi soon rose on the disputed site.

never submit to such barefaced tyranny. They must see that it is time to rouse, when their own creatures dare to assume a power of stopping prosecutions by their vote, and consequently of resolving the law of the land into their will and pleasure. The imprudence, and indeed the absolute madness, of these measures, demonstrates not the result of that assembly's calm, unbiassed deliberations, but the dictates of weak uninformed ministers, influenced by those who mislead the sovereign. It is impossible that a grave and once venerable body of men, if left to itself, should have converted government into a scuffle with a single individual. Were the Commons *not* absolute slaves to the man who holds the golden keys of the treasury, they could never have rendered the very name of parliament ridiculous, by carrying on a constant war against Mr. Wilkes." He told ministers that it was entirely through their misconduct that Wilkes had become a person of consequence in the state; that their prosecuting had made him what he was, and would make him still more; that, when he set their authority at defiance in the recent case of the printers, they had truckled to him, had shamefully given up the point, and, after punishing the chief magistrate of the city, had suffered him to escape with impunity, and, in the face of the world had acknowledged John Wilkes to be their lord and master. "My Lords," continued Chatham, "matters being thus circumstanced, the Commons being both odious and contemptible, there remains but one possible remedy for the evil. In order to save the name and institution of parliament from ruin, the Commons must, according to the earnest request of a majority of the electors of England, and the wish of almost all the nation, be dissolved. This step may restore good humour and tranquillity on the one hand, and good government on the other. Not that I imagine this act alone sufficient. No; I have no such sanguine expectation; I suspect it will prove but a temporary and partial remedy. The influence of the crown *is* become so enormous, that some stronger bulwark must be erected for the defence of the constitution. *The act for constituting septennial parliaments must be repealed!* Formerly the inconveniences attending short parliaments had great weight with me; but now we are not debating upon a question of convenience: our all is at stake: our whole constitution is giving way; and therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn conviction, I declare myself a *convert to triennial parliaments*."* The debate lasted till a very late hour; none but peers were admitted to hear it; and upon a division the motion was negatived by 72 against 23. Chatham's oration appeared a few days after in the Public Advertiser, a copy of it being probably forwarded by himself or a friend. It produced a great impression, and drew pretty general attention to the important subject of parliamentary reform. Yet, only a few months before, Chatham had publicly expressed his disinclination to triennial parliaments. In his answer to the vote of thanks of the city of London, he had said—"With all my deference to the sentiments of the city, I am bound to declare that I cannot recommend triennial parliaments as a remedy against that canker in the constitution, venality in elections." The Reverend John Horne, who considered the shortening of parliament as the surest road to political perfection, accused Chatham, in a newspaper letter addressed to that formidable unknown, Junius, of having "given up the people." Junius replying, alluded to Chatham's last great speech in parliament, and said—"Lord Chatham has publicly *declared himself a convert to triennial parliaments;* and I have long been convinced, that this is the only possible resource we have left to preserve the substantial freedom of the constitution."* We believe, however, that Chatham continued wavering to the last, without any consistent, matured, and fixed scheme of parliamentary reform. To astound the king, to alarm ministers, and to augment his own popularity, he could talk —and that most eloquently—of triennial parliaments, of the infamy and dangers of rotten boroughs, and of infusing new blood into the representative system; but it appears as if none of these things proceeded either from the conviction of his brain or the real and lasting feelings of his heart. In the House of Commons Alderman Sawbridge made a direct motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, a motion which, in spite of discouraging majorities against him, he renewed every session till his death.

On the 8th of May an end was put to this long and stormy session. The king, in his speech from the throne, congratulated the Houses on those wise exertions which had averted a war, and enabled him confidently to promise a continuance of the blessings of peace. He then alluded to disturbances and groundless suspicions at home, and exhorted them to use their best endeavours to discourage and suppress them. "It is my earnest wish," said his majesty, "that my subjects may not be prevented by any mistakes or animosities amongst themselves, from enjoying, in the fullest extent, the blessings of a mild and legal government."

A few days after the prorogation of parliament Calcraft opened a strange scheme to Chatham, not as entertained by himself, but as suggested by Mr.

* As recently as the 22d of April Chatham had written to the Earl of Shelburne:—"As to shortening the duration of parliaments, I find a real dislike to the measure in minds very sound about other public matters. The dread of the more frequent returns of corruption, together with every dissoluteness, which elections spread through the country, strongly indisposes families of all descriptions to such an alteration. As I am persuaded that this opinion is general, and very widely extended, I should think it totally unadvisable for me to stir it." It was in this same letter that he recanted his opinion about reforming parliaments by increasing the number of county members:—"As to additional knights of the shire, I collect little encouragement. At best, the thing in theory is not quite disapproved, but the execution not much desired by any; probably arising from the present conduct *of representatives of counties, not the most enlightened or spirited part of the House.* In this state, my dear lord, I confess I see nothing clear before me but a motion of dissolution. This I am ready to undertake, with the honour of your lordship's support. Lord Temple entirely approves it, but, at the same time, has not engaged to come to the House of Lords. Time and farther reflection may still bring him."—*Chatham Cor.*

* Woodfall's Junius.

Lancelot Brown, commonly called "Capability Brown," the great landscape gardener, who was improving Calcraft's grounds at Leeds Abbey, in Kent, who had done work of the same kind for the Earl of Bute, and who was expecting further employment for his taste and abilities from the same quarter, as his lordship was now returning to England with the intention of enlarging and beautifying his magnificent park, garden, and groves at Luton. "He (Brown)," writes Calcraft to Chatham, "talks of calling upon your lordship tomorrow: he is full of zeal and projects for Lord Bute on his return; *and amongst the foremost is a plan of union with your lordship.* His wish seems to lead him to persuade me to promote this undertaking; but, after replying that Lord Bute and his friends might some years ago have found *proper protection from your lordship had they confided*, I declined ever again becoming a negociator. Ill able to write as I really am, this seemed proper for me to notify to your lordship."* Calcraft was too much used to political intrigue to pronounce any decided opinion in his letter. No doubt the great landscape gardener waited upon the great orator at Hayes.† It would be curious to see how Capability Brown went to work to promote the strange re-union between Chatham and the man he had so often denounced as the great curse of the country; but the Chatham correspondence is silent on the subject, and we know of no other reliable source of information.

The death of the Earl of Halifax, on the 8th of June, gave occasion to much speculation as to the person likely to succeed him as one of the secretaries of state. At first it was said that Lord Weymouth would have the place; and then it was reported that Weymouth was to be privy seal, and the Earl of Suffolk secretary of state. Suffolk, in fact, got Halifax's place, but the privy seal was given to the *Duke of Grafton*, who at first declined it, and then changed his mind. It is said that his grace made it the condition of his taking the privy seal that he should not attend the cabinet.‡ The Duke of Bedford, or his party, abused Grafton for taking it on any condition. The conduct of Chatham while holding the privy seal might have served as a precedent for Grafton's holding office without performing any of its duties. The Earl of Suffolk, the new secretary of state, insisted that his friend Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, should be chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, left vacant by the death of Lord Strange; and Lord Hyde begged that the salary attached to that office should be augmented. The colour of the cabinet was scarcely altered by these changes, for, though Halifax had once passed for a Whig, it seems to have been more from his name and descent than from any active principles of his own. The restoration of Grafton, however, caused a great stir, and moved, more thoroughly than anything else had done, the atrabilious rancour of Junius, who had prided himself on having driven his grace into retirement. On the 22nd of June he addressed his grace through the columns of the Public Advertiser in a tremendous letter, written with unusual care and with a concentration of spite. The king was no more spared than the Duke of Grafton, and his majesty was treated far more irreverently than in the letter addressed to himself, which had led to the prosecutions for libel. Mansfield, Fox, Wedderburn, Sandwich, and others connected with the administration, all came in for their shares in the biting sarcasms. "My Lord," said the unknown to Grafton, "if the persons who have been loudest in their professions of patriotism had done their duty to the public with the same zeal that I did, I will not assert that government would have recovered its dignity, but at least our gracious sovereign must have spared his subjects this last insult, which, if there be any feeling among us, they will resent more than even the real injuries they received from every measure of your grace's administration. In vain would he have looked round him for another character so consummate as yours. Lord Mansfield shrinks from his principles;—his ideas of government perhaps go farther than your own, but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding. Charles Fox is yet in blossom; and, as for Mr. Wedderburn, there is something about him which even treachery cannot trust. For the present, therefore, the best of princes must have contented himself with Lord Sandwich. . . . . There is surely something singularly benevolent in the character of our sovereign. From the moment he ascended the throne there is no crime of which human nature is capable (and I call upon the Recorder to witness it) that has not appeared venial in his sight. With any other prince your shameful desertion of him in the midst of that distress which you alone had created—in the very crisis of danger, when he fancied he saw the throne already surrounded by men of virtue and abilities—would have outweighed the memory of your former services. But his majesty is full of justice, and understands the doctrine of compensations. . . . . You did not neglect the magistrate while you flattered the *man*. The expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, pre-determined in the cabinet;—the power of depriving the subject of his birthright, attributed to a resolution of one branch of the legislature;—the constitution impudently invaded by the House of Commons;—the right of defending it treacherously renounced by the House of Lords:—these are the strokes, my Lord, which, in the present reign, recommend to office and constitute a minister. They would have determined your sove-

* Chatham Correspondence.—The letter is dated Leeds Abbey, May the 17th, 1771. Calcraft, like his great ally and employer, was a martyr to the gout. In the same letter he says, "That a shyness has existed between St. James's and Carlton House (the court of the Princess Dowager of Wales), but is now set right, is confirmed from his (Brown's) and other quarters."

† Chatham himself was a landscape gardener of no mean pretension. We learn from a letter of Lord Lyttelton that he assisted that nobleman in laying out the celebrated park and grounds at Hagley. Bishop Warburton said that his taste in gardening was inimitable—far superior even to Brown's.

‡ Letters from Gerard Hamilton to Calcraft.

reign's judgment, if they had made no impression upon his heart. We need not look for any other species of merit to account for his taking the earliest opportunity to recall you to his councils. Yet you have other merit in abundance. Mr. Hine, —the Duke of Portland,—and Mr. Yorke;—breach of trust, robbery, and murder."* The Duke of Grafton was a spendthrift, a gambler, and a libertine; he was indolent as a man of business, and, like every public man of that time, was occasionally guilty of mean compliances, jobs, and intrigues; but nothing except the most monstrous spirit of exaggeration could have drawn so horrible a portrait. Yet, to make his grace still more odious, Junius coupled together, as cause and effect, Bute's return to England with Grafton's return to office. In another letter he says—"Your grace's re-appointment to a seat in the cabinet was announced to the public by the ominous return of Lord Bute to this country. When that noxious planet approaches England he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him."†

A short time before the rising of parliament there was some stir at court, and much speculation abroad, on occasion of naming a governor and preceptors for the king's eldest son, Prince George. Calcraft, who was at times credulous, reported to Chatham that the king was seeing the error of his ways. On the 12th of April he wrote—"His majesty's language to Lord North was very particular: he said he felt the want of a liberal education; that he was brought up in wrong principles, but would have his son a Whig, and his family properly established." In reply to this Chatham said—"I have two doubts;—first, the certainty of the words being said; secondly, the sincerity of them if actually said." When the appointments were made they did not prove any decided Whig tendency at court. Lord Holderness was made governor; Lord Mansfield's friend, Dr. Markham, Bishop of Chester, and five years after Archbishop of York, was named preceptor, with the Rev. Cyril Jackson for sub-preceptor. Jackson was reported a good, ripe scholar, who knew more things than Greek and Latin; and common report spoke highly of the quickness of apprehension, the retentive memory, and general aptitude of the royal pupil.

During the recess the city, still inflamed by the imprisonment of the lord mayor, the harangues of Wilkes, and other matters, drew up another strong petition and remonstrance. The lord chamberlain wrote to the mayor to inform him that he must come without his tail, as the livery could not be permitted to attend him to St. James's. This was considered as a most ungracious interference with an old custom; and the hottest of the city Whigs did not hesitate to affirm that his majesty was ashamed of seeing the faces of his injured and misgoverned subjects. The remonstrance was presented without the procession. It complained of the arbitrary, illegal, and wicked proceedings of the House of Commons in imprisoning the city magistrates and members, and passing the Durham-yard act; and it prayed the king to give peace to the nation by dissolving parliament, and by removing his present wicked and despotic ministers from his presence and councils for ever. His majesty replied that he was ever ready to listen to well-founded complaints, but felt great concern at seeing a part of his subjects still so misled and deluded as to renew, in such reprehensible terms, a request with which he had repeatedly declared his resolution not to comply.

Wilkes, not satisfied with his alderman's gown, was now aspiring to be sheriff, and his pretensions were supported by the great ward of Farringdon and by other parts of the city. The court took alarm, and made use of all its influence to prevent his election.* It was encouraged by dissensions and jealousies among the city patriots, and by reports that Wilkes had offended the lord mayor, and aldermen Oliver, Townshend, and Sawbridge, and had involved himself in a quarrel with the Rev. John Horne, whose influence at public meetings was supposed to be nearly equal to his own, and whose pen was so sharp that even Junius could not face it with impunity. Alderman Oliver positively refused to serve the office of sheriff with Wilkes, and took care to state that he totally differed from that patriot in his political views. The government party in the city set up Aldermen Plumbe and Kirkman to oppose Wilkes and Alderman Bull, who was quite ready to serve with him. The celebrated ministerial manager, Mr. John Robinson, commonly styled "Jack Robinson," got up by times one morning, and at six o'clock wrote a letter to Mr. Benjamin Smith, the partner of Mr. Alderman Nash, of Cannon-street, informing him that Mr. Harley was to meet his ward publicly in the course of the day to urge them to support Plumbe and Kirkman; that the friends of government would be very active; that it was earnestly desired that he (Mr. B. Smith) would exert himself to the utmost of his power to support those aldermen, &c. The messenger who carried this letter made an awkward mistake, and delivered it to a Mr. B. Smith of Budge-row, a hot Whig or Wilkite, instead of to the Mr. B. Smith of Cannon-street. This spoiled the whole business. There was little fear for Wilkes, but Bull seemed sure of being ousted. The Budge-row Smith instantly published the letter, together with an affidavit as to its authenticity; and this had such an effect on the election that Mr. Bull, who was at the time fourth on the poll, was ultimately elected in conjunction with Wilkes. Alderman Oliver, who had been induced to offer himself, and who was supported by the oratory and efforts of the Reverend John Horne, was left the lowest on the poll. For his

* Woodfall's Junius. † Id.

* "By an intercepted letter from the secretary of the treasury it appeared *that the friends of government were to be very active* in supporting the ministerial nomination of sheriffs."—*Junius.*

conduct on this occasion Junius chose to represent the parson as bribed by the ministry—which was about as true as his previous insinuation that the Duke of Grafton had murdered Mr. Charles Yorke. The parson, in reply to Junius, indignantly denied the charge, protesting that he never had received, or solicited, or expected, or desired, or did now hope for any reward, of any sort, from any party or set of men, in administration or opposition; and then, going himself a little beyond the limits of truth, he said that he had taken no part whatever in the election of sheriffs, and had not solicited any one liveryman for his vote for any one of the candidates. Referring to his lost popularity, Horne said—"He is not fit for public business who does not, even at his entrance, prepare his mind for such an event. Health, fortune, tranquillity, and private connexions I have sacrificed upon the altar of the public; and the only return I receive, because I will not concur to dupe and mislead a senseless multitude, is, barely, that they have not yet torn me in pieces." Junius rejoined, and Horne replied again and again, having, in our opinion, most of the wit as well as the best of the argument. The quarrel and the correspondence led to dreadful disclosures of Wilkes's frailties. Horne, whose acquaintance with Wilkes appears to have begun in France (through the introduction of Mr. Humphrey Coates, and then through the congenial medium of Lawrence Sterne, the author of Tristram Shandy), and to have been, at one time, of the most intimate description, now accused the patriot of having commissioned Mr. Thomas Walpole to procure for him from the king a pension of 1000*l.* upon the Irish establishment—of having accepted a clandestine, precarious, and eleemosynary pension from the Rockingham administration—of having exposed the city offices for sale to his brother, his attorney, &c.—of not having commenced patriot until he had consumed the whole of his own fortune and that of his wife, and incurred debts to the amount of 20,000*l.* merely by his own private extravagance—of having appropriated the money subscribed by the Bill of Rights Society, which was professedly subscribed for the purpose of paying his creditors—of reviling the subscribers for setting bounds to their supplies—of having, in the midst of his distress in France, pawned several suits of clothes, of the most fashionable Parisian manufacture, which he (Horne) had left behind him at Paris in the patriot's charge—of having cheated his brother-in-law, Mr. Wildman, out of a Welsh pony—of having drunk claret while detained in the King's Bench prison—of still extravagantly retaining in his service six domestics, three of whom were *French*, &c.*

These accusations, altercations, and recriminations were music to ministerial ears, and certainly had the effect of weakening the opposition party in the city and elsewhere; though, such was the wit, readiness, activity, and influence of Wilkes, they had no immediate effect on his popularity or on his spirit. He and his colleague Bull declared that, as long as they were sheriffs, the military should not be allowed to attend the executions of criminals—an unconstitutional practice which had crept in of late years; they gratified the people at the beginning of the session by throwing open the doors and galleries of the Old Bailey, and not permitting money to be received by the door-keepers; and Wilkes warned Alderman Nash, the lord mayor elect, that he ought not to encourage France by giving French wines at his entertainments. For some time port had been considered the test of patriotism and orthodoxy, and claret of their opposites.

A.D. 1772.—Contrary to usual custom, parliament did not meet till after the Christmas holidays. On the 21st of January the king opened it with a speech which said nothing. The addresses were passed in both Houses without a division. In the Commons the address was moved by Lord Hinchinbrook, son of the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, and was seconded by Mr. Vane. Hinchinbrook hoped for unanimous approbation, saying that the king had saved us, by his great wisdom and prudence, from the calamities of war; that the honour of the nation had, at the same time, been properly vindicated; and then repeating the cuckoo note that Falkland Island was only a barren rock. On the same day Sir John Mawbey obtained leave to bring in a bill for preventing what he called clandestine outlawries: it was agreed to read it on the following Friday, but we hear no more of it. On the next day (the 22nd of January) Alderman Sawbridge rose to give notice that he should, in the course of the session, move for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments; and that he might not do it in so thin a House as last time, he moved that the House should be called over on the 25th of February. On the 24th of January there was a debate about the prevailing scarcity and the necessity of continuing the prohibition against the exportation of corn. On the same day Sir William Meredith moved that no bill or clause of any bill should be permitted to pass the House, whereby capital punishments were decreed, unless the same should be previously referred to a committee of the whole House. He complained, and not without reason, of the negligent, confused way in which

* Wilkes, of course, denied or explained away all these charges, and Junius turned them all into ridicule, being particularly caustic on the reverend gentleman's fine-coloured clothes. It appears, from Wilkes's friendly biographer, that his private fortune, which he derived principally from his wife, was first dipped by heavy electioneering expenses—that he spent between 3000*l.* and 4000*l.* at the general election in 1754 in a vain attempt to get returned for Berwick—that he was jobbed by his friend Potter, who vacated his seat for Aylesbury in 1757, on being appointed one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland—and that his first seat in parliament cost him 7000*l.* His second election for Aylesbury, in 1761, cost him another considerable sum; and as, at that time, he lived in Aylesbury, his expenses did not terminate with his election. He was accustomed to remark to his friends that he never would advise any gentleman to represent the town he lived in; for his constituents would be a heavy and perpetual incumbrance on his table and cellar.—*Almon.* As elections were then managed, any man with a moderate fortune, and unsupported by ministers or some great borough-holder, was, almost of necessity, ruined before he could set his foot on the floor of the House of Commons.

such bills were wont to be carried through the House, and of the practice of affixing to all sorts of offences the extreme penalty of the law. He said that a member once hearing the word *death* asked what it meant, and was told that it was only part of a new enclosure bill. The motion was passed unanimously and made a standing order. On the 29th of January, in a committee of supply, Mr. Buller informed the House that his majesty expected they would vote a considerable augmentation to our naval force, as additional ships were required in the Levant, where Russia was carrying on a maritime war with Turkey; in the East Indies, where France seemed to be collecting a force; and in Jamaica and the West India Seas. He said that the whole force need not exceed 25,000 men, including 6664 marines. Captain Harvey supported the motion, owning that this was a time of peace, and that our last peace establishment was only 9720 men. Admiral Sir Charles Saunders opposed this demand of ministers. "Twenty-five thousand men," said he, "are a very great number indeed in a time of profound peace. As a seaman, and as an officer, I might be for it, or for any addition; but as a member of parliament, and at a time when we have had the most pacific speech I ever heard from the throne, I think the demand very extraordinary." He said that a great force was kept up in America to prevent smuggling, which no sea force could ever do. He continued—"If such a huge force is to be kept up, better be at war at once!"—and he concluded with finding nearly everything wrong in the management of our navy, as unemployed admirals are accustomed to do at all times. Admiral Keppel followed much in the same strain, asserting that the lords of the admiralty only wanted more good things to bestow. Mr. Cornwall said that, among all the fine things spoken on this occasion, not a word had been mentioned about the expense, and that if this augmentation were passed it would remain for ever. He observed that a very short time before ministers had declared the navy to be strong enough and in very good order—and this too when Hannibal was at the gates. He declared that the keeping up of a number of ill-conditioned guardships in our ports was only to assist the first lord of the treasury to manage and corrupt the boroughs. If the force were absolutely required he would vote for it, but he should first move an address to know what alarming information his majesty had received so recently. Captain Phipps (afterwards Lord Mulgrave) said that he knew ten guardships had been sinecures, and not very creditable sinecures; but he hoped that they were not so now. Sir George Saville said it was quite clear that the country had got into some new difficulties, and that ministers, with their usual attempts at secrecy and mystery, would not tell parliament what those difficulties were. Colonel Barré then rose and spoke with his usual point and bitterness. He condemned the whole conduct of ministers as dark, mysterious, and inexplicable; and said that they were especially blamable for not telling the House honestly the grounds upon which they called for 25,000 men. He treated the boasts of wisdom and moderation in managing the Falkland Island quarrel with contempt, and denied that ministers had prevented war. "You know well," said he, "to whom you owe this uncertain peace. You owe it to a woman!"* He then alluded to the triumph of the Czarina over the Sultan in the Archipelago, and to the authority and insolence which the Russians had shown for the first time in the Mediterranean Sea—subjects which were all exceedingly irritating to the sailors and to a very considerable portion of the people of England. "We have done, sir," said he, "something of very great moment. There is an event which has astonished the world! We have seen the frigates of Russia in the centre of the Archipelago! The assistance of England, the supplies of our dockyards, helped to carry them thither, and to effect their mighty purpose. Have you well weighed the nature of this good office? Have you considered it to the bottom? . . . . . I suppose you have endeavoured to avail yourselves of the service which you have done to that great power: but, if you have gained the friendship of the Czarina, you have also gained the eternal hatred of the Ottoman Porte!" He then spoke of our former ally, Frederick, as if he had some foreknowledge of the schemes against Poland entertained by that great soldier, but selfish despot and remorseless politician. "Have you considered," said he, "what the King of Prussia is doing? His conduct is threatening, dark, and mysterious. . . . I suspect there is something concealed that requires this great armament." Mr. Buller's motion, however, was carried without a division.† On the 5th of February Lord North moved that the land-tax for the year should be fixed at three shillings in the pound, and this was agreed to without any debate. On the same evening Mr. Thomas Townshend rose to display his ignorance of political economy. He said he was anxious to draw the attention of the House to the high price of horses—not merely gentlemen's saddle-horses and coach-horses, but farmers' cart and plough horses; and he wished that the House would ascertain how far the exporting of English horses to the continent was an evil to this country. Mr. William Burke replied that, the more exportation was encouraged, the more and better horses we should have; Mr. Pulteney said that we might as well stop the exportation of broadcloth for fear it should be dearer; and Townshend's horsing motion received a dead check.‡ On

* Louis XV.'s mistress, Madame du Barry.

† Cavendish's Debates, from the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum. In the month of May Gibbon the historian had his attention awakened to the subject of Poland; but he did not foresee the *amicable* arrangement of the three partitioning powers; he thought that there would be a contest between Austria and Prussia. "It is confidently asserted," says he, "that the emperor and King of Prussia are to run for very deep stakes over the Polish course. If the news be true, I back Austria against the aged horse, provided little Laudohn rides the match. N. B. Crossing and jostling allowed."—*Letter to Lord Sheffield, in Miscellaneous Works.*

‡ Cavendish's Debates, Egerton MSS.

the following day, the 6th of February, Mr. Charles Fox gave notice that he should move that day fortnight for the total repeal of the marriage act. This act, it will be remembered, had been warmly opposed at the time of its passing by Mr. Fox's father; but the motion was followed by no results during this session. When Mr. Fox sat down, Sir William Meredith rose with an enormous bundle before him. "Sir," said he, "I have got a petition in my hand which may seem to alarm a great many gentlemen from the bulk and size of it: but it is not formidable for the length of the petition, but only for the names of the subscribers; and I hope, and indeed I am sure, that these numerous petitioners are respectable. The petition, Sir, states a grievance which lies most heavy upon those who suffer under it; for what falls upon the person, what falls upon property, gives less pain than what affects the minds and consciences of men." The petition was from some 250 of the established clergy, and from many professors of civil law and physic, who prayed relief from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the church of England, without which not only could no living be held in the church, but no degree could be obtained at Oxford or Cambridge, and without which admission was refused, at Oxford, to the most boyish student. The subject had long been discussed at public meetings, in the newspapers, in pamphlets, and in other works, so that the House considered itself well prepared to take it up. Continuing his long speech, Sir William Meredith maintained that the exacting of oaths was in some cases absurd—as from youths on their going up to the universities—and in all cases contrary to the spirit of religious liberty and toleration; and that the enforcing the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was, in too many cases, nothing but a teaching of perjury. Sir Robert Newdigate took advantage of a pause to say that the honourable member might as well read the petition, so that the House might know what was the nature, what the object, what the prayer, and what sort of persons had signed it. Sir William Meredith then read the paper without the signatures. "Your petitioners," said the document, "apprehend themselves to have certain rights and privileges which they hold of God alone, and of this kind is the exercise of their own reason and judgment. They conceive they are also warranted, by those original principles of reformation from popery on which the church of England is constituted, to judge, in searching the scriptures, each man for himself, what may or may not be proved thereby. They find themselves, however, in a great measure precluded the enjoyment of this invaluable privilege, by the laws relative to subscription, whereby your petitioners are required to acknowledge certain articles and confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every one of them agreeable to the said scriptures. Your petitioners therefore pray that they may be relieved from such an imposition upon their judgment, and be restored to their undoubted right, as protestants, of interpreting scripture for themselves, without being bound by any human explanations thereof—holy scripture alone being acknowledged certain and sufficient for salvation." After reading the petition Sir William spoke again at considerable length, and concluded with remarking that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were quite enough for the security of church and state. Sir Robert Newdigate then desired to know what was the station of those who had signed the petition. Meredith replied that there was the Archdeacon of Richmond among them, and that a good part of the subscribers were beneficed clergymen. Nobody rose to second him; upon which he said he conceived that petitions did not require seconding to be brought up. But the speaker told him it must be seconded. Then Chatham's nephew, Mr. Thomas Pitt (afterwards Lord Camelford), rose and said that it was exceedingly new to make a motion and insist upon forms in bringing up a petition—that he conceived it to be an essential right in every one to present a petition to that House.* Nobody replied to Mr. Pitt: and then Newdigate harangued against the petition at very great length. He was followed by Mr. Stanley, who said that no protestant reformer had ever dreamed of putting all sects on a level; and by Mr. Fitzmorris, who said that the times were very licentious and irreligious, and that no new door ought to be opened. Mr. Jenkinson spoke more at large about fanatics and fifth-monarchy men, and all the mischiefs they had done to royalty and to the Anglican church; and was of opinion that the House ought to show no countenance to such a petition. Other members were facetious at the expense of the tender consciences of the dissenters, and others were furious against the whole and every part of that mixed body. Mr. Charles Fox stood up for the church as by law established,† and thought all the laws and statutes by which it had been guarded were very necessary for its preservation. "We should instantly adopt," said he, "some mode of rejecting this petition. I own my favourite idea was the preventing its ever coming to our table. . . . . I never wish to hear the Thirty-nine Articles discussed in this House. . . . . Everything, say some, is to be risked for the principle of toleration. But I ask where is the intolerance? May not any man in this country profess his opinion, teach his opinion, publish his opinion? He is only prevented from making *his* the established religion of the country." He admitted, however, that he could not approve of the practice of exacting subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles from mere boys. "As to the universities," said he, "when men are admitted very young it is certainly wrong

* According to the Parliamentary History, where the debate is reported at great length, Pitt seconded the motion.

† "By the bye," says Gibbon, "Charles Fox prepared himself for that holy war, by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise of hazard; his devotion cost him only about 500*l.* per hour—in all 11,000*l.* This is from the best authority."—*Letter to Lord Sheffield.*

to make them take any oath at all. Where I was educated I took it when I was under sixteen, or at an age when one is not old enough to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy!" Mr. Soame Jenyns said that at Cambridge no subscription was required except upon taking a degree, when the party might be supposed to be of a sufficiently mature age. Mr. Dempster began to read the Thirty-nine Articles at full length to the House, but was called to order by Lord North. Other members declared that a compliance with the petition would give a mortal wound to the church, and, through the church, to the state—for the two were so closely united, that one could not perish without the other; that the church actually was and long had been in great danger; that the parliament could not grant relief to the petitioners, as it had no power to release from oaths once taken; that the king could not grant relief, as he was himself bound by oath to preserve the established church as it was; and that the treaty of union, which enacted that the church governments both of England and Scotland should for ever continue as they then were, presented an insurmountable obstacle to granting the prayer of the petitioners.* Mr. Burke, who gave his decided opposition to the petition, treated the subject in a very different manner. "If the dissenters," said he, "as an honourable gentleman has described them, have formerly risen from a 'whining, canting, sniveling generation,' to be a body dreadful and ruinous to all our establishments, let him call to mind the follies, the violences, the outrages and persecutions, that conjured up, very blamably but very naturally, that same spirit of retaliation. Let him recollect, along with the injuries, the services which dissenters have done to our church and to our state. If they have once destroyed, more than once they have saved them. This is but common justice, which they and all mankind have a right to." He observed that the church of England, like every other body corporate, might alter her laws without changing her identity; that she professed no infallibility, and had always exercised the right of reforming whatever appeared amiss in her doctrine, her discipline, or her ceremonies. "She did so," said he, "when she twice changed the liturgy in the reign of Edward VI., when she established articles which were themselves a variation from former professions; she did so when she cut off three articles from her original forty-two, and reduced them to the present thirty-nine." He was also certain that the act of union had not rendered any further change impossible. He professed himself, by reason, nature, habit, and principle, averse to all persecution for conscientious difference in opinion; but he denied that the gentlemen who had signed the petition could complain justly of any persecution or compulsion. He said that there were perhaps some things in the articles and liturgy which one would wish had not been there—that they were not without the marks of human frailty—but these marks would remain, alter them as they would; that the majority of the people concurred in approving them as they were, and parliament certainly was not the proper place to alter them. "If," said he, "you make this a season of religious alterations, depend upon it you will soon find it a season of religious tumults and religious wars." Confining himself to the case of subscription to the articles by the holders of church livings, which was really in a manner the whole question, although the supporters of the petition endeavoured to mix up with that the altogether different case of the exaction of subscription from persons seeking degrees in law and physic, and from youths entering the University, Mr. Burke proceeded:—"These gentlemen complain of hardships. No considerable number shows discontent; but, in order to give satisfaction to any number of respectable men, who come in so decent and constitutional a mode before us, let us examine a little what that hardship is. They want to be preferred clergymen in the church of England as by law established, but their consciences will not suffer them to conform to the doctrines and practices of that church; that is, they want to be teachers in a church to which they do not belong; and it is an odd sort of hardship. They want to receive the emoluments appropriated for teaching one set of doctrines, whilst they are teaching another. A church, in any legal sense, is only a certain system of religious doctrines and practices, fixed and ascertained by some law; by the difference of which laws different churches (as different commonwealths) are made in various parts of the world; and the establishment is a tax laid by the same sovereign authority for payment of those who so teach and so practise. For no legislature was ever so absurd as to tax its people to support men for teaching and acting as they please, but by some prescribed rule." He warned the House that, in making a new door into the church for these gentlemen, ten times their number might be driven out of it; and remarked that they could not be expected to displease the clergy of England now actually in office for the chance of obliging a score or two who were, or wanted to be, beneficed clergymen, and who were probably not agreed among themselves as to what ought to be altered. In reply to the argument that the scriptures alone ought to be the test, and that subscription to them would be sufficient for all purposes of religion or polity, he said—"The subscription to scripture is the most astonishing idea I ever heard, and will amount to just nothing at all. Gentlemen so acute have not, that I have heard, ever thought of answering a plain obvious question—What is that scripture to which they are content to subscribe? They do not think that a book becomes of divine authority because it is bound in blue morocco and is printed by John Basket and his assigns. The Bible is a vast collection of different treatises; a man who holds the divine authority of one may consider the other as merely human. What is his canon? The

* Cavendish's Debates, Egerton MSS.

Jewish? St. Jerome's? that of the Thirty-nine Articles? Luther's? There are some who reject the Canticles, others six of the Epistles: the Apocalypse has been suspected even as heretical, and was doubted of for many ages, and by many great men. As these narrow the canon, others have enlarged it by admitting St. Barnabas's Epistles, the Apostolic Constitutions, to say nothing of many other gospels. Therefore, to ascertain scripture you must have one article more; and you must define what that scripture is which you mean to teach. There are, I believe, very few who, when scripture is to be ascertained, do not see the absolute necessity of knowing what general doctrine a man draws from it, before he is sent down authorised by the state to teach it as pure doctrine and receive a tenth of the produce of our lands. The scripture is no one summary of doctrines regularly digested, in which a man cannot mistake his way; it is a most venerable but most multifarious collection of the records of the divine economy; a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books, by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes. It is necessary to sort out what is intended for example, what only as narrative, what to be understood literally, what figuratively—where one precept is to be controlled and modified by another—what is used directly, and what only as an argument *ad hominem* —what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation—what appropriated to one state and to one set of men, and what the general duty of all Christians. If we do not get some security for this, we not only permit, but we actually pay for, all the dangerous fanaticism which can be produced to corrupt our people and to derange the public worship of the country." Upon a division, at twelve minutes before eleven o'clock, only 71 members voted for the petition, while 217 voted against it.*

Within a few weeks two other questions were agitated in which the clergy were concerned. Mr. Henry Seymour moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing estates against dormant claims of the church, but the motion was rejected by 141 against 117.† On the 30th of January, the anniversary of King Charles's execution, Doctor Nowell, chaplain to the House of Commons, had preached a sermon, nominally before the House, which was said to savour strongly of the doctrines of passive obedience and the divine right of kings, and to be in direct opposition to the principles of the Revolution of 1688, which had seated the reigning family on the throne. At the preaching nobody was present except the Speaker and four members, who were either inattentive or sympathising listeners; and a motion of thanks and for printing the sermon was carried as a matter of course. But when the discourse appeared in print it brought down a terrible storm on the head of the reverend doctor. Mr. Thomas Townshend moved that it should be burned by the common hangman. This being thought too violent, it was proposed that in future all sermons should be printed before the preachers received the thanks of the House for them. This motion was got rid of by moving the order of the day. The Honourable Boyle Walsingham then moved to expunge the thanks voted to Doctor Nowell; he was supported by Thomas Townshend; another motion to proceed to the order of the day was negatived; and the sentence of erasure was carried without a division. In the course of the debate many severe strictures were made upon the character of Charles I., and upon that part of the liturgy which describes him as a blessed martyr. Lord Folkstone said that that part of the liturgy was composed by Father Petre, the Jesuit confessor of James II.; Alderman Sawbridge declared that Charles had suffered justly, and asked whether Doctor Nowell intended to recommend him as a model to the present king; and a few days after Mr. Montague formally moved a repeal of the Act for observing the 30th of January as a holiday, or a day of prayer and fasting. Montague's motion, however, was negatived by a majority of 125 against 97. Later in the session, —on the 3rd of April,—the Protestant *dissenting* ministers made application for "a legal security against those penalties to which such of them were liable as could not conscientiously comply with the terms of the Toleration Act; and also to obtain relief for tutors and schoolmasters from those oppressive laws to which they were exposed, and from the inconveniences which they actually suffered in endeavouring to get the natural course of those laws obstructed:" in other words, for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The motion for leave to bring in a bill to this effect was made by Sir Henry Houghton, and seconded by Sir George Saville. Those who opposed the bill maintained that there was already toleration enough; that, though some harsh things might remain on the Statute-book, they were never put in execution against the Protestant dissenters; that, since the accession of the House of Hanover, preachers confining themselves to Christian doctrines had never been molested, and tutors and schoolmasters were allowed to teach both publicly and privately in all parts of the country. The more zealous of the opposers spoke again of the danger of opening new doors and of giving further encouragement to anti-monarchical sectarians.

Previously to these debates, on the 14th of February, Lord North had called attention to the affairs of the East India Company, which were every day growing more important, and involving greater interests. In the following month of March Mr. Sulivan, deputy chairman of the East India Company, moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for the

* Abstract of the speech found among Burke's papers, and printed in his works.—Cavendish's Debates, in Egerton MSS.

† This was called the Church Nullum Tempus Bill

better regulating the affairs of the Company's servants and concerns in India. This bill was laid aside after a second reading; but in the course of the debates upon it many long charges and defences passed between certain members of the House and others that had acquired vast fortunes in the Company's service abroad; and these angry disclosures or accusations led to a committee of inquiry, which commenced forthwith its herculean task.* It appears that at this moment ministers entertained an idea of disarming the fierce opposition of Colonel Barré, by offering him the supreme direction of East India affairs. At least, Lord George Germaine made a very singular communication to Barré, through a third person, telling him that he knew no way of setting Indian matters right but one, which was to throw the whole into the hands of a single person—that he (Lord George) knew but one man in the kingdom whose character for firmness, *disinterestedness*, honour, civil and military talents, pointed him out for such an undertaking, and that person was Colonel Barré: but Barré and his friends were of opinion that, if the proposal came from the ministry, it must be either hollow or trifling; and, if from Lord George Germaine, it must arise from some dark and selfish plan.†

As early as the 20th of February a message was delivered to parliament from the king, stating that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family had ever belonged to the kings of this realm as matter of prerogative, but recommending both Houses to take into serious consideration whether it might not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws, and by some new provision more effectually to guard the descendants of George II. from marrying without the consent of the king, his heirs and successors. The causes which led to this message are soon told. The Duke of Cumberland, the second of the king's surviving brothers, after seducing the young and handsome wife of Earl Grosvenor, and figuring in a crim. con. trial on that account in the year 1770,‡ contracted, in November, 1771, a private marriage with Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq., of Cotton Hall, in the county of Derby, a daughter of Lord Irnham and sister of that Colonel Luttrell, who had, in more senses than one, been keeping Wilkes's seat warm in the House of Commons. Junius had told the people that this high marriage of his sister was one of the rewards which the colonel received for his services to ministers and his offences against the constitution. But as soon as the king heard of the misalliance he sternly forbade his brother the court. In the following spring his majesty's other brother, the Duke of Gloucester, ventured, nevertheless, to make public his marriage with the charming widow of the late Earl of Waldegrave, to whom he had been privately united some five or six years. There were perhaps good and solid grounds of a political nature for objecting to this kind of union between members of the royal family and subjects; but it is understood that George III., and still more Queen Charlotte, who was absolutely fanatic on these subjects, based their objections and their resentments on feelings much more personal. Both entertained extreme notions as to the dignity conferred by birth and remote descent; both believed as firmly as if it were an article of religious faith that the blood of princes was contaminated by any admixture with less precious blood. They prided themselves on the antiquity of the House of Brunswick, on the family of Guelph, and the "antique brood" of Este, from which they were equally descended,* and the origin of which is lost in the obscurity of the ninth century. According to the embarrassing scheme of her countrymen the Germans, and according to Queen Charlotte's own belief, there was not in all England a single family that could substantiate its claim to pure unmixed descent or to real nobility;† but the families out of which the two royal dukes had chosen their wives were deficient in aristocratic pretensions even in the less severe construction of the English heralds. The Luttrells were an undistinguished stock of Irish Protestants. The beautiful Countess Dowager Waldegrave was the *natural* daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, brother to the great minister,

* Annual Register.

† The Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, in Chatham Corres.

‡ The cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench before Lord Mansfield, on the 5th of July, 1770. The damages were laid at 100,000*l*.. A great many witnesses were examined, and a considerable number of the duke's letters to the lady were produced in court, read, and afterwards published for the edification of the public. *Putting aside the morality of the question, they were disgraceful to* his royal highness's intellect and education. They showed he could not even spell; grammar there was none, and punctuation was equally dispensed with. He was ably defended by Mr. Dunning; and Lord Mansfield, in charging the jury, said that the rank and station of the plaintiff made no difference in his claim to damages—a strange and startling opinion. His lordship, moreover, after delivering the charge, withdrew, and adjourned the court to his house in Bloomsbury Square. At ten o'clock at night the jury left Westminster Hall and went to his lordship's house with a verdict of 10,000*l*. damages.

Before the commencement of the trial, which cast out a young and beautiful woman from society into utter wretchedness, this royal lover had taken another mistress, a Mrs. B——, of Hatton Garden, and was seen publicly with her; and in little more than fifteen months he was married to the fair widow Horton, after failing in securing her upon easier terms. It must be confessed that the moral example set by the king and queen was not generally followed by the members of their own family. The feeling of the people was, as it generally is, correct and humane; but the scandalous irregularities and the imbecility of the Duke of Cumberland did not prevent some of the leaders in opposition from endeavouring to win him over as a valuable ally.

* Queen Charlotte, however, boasted the purer blood, and held that that of her husband had a blemish by a mixture of plebeian blood, as one of his ancestors had married a Frenchwoman of few or no quarters, a Mademoiselle d'Olbreuse. She was the mother of Sophia of Zell, the unhappy wife of George I. "It has been said that her majesty Queen Charlotte used sometimes to reproach her royal husband with this *mésaltiance* in his family. The following anecdote is also told upon the same subject. On a certain occasion the queen gave a dinner at Frogmore, where were present, besides her own children, some foreign members of the House of Brunswick. It was remarked by one of the guests that every person at table was descended from the Electress Sophia; but the queen turned round, and, pointing to her heart, exclaimed proudly, 'Non, Madame, il n'y a pas de d'Olbreuse ici.' We are glad that a woman in essentials so respectable as her late majesty should have derived pleasure even from trifles; but we are also glad that our royal race should possess this mixture of lower, but not therefore worse blood, which separates them more from the pedigree-hunting princes of the empire, and makes them appear more naturally belonging to the mixed nobility and mixed government of this country."—*Remarks on the Origin of the Families and Honours of the British Peerage, by the late Lord Dover.*

† There is not a single instance in England of a family that could prove sixteen quarterings, or that would be what is called *Chapitrale*. Even our present royal family are barred by the *sang de d'Olbreuse!*

whose father was a plain country gentleman, a Norfolk squire of the second or third magnitude. The Duke of Gloucester was forbidden the court like Cumberland; and so lasting was the royal resentment, that for ten years neither of these brothers was received by king or queen. In ready compliance with his majesty's message, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, by which it was declared that none of the royal family, being under the age of twenty-five years, should marry without the king's consent; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in case of the king's refusal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the person they were desirous to espouse, and if, within a year, neither house of parliament should address the king against it, the marriage might be legally solemnised; but all persons assisting in or knowing of an intention in any of the royal family to marry without fulfilling these ceremonies, and not disclosing it, incurred the penalties of a premunire. In the House of Lords the bill was vehemently opposed in all its stages; and the House divided on the second reading, on the preamble, and on every one of its clauses. The Marquess of Rockingham distinguished himself in this opposition: he said that the royal family might in time become so extensive as to include thousands of individuals, and that it would be barbarous to pretend to enforce, and impossible to execute, the provisions of the act upon so many persons. Lord Camden reasoned in the same manner, and exclaimed against the injustice of annulling a marriage between persons of mature age. But every amendment was rejected, and the bill, as originally framed by the crown lawyers under the direction of the king, was passed by a majority of 90 against 26. Two strong protests were entered upon the journals; and the bill was sent down to the Commons. There it was opposed with still more violence. Every clause was attacked, every amendment proposed by the opposition peers was proposed anew, and Burke and all the most eloquent members denounced it as cruel, oppressive, calculated to extend the dangerous power of ministers and the limits of prerogative. Mr. Dowdeswell observed that a man who was by law allowed at the age of eighteen to be fit for governing the realm might well be supposed capable of choosing and governing a wife. Upon the final division, which carried the bill, the ministerial majority was less overwhelming than usual, being only 168 against 115. During the debate none but members of the House were allowed to be present, though many of the peers made application for admittance. "Nothing," writes Shelburne, "but the manner of carrying through that registered edict—still more impudent than the terms of it—could have excited any feeling on that subject, and, as it was, it was confined to within doors."* This latter assertion, however, was not quite correct; for, if we look at the publications of the day, we shall perceive that the excitement extended out of doors, and that the people were as much concerned about the marriages of princes and princesses as they had been about any subject since the Middlesex election. Chatham writes to Shelburne:—"The doctrine of this royal marriage bill is certainly new-fangled and impudent, and the extent of the powers given to the crown is wanton and tyrannical." But he was more angry at the House of Commons and the public for taking so much interest in such a subject than he was at the bill itself. "And yet," said he, "I confess that to see a *public*, which slept so quietly upon the violation of electors' rights and the tyranny of the House of Commons, awake into spirit and activity about abridging the facility of princely nuptials, surprises me not a little. This is straining at a gnat after swallowing the camel."* Gibbon, the historian, took a different view of the merits of the bill. "Thanks to the *submissive* piety of this session," said he, "it is hoped that the princes of the next generation will not find it so easy as their uncles have done to expose themselves and burden the public."†

In closing the present session on the 10th of June the king expressed his great satisfaction at the temper and moderation displayed by parliament, and thanked them for the additional security which they had provided for the honour and welfare of his family. Lord North, who, in spite of his somnolency, had improved himself as a man of business, seemed now firmly seated, and this appearance or conviction augmented his real strength and brought over the waverers and time-servers to his side. But in the course of the session which had just ended North saw clearly that he was about to lose the support of one of the best of his debaters and the most promising of all his orators in the House of Commons. This was Fox, whose conversion to Whig principles was somewhat sudden. Towards the end of February Gibbon had written to his friend—"Charles Fox is commenced patriot, and is already attempting to pronounce the words *country*, *liberty*, *corruption*, &c.; with what success, time will discover. Yesterday he resigned the admiralty. The story is, that he could not prevail on ministry to join with him in his intended repeal of the marriage act (a favourite measure of his father, who opposed it from its origin), and that Charles very judiciously thought Lord Holland's friendship imported him more than Lord North's."‡ But ministers felt the value of the services they had thus lost, and Charles Fox, in the most humiliating pecuniary difficulties, probably felt the want of mi-

* Letter to Chatham, in Chatham Corres.] [While it was depending in parliament, some persons said that the bill should be entitled "An Act to encourage Fornication and Adultery in the Descendants of George II."

* Chatham Corres.

† Letter to Lord Sheffield, in Miscellaneous Works. According to the historian, Colonel Luttrell was so annoyed at the royal marriage bill, and at the dishonour put upon his sister, that he once talked of turning *patriot!* He says—"The noise of Luttrell is subsided, but there was some foundation for it. The colonel's expenses in his bold enterprise (the Middlesex election) were yet *unpaid by government*. The hero threatened, assumed the patriot, received a sop, and again sunk into the courtier!"—*Id. Id.*

‡ Letter to Lord Sheffield in Miscellaneous Works.

nisterial pay: we shall soon find him returning to office under Lord North, and to a better place than the one he had quitted.

Wilkes meanwhile did all he could to keep the spirit of opposition alive in the city, which for some time had appeared to nod, like Lord North on the treasury-bench.* On the 6th of April he with his brother sheriff, Bull, congratulated the livery and themselves on the fact that six months of their shrievalty had passed without any illegal royal proclamations or any commitments during pleasure by either house of parliament. On the 24th of June Wilkes, Crosby, and Oliver, received, by a vote of the common council, silver cups in commemoration of their courageous and successful efforts in behalf of the printers and the freedom of the press. Yet, upon the whole, the hostility to ministers declined, and the dissensions among the city leaders rose higher. Wilkes, however, secured the election of his friend, Sergeant Glynn, to the recordership, which had been left vacant in the preceding November by the resignation of Sir James Eyre, who was made, in the first instance, one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer. A great scarcity of money contributed to keep the attention of the city employed on its own private business and wants.

But if the royal mind was tranquillised by these increasing assurances of the stability of administration and the weakness of opposition, it was harassed during this year by various domestic afflictions and anxieties. The Princess-dowager of Wales died suddenly on the 8th of February, in the fifty-fourth year of her age;† and before her death her daughter Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, was hurled from a throne and cast into a prison, with the darkest imputations on her character. This unfortunate princess, the youngest of the king's surviving sisters, and said to have been the dearest, was married, as already related, in 1766, to Christian VII., king of Denmark, whose mean appearance and physical defects were not relieved by any high moral or intellectual qualities. He was addicted to licentious and degrading pleasures; his pursuits were puerile; his character was more unmanly than his person. Yet, such as he was, Christian VII. was a most absolute sovereign, and the mass of his subjects were still groaning or sleeping under the dead weight of the worst part of the feudal system, being vassals or slaves to the landed proprietors, with whose estates they were bought and sold. By a strange and sudden revolution the burghers of Copenhagen had in 1660 overthrown the old Danish constitution, which left the powers of the state in the hands of the great nobles, and in seeking refuge from an oligarchical tyranny had submitted to, or rather had themselves erected, a kingly despotism—a despotism the most unlimited in Europe. Christian had for his chief favourite, and then for his prime minister, Count Struensee, who had studied medicine and law, and had renounced both professions for the more profitable life of a courtier. Struensee possessed considerable abilities, a handsome person, and manners much more dignified and winning than those of his master, the royal Dane.* It was soon observed that the young queen was as fond of his society as was her husband; and that the favourite conversed with her in very familiar terms. The queen, gay, light-hearted, and thoughtless, appears never to have had an idea that she was watched by unfriendly eyes. From her first arrival in Denmark Juliana Maria, the queen-dowager, had taken a strong dislike to her, and this aversion was increased when it was seen that Matilda and Struensee, with the assistance of Brandt, a young nobleman, exercised complete authority over the indolent and imbecile king, and directed the government as they chose, to the exclusion of the dowager and her party, who had hitherto ruled the state at will. Juliana Maria's friends were numerous and powerful, including most of the nobility, who were incensed at seeing a man of no hereditary rank put at the head of the government. Nor had the English princess been so fortunate as to gain the affections of the Danish people. Hence, when injurious reports began to spread, they found many in Copenhagen ready to believe the worst of them. The catastrophe was hastened by resentment against Struensee for introducing sundry changes and innovations into the administration.

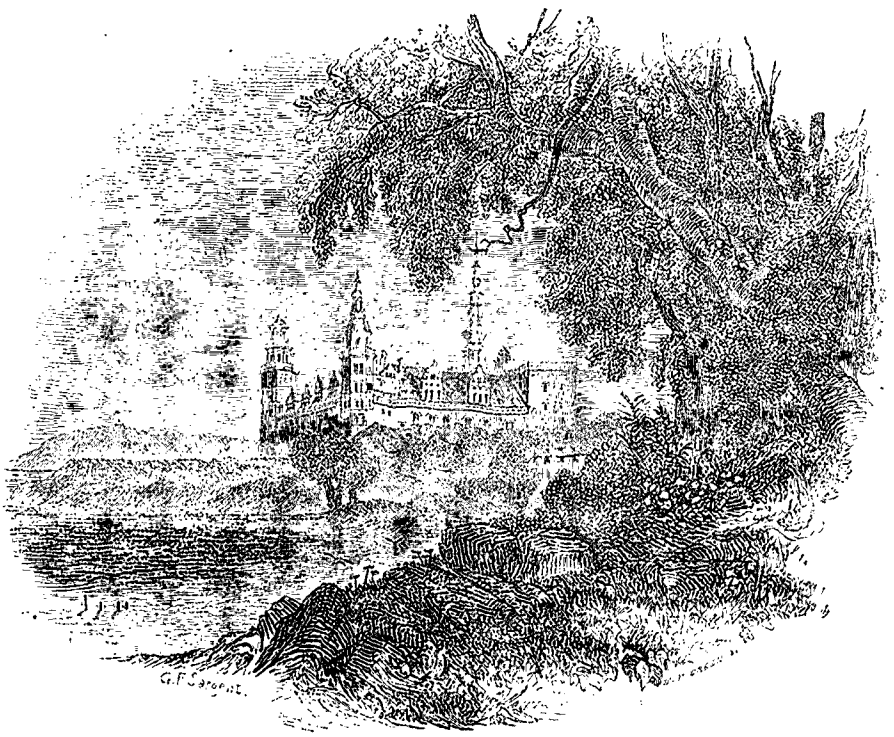
On the morning of the 16th of January, 1772, at an early hour, and not long after the young queen had retired to rest from a masked ball, her apartment was suddenly entered by a female attendant, who presented to her a written order from the king to remove instantly from Copenhagen. It is said that this order had been procured a few minutes before by the queen-dowager, her son Frederick (Christian's half-brother), and two

* Chatham deeply deplored the growing indifference of the city to the struggle for overthrowing ministers. But he attributed the decline of patriotism there to the disobedience shown to the orders of the House of Commons about the printers, &c. He wrote—"The defiance of the most constitutional power and right, inherent necessarily in the House of Commons, and exercised regularly in the best time, I consider as the last fatal error, from which patriotism in the city will never recover, in the judgment of the thinking friends of liberty; and the more so, as I see the same unaccountable paradox is to continue to be the *cheval de battaille* of every leader of every faction there."—*Letter to the Earl of Shelburne, Chatham Corres.*

† Her royal highness died without a will; but, as her charities had been extensive, it was thought she could not have left much money to be divided among her younger children. Her favourite, Lord Bute, or, as Gibbon calls him, "the Prince of Bute," insisted on the king's immediately sealing up all her papers, "to secure her from the idle reports which would be so readily swallowed by the great English monster."—Gibbon; *Letters, in Miscellaneous Works.*

* King Christian's neglect of his young wife began soon after his marriage. In 1768, when he set out upon a tour, during which he passed several months in England, made a long stay in Paris, and visited nearly every court in Europe, he left his wife behind him at Denmark to be harassed and tormented by his mother, Juliana Maria. It was in the course of these travels that he became acquainted with Struensee, who was then practising physic at Altona. Holk, a former favourite, was instantly dismissed, and Struensee put in his place; and when the physician returned with the king to Denmark he effected a reconciliation between the ill-used queen and her husband, by which he at once incurred the mortal hatred of the dowager. At the same time he roused the indignation of the Danish nobility by abolishing the council of state, and substituting what was termed a committee of conference—a committee consisting merely of the heads of the different departments of the administration, who were now nearly all chosen from among the friends of the young queen.

nobles, who terrified the king into the belief that his wife and Struensee were actually conspiring to depose him. As soon as Matilda had read the order she sprang out of bed and ran towards her husband's apartment, but, seeing Count Rantzau, the minister for foreign affairs, in the antechamber, she went back to her room to attend to her dress. When she again attempted to seek the king she was seized by Rantzau, who owed his elevation to Struensee, but who had deserted his friend, and by three officers, with drawn swords, who hurried her away half dressed as she was, and forced her, shrieking and resisting, into a carriage, which was driven with headlong speed to the castle of Cronborg, about twenty-four miles from the capital. She was immured in that fortress with an English lady of her suite, and her infant daughter the Princess Louisa, whom she was suckling at the time. In the mean while Struensee and Brandt were seized by Colonel Koller Banner, conveyed to the citadel of Copenhagen, cast into dungeons, and loaded with irons; their houses were broken open and plundered by the mob, as were the houses of several of their party; and the imbecile king was paraded through the streets of the city in a coach drawn by eight milk-white horses, as if to testify his approval of the domestic revolution which had taken place. That night there was a general illumination in Copenhagen; and by the next morning the queen-dowager and her party had taken entire possession of the government, and displaced every one that adhered either to Struensee or to the young queen. The treatment of the fallen minister and his colleague Brandt was barbarous in the extreme. Struensee was chained so closely to the wall of his cold damp dungeon as scarcely to be able to turn himself; he was frequently deprived of the common necessaries of life, and was occasionally threatened with the torture to make him confess all that his enemies dictated. He and his companion in misfortune were soon put upon their trial before a special commission, composed entirely of those who had headed the palace revolution or who had profited by it. The proceedings were secret, and conducted with indecent haste. Struensee was declared to be guilty of adulterous connexion with the young queen, and of other high crimes, and both he and Brandt were condemned to die the death of traitors—a punishment which, in Denmark, consisted in having the right hand cut off first, and then the head. On the 28th of April a high scaffold was erected in the midst of a field outside the town; and they were conducted to the spot in two separate carriages through an immense multitude of people. Brandt had somewhat the milder fate, for he was executed the first; and he died with the courage and dignity of a man. But Struensee, whose courage was perhaps always inferior, was completely unnerved by the spectacle of his friend's amputation and decollation; he



CRONBORG CASTLE.

started away from the block several times, was shockingly maimed by the axe, and was not dispatched till the executioner's assistants held him down with his head under the instrument of death.* A suit of divorce was then instituted against the young queen, on the ground of a criminal intimacy with Struensee; and several of her own attendants, who are said, however, to have been placed over her as spies by the dowager, deposed against her, and swore to a number of criminating or suspicious facts. Matilda, with no one to defend her, without the power of procuring witnesses, with horrible threats ringing in her ears, and with none but revengeful enemies before her eyes, admitted that she had been guilty of many follies and indiscretions, but denied that she had ever sinned against the seventh commandment; and this denial, it is said, she repeated in her dying moments. Nevertheless the secret commission found her guilty, and pronounced sentence of divorce. It was even proposed to try her on a capital charge, with a view to set aside her son and daughter, and to open the way to the throne for Prince Frederick, the son of Juliana Maria, a plan which that dowager had been pursuing all along. If the unfortunate Matilda had been a daughter of one of those little princes in Germany, from whose families the protestant dynasties generally chose their wives, there is every probability that she would have died on a scaffold like Struensee, or have been immured for life in some dreadful state prison;† but she was the sister of one of the greatest sovereigns in Europe, whose hostility was to be dreaded; and George III., by means of his ambassador, Sir Robert Murray, remonstrated and menaced, and finally induced the Danish court to agree that she should quit the kingdom and live under the protection of her brother. An English squadron repaired to Cronborg to receive the dethroned and dishonoured queen. Her infant daughter, still at her breast, was torn from her, and she embarked in an agony of grief, apparently insensible to everything but the feelings of a mother—feelings rendered the more acute as the child was at that moment sick and in danger from the measles. Matilda remained upon deck with her eyes immoveably fixed on the walls of Cronborg Castle till darkness intercepted the view. The night was calm or the wind contrary, for on the following morning the tall tapering towers of the castle were still to be seen, and the bereaved mother could not be induced to return to the cabin until the last visible point of the towers had sunk below the horizon. She was landed at the Hanoverian seaport of Stade, and was thence conveyed to the Castle of Zell in Hanover, which, for a short period, had, under very similar circumstances, been the abode of her great-grandmother, Sophia Dorothea, the wretched wife of George I., and which was now selected by her brother for her future residence. Here a cheap little court was formed for her, and her expenses were supplied out of the Hanoverian revenue, or, which is more probable, out of the English privy purse. Her chief amusement was music—an art a taste for which was hereditary in her family, and in which she is said to have excelled. She procured portraits of her infant son and daughter, whom she was never to see again, hung them in her chamber, and was frequently heard talking to them as if those shadows had sense and life. She did not long survive her misfortunes. In the month of April, 1775, less than three years after her release from Cronborg, she was seized with a dangerous illness, from which she had suffered twice before since her residence at Zell, and which this time ended in a putrid fever. She told her physician Leyser that he had saved her twice, but that this time her case exceeded his skill—that she knew she was not within the reach of medicine. Leyser suggested that the celebrated Zimmerman, the author of the well-known book on Solitude, and one of the ablest physicians of the day, should be called in from Hanover, where he resided. This was done, but all the skill of Zimmerman could not save her from a premature grave. Caroline Matilda died on the 10th of May in the twenty-fourth year of her age, expressing, it is said, the most perfect forgiveness of all her enemies. Her body was royally interred with those of her ancestors, the Dukes of Zell. The funeral was conducted with great pomp; but a better tribute, paid to her kindness, charity, and gentleness of heart, was found in the tears of all the poor people of the city and neighbourhood. On the 10th of June the nobility and the states unanimously voted an address to George III., as Elector of Hanover, to obtain permission to erect at Zell a monument in memory of the qualities of mind and heart of the late queen of Denmark, as well as of the devotion and veneration which they had borne to that princess. But after all, Matilda's son ascended the Danish throne, and her arch-enemy the queen-dowager was disappointed in her hope of placing her own offspring upon it. After holding the reins of government for thirteen years Juliana Maria and her faction found themselves compelled to admit the Prince Royal Frederick into the council; and, though only sixteen years old, this child of Matilda displayed so much talent and energy that he soon acquired an absolute ascendancy, and was formally associated as a sort of joint king with Christian VII., whose imbecility was then fully and publicly recognised. "He is in fact," says a traveller, who saw him towards the close of the century, "merely a machine of state, to subscribe

* Even under the iron despotism of Denmark there were a few men bold enough to sympathise in the fate of the favourite and of the young queen, and to question the legality of the proceedings against them. A pamphlet was printed with these sentiments, and prognosticating that much misery would befall the country on account of what had been done. Thura, the author of it, was thrown into a dungeon, tried by the high or special tribunal at Copenhagen, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to suffer the same punishment as Struensee and Brandt. A proclamation was then issued, forbidding people to meet together in any numbers, and denouncing extreme penalties against such as should presume to criticise the proceedings of government.

† It is said that the queen-dowager and her party had selected the lonely fortress of Aalborg, in the peninsula of Jutland, for her perpetual prison.

the name of a king to the acts of the government, which, to avoid danger, have no value unless countersigned by the Prince Royal; for Christian is allowed to be absolutely an idiot, excepting that now and then an observation, or trick, escapes him, which looks more like madness than imbecility."* As usual in such cases, the irregularities of the husband—and in King Christian's case these were revolting and monstrous—interfered considerably with any implicit belief in the unvarying fidelity of the wife; and it was remembered besides that Struensee was handsome, gallant, witty, a most engaging companion, enterprising, daring, and a professed libertine; that Matilda was very young, very pretty, very thoughtless, and a queen; and that her majesty and the minister were brought constantly together by the king himself, who seemed not only to promote the intimacy, but to take pride in it. The fate of such husbands is, at least, proverbial. She frequently rode out with Struensee dressed in male attire—but this, it is said, was only to humour the caprice of the crazed king. But then it is reported upon good evidence that she openly betrayed her marked fondness or partiality for the favourite, and excited remark and suspicion by her behaviour towards him at assemblies, balls, the public theatre, and even in the streets of Copenhagen. All this, however, may have been nothing more than the folly and indiscretion of an innocent girl. As for the sentence passed upon her by the Danish court, it is not entitled to the slightest weight or consideration, being pronounced in a despotic country, by enemies, who had a most obvious interest in her condemnation, and who could employ torture upon witnesses. It was reported at the time that the articles exhibited against her and the proceedings taken to prove her guilt were transmitted to King George, and submitted by him separately to several eminent civilians, who all declared that these Danish papers could never carry conviction to a lawyer. It should be remarked, however, that English law demands more evidence than was then required in the generality of continental courts, and that the things which could not convince an English civilian might have carried conviction to a foreign lawyer. There remained also the unavoidable national prejudice in favour of the princess, the deep sympathy in her sufferings, and the very excusable repugnance to tell the king that his own favourite sister was naught. George III. never published the articles with comments to prove the badness of the evidence, which he might have been expected to do if he had been fully convinced of his sister's innocence; and he never could bear to hear the subject in any way alluded to. Another important circumstance which kept alive suspicion or doubt was, his not bringing her back to England, her native home, but leaving her to pine away the remnant of her wretched life at Zell among foreigners and strangers. George, however, was never very fond of parting with his money, and that residence may have been selected on account of its cheapness. We may leave the question of her guilt or innocence in the same state of uncertainty in which Horace Walpole leaves that of her great-grandmother; but, after the mournful details we have given, we believe that the most rigidly virtuous will allow that, whatever was the amount of Caroline Matilda's errors, she is far more entitled to pity than to censure. There were many and respectable exceptions, but, generally, writers and people on the continent were disposed to believe that she was guilty with Struensee. In England the contrary belief existed and has maintained its ground; and when, sixteen years after the grave had closed over her, and in a very different quarrel, the English fleet under Nelson and Parker forced the passage of the Sound, gliding by her former prison Cronborg Castle, which thundered at them with a hundred guns, and appeared before Copenhagen to annihilate the navy of Denmark, it was supposed that many a British sailor fought the more fiercely from his recollection of the wrongs or woes of the English princess. But even here the poetical justice—if such it were to be considered—was not complete; for "the Prince of all the land," who "led on" the Danes on that dismal day, and fought the English ships like a hero, was the Crown Prince—was the son of Caroline Matilda!*

In the beginning of this same year (1772) a sudden revolution took place at Stockholm. About half a century before the nobility of Sweden had limited the prerogative of the crown, and had erected themselves into an oligarchy almost as absolute and oppressive as that which had existed in Denmark previously to the year 1660. Since the establishment of this aristocratical government the country had been split into two factions, which were denominated the Hats and the Caps. Encouraged by this division, and by the notoriety of the fact that the aristocratical senate was as venal as it was proud, and that the leaders, who called themselves patriots, were in the pay of Russia, the reigning sovereign, Gustavus III., resolved to overthrow the senate and re-erect the old monarchical despotism. He proceeded to mature his

* Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters written during a short residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

* A curious sequel to the story of Matilda is, that her son Frederick treated his wife as she had been treated by his father. The Princess Charlotte Frederica, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, was married to the Crown Prince of Denmark in 1805 M. Bourrienne, who knew her well, says—"The princess was as beautiful as love; but she was heedless and giddy; in fact, she was a spoiled child. She adored her husband, and for some time their union proved happy. . . . . But, notwithstanding her amiability the Princess Charlotte was no favourite at the Danish court. Intrigues were formed against her. I know not whether any foundation existed for the calumnies spread to her disadvantage, but the Danish dames accused her of great levity of conduct, which, true or false, obliged her husband to separate from her; and, at the commencement of 1809, he sent her to Altona, attended only by a chamberlain and one maid of honour. On her arrival she was in despair; hers was not a silent grief, for she related her story to everybody. This beautiful and unfortunate woman really excited pity, when she shed tears for her son, three years of age, whom she was doomed never again to behold. But her natural levity returned; she did not always maintain the reserve suitable to her rank, and some months afterwards she was sent into Jutland, where, I believe, she still lives."—*Memoirs.*

measures with extreme secrecy and precaution. He gradually gained over the mass of the army; he secured the affections of the brave people of Dalecarlia, who had established the dynasty of Gustavus Vasa; he captivated the citizens, who were sufficiently tired of the arrogance, oppression, and corruption of the nobles, and he secured the services of the burgher-guard of the capital. A dearth of corn completed the popular dissatisfaction with the existing government, and a sham insurrection gave the king a pretext for assembling the troops within the walls of Stockholm. When all was ready, and the aristocracy wholly unprepared, Gustavus threw off the mask; he harangued the troops, and told them he was about to save the nation from degradation and misery,—to put an end to the insolence, the shameless venality and corruption of the states,—and to restore to the crown the power and lustre of former days. The soldiers applauded; the senators were made prisoners in a trice; and the obnoxious members of the secret committee of the states gave up every thing for lost, and fled for their lives. The army, the colleges or public offices, both civil and military, took the oath of allegiance in the old absolute form; the citizens of Stockholm followed the example; and in the course of a few hours, without the shedding of a single drop of blood, the revolution was achieved. The fallen oligarchy left few causes of regret; but the Swedes committed precisely the same mistake as the Danes had done a hundred and twelve years before, in establishing the absolute despotism of the crown. A short time after Gustavus summoned a diet; and the diet, surrounded by troops, and with artillery pointed at the hall in which they were assembled, confirmed the new order of things, and took the oaths dictated by the king.

The Czarina Catherine professed great abhorrence at this subversion of national institutions, and talked of taking up arms for the defence of Swedish liberty, which the Swedes themselves were weary of. It was strange to see this autocratix putting herself forward as the champion of freedom; but everybody understood her real motive, which was only to re-establish the power of the nobles, that she might bribe them and buy them as before, and through their means keep Sweden neutral or subservient, as it had hitherto been. But Prussia and Austria could not agree with her in her Swedish schemes; and her war with the Turks and the crisis of Poland called off her arms and even her attention from Gustavus III. Russia, since the accession of this Semiramis or Messalina of the North, had been the scene of another royal or imperial murder, as also of another Perkin Warbeck-like insurrection. The Czar Ivan, long a state prisoner, was lineally descended, on the female side, from the Czar Ivan Alexiwitz, who was the elder brother of Peter the Great, but who had been set aside in the order of succession on the plea of mental incapacity. He was the son of Anne, grand-daughter of Peter's elder brother, by Anthony *Ulric of Brunswick*: he was born in August, 1740; created grand duke immediately after his birth by his aunt Anne, the reigning empress; and at her death, in the October following, succeeded to the throne of all the Russias by right of descent. But, in a country like Russia, an infant emperor was not likely to have a long reign: Ivan's lasted some fifteen months, for he was deposed by Elizabeth at the end of 1741, when he was arrested by soldiers in his cradle, and carried off to the fortress of Riga. After a confinement of eighteen months young Ivan was removed to the Castle of Dunamund, a worse state prison than the first. He was next removed to the remoter fortress of Oranienburg; and, after some time, it was carefully reported that he was dead. But a Russian monk discovered that the young czar was alive; and, setting to work with wonderful perseverance and ingenuity, he released the captive from the Castle of Oranienburg, and carried him off towards Poland, with the intention of proclaiming him the lawful sovereign. But the fugitives were caught at Smolensko. History is silent as to the fate of the monk, but it is conjectured that he was knouted to death. Ivan was carried from place to place, in order to conceal his real abode. In 1756 he was secretly conveyed to the house of a nobleman in Petersburg, where the Empress Elizabeth, who had seized his throne and condemned him to the cruel fate of a state prisoner, saw him by night and spoke with him without making herself known. He was then sixteen years of age, tall, and well grown, but wholly uneducated; and, from long, solitary confinement, deplorably helpless, and almost an idiot. His next removal was to the strong fortress of Schlusselberg, built upon a small island of the Neva, where he was immured with great mystery, none of the garrison knowing for a long time who or what he was. In this dismal place the miserable Ivan was confined for eight years. Yet, in spite of every jealous precaution, vague rumours got abroad that Ivan, the rightful heir to the throne, was alive and in Schlusselberg Castle. The whole secret became known, about a year after the murder of Peter III. and the accession of Catherine, to one who was desperate enough to attempt a liberation and a revolution. This was Vassili Mirovitch, an under lieutenant of the regiment of Smolensko, then in garrison at the village and fortress of Schlusselberg. His motive was mere resentment against the reigning czarina, who had refused him a great favour for which he had petitioned.* He was without money, without influence, and had scarcely a friend in the world except one Ushakof, a poor subaltern like himself. Ushakof entered into his plan, and took an oath of fidelity and secrecy; but before anything could be arranged he was upset in a boat on the Neva and drowned. Mirovitch then sounded

* Mirovitch was grandson of the rebel of the same name who followed Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, when he revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. in his mad expedition into the Ukraine. He had petitioned Catherine to restore to him the confiscated estates of his grandfather.

one Tikon Casatkin, a menial of Catherine's court, and Simeon Tchevaridsef, a lieutenant of artillery. When it came to his turn to mount guard within the fortress he discovered, and set a private mark on, the door of Ivan's cell; but he could not obtain so much as a glimpse of that prince's person. He gained over to his desperate project one Piskof, a common soldier; and with this man, on the 4th of July, 1764, at ten o'clock at night, he revealed his scheme to three corporals and two soldiers, whose eyes he dazzled with the prospect of the wealth and promotion that were sure to fall to the liberators of the czar. The poor fellows, however, hesitated, and it was not till two o'clock in the morning that they consented to act with him. Mirovitch then summoned about forty of the soldiers, who were for the greater part roused out of their sleep, and, telling them he had received some secret orders from the czarina, he bade them load their muskets and follow him. On their way they met the governor of the fortress, who had hurried from his bed on hearing a noise. Mirovitch struck him on the head with the butt end of a musket, and delivered him a prisoner to one of the two corporals who were privy to the plot. They then rushed to a strong gate which guarded the corridor leading to Ivan's remote cell. Mirovitch demanded admittance in the name of the czarina; and, as the sentinels within did not obey, he cried to his followers, "Fire, and force your way!" The men discharged their muskets, and the sentinels returned the fire. Upon this the assailants, who had expected no opposition, came to a pause, and insisted on seeing the czarina's order, which they had thought they had been obeying. Mirovitch produced and read to them a paper, at the bottom of which he had counterfeited the imperial signature, and the purport of which was, that he, Mirovitch, was to remove Ivan from the custody of Vlasief and Tchekin, two officers specially appointed to take care of the royal prisoner, and who were at that very moment within the corridor, and close to Ivan's chamber. Without doubting the authenticity of the document, the soldiers prepared to renew the attack, and some of them dragged up a cannon from one of the bastions, which Mirovitch himself pointed against the corridor. The match was in his hand, when the strong gate was suddenly opened from within, and he and his party were admitted into the corridor without any show of resistance. Mirovitch rushed along the passage to the marked door of the prince's cell; that door, too, was opened at his approach—and a little beyond its threshold stood the two officers, Vlasief and Tchekin, who, pointing to a dead body on the floor, covered with blood, said, "Here is your emperor!" Mirovitch gazed for a moment with silent horror, and then, recovering himself, returned with astonishing composure to the spot where he had left the governor of the fortress in custody. "I am now *your* prisoner," said he, as he delivered up his sword; "adverse fortune has blasted my design." Vlasief and Tchekin, it appears, had express standing orders from Catherine to destroy Ivan in case of any attempt to release him being, or appearing to be, likely to succeed; and, as soon as they saw the cannon applied to the gate, they ran to his cell and murdered him. In the course of the following day the body of the prince, in a shirt and a pair of drawers, was exposed in the fortress of Schlusselberg, into which vast crowds were admitted to see that he was really dead. The concourse at last became so great, and the excited feelings of the people so apparent, that apprehensions were entertained of an insurrection. The disfigured corpse was, therefore, wrapped in a sheepskin, put into a coffin, and privately buried in an old chapel of the fortress. At the time of his death Ivan was twenty-four years of age, nearly twenty-three of which he had spent in prison. Mirovitch met his inevitable doom with coolness and courage. He was beheaded at St. Petersburg on the 25th of September, and his body and the scaffold he suffered upon were burnt on the spot. The barbarous punishments inflicted on his accomplices—the poor, ignorant, credulous soldiers—were worse than death. Catherine was thus rid of one who had [real claims; but her repose was soon broken by a false pretender, who caused far more mischief and bloodshed than the unhappy Ivan. Notwithstanding the care she had taken to exhibit the body of her murdered husband, several impostors started up in the distant provinces of her immense empire, and passed for that monarch. A shoemaker of Veronetz, a deserter from the regiment of Orloff, a peasant belonging to the Woronzof family, and a malefactor who had been transported to Siberia, had all played the part of Peter III. for brief intervals, and had all been put to death.* But Yemelka Pugatchef, a Cossack of the Don, who had served during the campaign of 1769 against the Turks, and who began to play his part in 1770, had a much longer reign and a wider field of action. He appeared among the Cossacks on the Volga, who were already in a state of insurrection, and there raised his standard as lawful emperor. In 1771 an attempt

* Besides these pretenders, who figured in the provinces of her vast empire, Catherine was disturbed by another Perkin Warbeck, who sprung up in a different part of the world. In the wild, mountainous district of Montenero, on the Adriatic, between Greece and Dalmatia, a stranger, who had gone by the name of Stefano, and who had been practising physic among those semi-barbarians, suddenly declared himself to be the true Czar Peter III., pretending that the report of his death was a falsehood, and that he had found means of escaping to seek refuge and protection from the brave and faithful Montenegrins. These people, like their neighbours the Albanians and most of the Dalmatians, are an off-shoot of the great Slavonic race to which Russians and Poles equally belong: they owned the Sultan for their sovereign, and paid some trifling tribute to the Porte; but their real king was their bishop, a rude prelate of the Greek Church, who more frequently handled musket and sabre than pix and crosier. Next in authority were a set of turbulent caloyers or monks. From community of race, near resemblance in language, and still more perhaps from community of religion, the Montenegrins interested themselves warmly in Russian affairs; and they were transportedwith delight at the notion of having a real czar among them. The bishop, the monks, publicly acknowledged him as emperor, and the people flew to arms in his name. This farce lasted from the end of the year 1766 till the month of September, 1768, when, having given umbrage to the Turks, Stefano was attacked by the Pasha of Bosnia at the head of 40,000 men, defeated, and driven into a monastery on the top of a mountain. The Turks laid siege to that almost inaccessible place, carried it by storm, and massacred all they found in it. It is doubtful, however, whether Stefano was among the slain.

of the government to make the Cossacks serving with the czarina's army cut off their beard reinforced the pretender's army, which was still further swelled by desertions of the oppressed peasants or serfs of the nobility. With this force, which committed vindictive barbarities, massacring all the Russian nobles they could catch, Pugatchef took many towns and defeated several of Catherine's generals. As he advanced the peasants spread their tables with bread, milk, and honey, and welcomed him with the assurance that they had long expected his presence as that of a god. At one time 70,000 men followed his banner—Moscow, the ancient capital, was menaced—and the throne of Catherine seemed shaken; nor was it till October, 1774, that he was betrayed into the hands of Suvarof, and conveyed to Moscow in an iron case. There an ample confession was forced from him, after which he was publicly executed. But these state storms and crimes, and a life more profligate than that of any reigning sovereign, did not prevent Catherine from obtaining a wonderful reputation among nations: her ambition and her abilities were equally indisputable; the power of Russia continued to rise under her sway; and her alliance, as that of the great power of the North, was courted by all the potentates of Europe. At the same time the authors and wits of Europe, who, generally speaking, were well paid for their praise,—the Voltaires, the d'Alemberts, the Diderots, the Mullers, the Algarottis, and others,—eulogised in verse, and in much better prose, the energy of her character and government, and the wisdom of her internal reforms. And it must be candidly admitted that in these reforms there was much that could fairly challenge a spontaneous admiration. It was their boast, and it was considered by the nation as one of the brightest achievements of the truly humane and liberal Rockingham administration, that they had concluded (in the year 1766) a commercial treaty with the Empress of Russia.

But the year 1772 was more memorable to the Poles than to any other people, for it witnessed the first partition of their distracted country. Catherine, who had nominated to the throne at the last farce of a free election by the Polish magnates, would probably have been contented for some time longer with the complete influence and ascendancy she had over Poland, but circumstances and the impatient greed of Prussia and Austria forced her into other schemes, and hurried on the catastrophe. If the partition of Poland is to be ascribed to any one single head, it is rather to Frederick the Great than to Catherine, or Maria Theresa, or the Emperor Joseph, although the Prussian despot got the smallest number of square miles by the division. This vast state, which at one time extended from the shores of the Black Sea to the Baltic, and was long considered as the bulwark of Christendom against the encroachments of the Turks, preserved with fatal tenacity an antiquated form of government, whilst all the countries of Europe, except Russia, which could scarcely be called a European power until its acquisitions in Poland, gradually adapted their systems to the change and progress of society. If some countries were later than others—if the degrees of freedom varied as the *people* of different states were more or less advanced in civilization and political rights, still, throughout Europe, there was a people—a *bourgeoisie*—a "*tiers état;*" but Poland, even in the eighteenth century, was utterly devoid of that essential component of a nation. The Polish nobles were the proprietors of all the land; the agricultural labourers were serfs, "*adscripti glebæ*," as in Russia; there were no manufacturers, and the commerce of the country was entirely in the hands of the Jews. The latter, who abound more in Poland than in any other European country, have indeed exercised a pernicious influence. In Italy, in France, in England, and elsewhere, trade, falling to the share of the people, brought them wealth, and wealth, by degrees, ensured them power. The improvident or needy noble would frequently have occasion to apply to the industrious and enterprising burgher; and in pecuniary transactions of this sort, and in others of a more important character with kings and with governments, the plebeian traders had facilities for proposing rights and immunities, of elevating the class to which they belonged, and of forming that *tiers état* without which there can be nothing worthy of the name of a nation, and no real liberty. But the Jews, to whom these advantages accrued in Poland, were prevented by the laws and prejudices of the country, and perhaps quite as much by their own exclusive, fanatic spirit, from employing them for the popular good and advancement. Though settled there for many generations, the Jews still considered themselves as foreigners: they could have no patriotism—no country; their only object was to accumulate money; and it appears they were as indifferent to the means by which that money was raised as they were to the manifold oppressions and sufferings of the Polish people among whom they sojourned. In Poland, then, there continued to be, even to our own times, no other distinction among men than that of masters and slaves. All power was in the possession of the nobles, who each asserted for himself the most absolute equality. This aristocratic republic was headed by a phantom of a king; the crown was elective, and every *noble* could aspire to it. The intrigues, the dissensions, the bloodshed, that resulted from such a system may be easily imagined, and indeed the crown was rarely transferred without the horrors of a civil war. Their singular constitution was, moreover, admirably adapted to produce as much confusion and anarchy during the reigns of their titular kings as ensued in the interregnums. One of its first articles insisted on the "*liberum veto*," and the unanimity of consent or decision. A majority in the national diet, however great, went for nothing; —the opposition of a single member present, or a flying recusant, was sufficient to obstruct any

given measure. In the *dietines*, or provincial assemblies, the same absurd regulations obtained; and in them a somewhat startling mode of disposing of a minority was frequently resorted to—that is, *they were massacred by the majority to produce a unanimity*, the sabre being a more effective instrument than oratory or argument. The nobles, before repairing to this perilous arena, arranged with their friends to cover their retreat; they carried pistols in their pockets, and were more careful to sharpen their sabres than their wits for the ensuing discussion. It frequently happened that powerful minorities would arrogate to themselves the title of a diet or confederation, and promulgate laws of their own. Nor did their patriotism prevent them from calling in the pernicious aid of foreign powers. The first footing the Russians ever obtained in the country was through the invitation of the Poles themselves. Indeed, long before the total subjection of Poland the king was obliged to bow his head to whatever simulacrum of a diet could procure an army from a foreign prince; for without money and disciplined troops his aristocratical cavalry, gallant as it was, could be of little avail.

The constantly recurring horrors of civil war, the devastation of the country, and the experience of ages, were all inadequate to make the nobles forego this constitution, which contained many other clauses almost equally dangerous, and seemed to have been framed by the very spirit of anarchy. A scrupulous adherence to its letter occasionally elicited scenes puerile and ridiculous; but neither absurdity nor horror had any effect upon the Polish nobles, who clung to the worst constitution in the world, because it gave every one of them a chance of a crown which was not worth having. In Poland every great state officer was *de facto* independent of the crown. The king was a mere cipher, and whenever he made an attempt to assert his prerogative, he was sure to be opposed by a league of the great men in office. The judges were either appointed directly by them, or through the interest and protection of the higher nobility. It was scarcely possible that such a country should be able to defend itself against ambitious neighbours, or that such a government should prolong its existence in modern Europe in the midst of immense standing armies, each at the disposal of one unchecked mind. As early as 1680, the great Polish king and warrior, John Sobieski, had felt the necessity of a standing army and of a disciplined force of infantry; but the jealous nobles, who pretended that war was their affair exclusively, would never consent to raise armies for the king independent of themselves. These magnates, when unanimous, could bring into the field 100,000 horse and more, between good and bad—the choicer portion being excellent, and probably the best cavalry in the world; but they continued to remain without any regular infantry, while the progress of European warfare was every day making cavalry less effective. Many letters have been found, and some of them published within these few years,* in which Sobieski plainly predicts what will happen if the Polish nobles will not consent to remodel their forces, and conform to the advancing systems of their neighbours. At a somewhat earlier period the great Italian general, strategist, and writer, Montecuculi, had praised the excellence and bravery of the Polish cavalry, but had also predicted the same fatal consequences from the want of a regular disciplined infantry. "But," says he, "the dissolute liberty of the nobles of that kingdom spoils everything and confounds all order."† Although the dismembering and breaking up of a European *nation* seemed, when *it* happened (in 1772), a tremendous and almost unnatural event, filling men's minds with consternation, yet such a measure, suggested by the divided, helpless condition to which the country was reduced by its insane institutions, had been *twice* seriously contemplated long before. The first proposal of the kind was made, very secretly, in 1658, by Count Stippenbach, the ambassador of Sweden, during the wars of Gustavus Adolphus. The Duke of Prussia—better known at that period by the title of Elector of Brandenburg—the Austrians, who were at the moment in possession of the ancient capital of the Polish kingdom, and the Swedes, were to be the co-partitioners. Russia was to have had no portion of the spoil, and the King of Sweden undertook alone to drive her from the Polish provinces she occupied. Count Stippenbach boldly asserted the right of the three powers thus to divide among themselves a country which was at once the cause and the theatre of the war; and he further proposed to Austria and the Elector of Brandenburg that they should form a league mutually to support each other in their usurpations. The minister of France discovered these negotiations, and they were communicated to Casimir, then King of Poland, who, not daring to impart the secret to the Poles, merely addressed them as if by the spirit of prophecy, and foretold that the licence and anarchy of their government must inevitably deliver them a prey to their neighbours, whenever those neighbours could agree as to their respective shares of the spoils. At that crisis Poland was saved by a variety of causes, among which her own attitude and capabilities were certainly of minor force; but a century after the sad event answered to the warning voice of Casimir. The second time the question of dismemberment was agitated was, after the defeat of Charles XII. of Sweden at Pultawa, when the Czar Peter the Great became the arbiter of Poland. Charles had of his own free will dethroned one king of Poland—who, be it said, had originally owed the *elective* crown to the

* Lettere Militari, con un piano di riforma dell' esercito Polacco, ed altre de suoi secretari Italiani, del Re Giovanni Sobieski. Firenze. 1830. This interesting publication, by Signor Ciampi, the distinguished philologist, throws considerable light upon the causes which led to the ruin of Poland.

† Montecuculi, Opere Militari. A still earlier Italian writer says, "Poland can raise, on an emergency, one hundred and seventy thousand horse; but she has no *national infantry* whatever, but sometimes employs for that service Germans and Hungarians, with Tartars and other marauders for pioneers." *MS.* discovered by Ciampi.

force of foreign arms—and placed another king in his stead: during Charles's misfortunes, his rival, Peter, exercising the same authority, reinstated Augustus on the throne which that prince had taken a solemn oath never more to pretend to. Augustus could scarcely have offered the shadow of resistance: he was nothing more than a creature of Russia, to whom he was indebted for a dishonoured crown; he was an object of suspicion to his own subjects; and there is ground for believing that he would gladly have concurred in the partition, provided the czar had composed for him out of the fragments of the unhappy country an absolute and hereditary kingdom. But the final hour had not yet come; and owing to many circumstances, which the Poles themselves neither made nor controlled, the country remained in its old condition. But by their new conquests the Russians now pressed on the whole line of the Polish frontier from north to east, and the armies of the czar inundated her provinces whenever he chose. From this period the proud rights of election and the liberty of the Polish aristocracy became empty words and a mockery:—their kings were raised to the throne by foreign armies. It could not but happen that the neighbouring powers, who chose to be "king-makers" for the Poles, should, with reference to what they considered their own interests, take especial care never to select a prince who, by character, energies, and the possession of alliances and other means, might be capable of re-elevating a falling state. It was always a feeble prince, with no other army at his orders than the ancient forces of the republic, without discipline, without pay and the means of recruiting, that they sent to wear the semblance of a kingly crown. The national character was rapidly degraded (of course we speak of the nobles—the only class among the Poles who could ever pretend to a national character); it became meanly obsequious, artful, and reserved. Hitherto they had been accused of lightness and volatility, but now the Poles were amenable to the charge of perfidiousness. As if the elements of discord were not already sufficiently numerous, there were added those of violent religious dissensions, which contributed their share in bringing about the dissolution of Poland. The mass of the country adhered to the tenets of the church of Rome, and the catholic clergy were numerous and wealthy. But scattered over the country there were many followers of the Greek church; nor had the energetic opposition of the papists prevented the doctrines of the Reformation from gaining ground;—there were many Lutherans and Calvinists, besides Arians. These were known under the general denomination of *Dissidents*. In the course of the sixteenth century the doctrines of the Reformation had made such progress in Poland, that it was said nearly one-half of the magnates had embraced Protestantism.* But a terrible reaction ensued, and the order of Jesuits, who cannot generally be reproached with having exhibited the fierce spirit of persecution, stirred up the flames of intolerance in Poland. Henceforth the native land of St. Stanislaus, St. Casimir, of the blessed Hedwiga, and of innumerable saints and confessors, became an intolerant and priest-ridden country. It was chiefly from the reign of Stephen Bathory that the Jesuits assumed an overbearing influence in the affairs of the state. Not satisfied with their triumphs in Poland, the zealous apostles of Catholicism strove to impose their creed upon their neighbours the Russians; and, to accomplish so holy an end, they favoured rebellion and usurpation in Russia. It is now a proved fact, that (in the beginning of the seventeenth century) the Jesuits of Poland got up the shameless imposture of the false Demetrius, a runaway Russian monk of dissolute character, whom the pious fathers gave out as successor to the great Czar Ivan Vasilowitz. The vicious impostor received every encouragement from the pope's nuncio, Monsignor Rangoni, and the Polish Palatine of Sandomir promised him his daughter in marriage, on condition that he should establish the supremacy of the Latin or

* Poland was agitated by religious reform long before the days of Luther, and the movement was communicated from—*England!* Anne, the first wife of our unfortunate Richard II., who so endeared herself to the English people that she was always styled "the good *Queen Anne*," was a Bohemian princess. Upon her premature death, at Richmond, in 1394, many persons of her household, who had accompanied her from Bohemia, returned to their native land, and spread there the doctrines or opinions of our reformer, Wycliff, who had commenced his labours as early as 1360. Shortly after the return of these personages Hieronymus (or Jerome) of Prague, the friend and fellow-martyr of Huss, repaired to the University of Oxford, and made himself conversant with the writings of Wycliff; and, going back to Bohemia, he spread the doctrines of the anti-Roman Englishman, and assisted Huss, who translated nearly all Wycliff's writings. The Hussites soon became far more considerable and formidable than ever were the Wycliffites or Lollards in England; for they were favoured by many natural and political circumstances wanting to the early reformers in this country. Poland was at that time intimately connected with Bohemia: the languages of both countries were then nearly the same; and the Polish youths generally resorted for their education to Prague, the Bohemian capital. Huss was held in great estimation by the students and by many eminent noblemen of their nation, and his friend Hieronymus spent some time in Poland, whither he was called, in 1410, to organise the University of Cracow. All these circumstances united in communicating to Poland the opinions which had sprung up in England and Bohemia, and ensured to them a rapid and wide diffusion. When the relentless persecution of the Romanists fell upon the Bohemians, one of the first martyrs there was a Pole; and when the life of Huss was threatened by the Council of Constance, many Polish nobles were bold enough to risk the charge of heresy, and to interfere in his behalf. In 1439 five Polish preachers of the doctrines of Wycliff and Huss were publicly burnt alive by the Bishop of Posnania; but this *auto da fé* did not prevent Andreas Galka, a master of arts of the University of Cracow, from expounding the works of Wycliff and denouncing the "Imperial Popes" as anti-Christs. In 1440 the Polish Hussites formed an armed confederacy, proclaimed the abolition of tithes, demanded that the enormous estates of the clergy should be appropriated to objects of general utility, and denounced the practice of confession, censures, and excommunications; but they were defeated by the Catholics in a strong position they had taken up near the capital. When Luther took the field the seed which Huss had sown in Poland was not all dead. The Poles in considerable numbers embraced his doctrines almost as soon as he had proclaimed them at Wittenberg. A few years later, when Cranmer was employed by the Protector Somerset in protestantising the English church, he invited over to his assistance the learned John Laski, or Alasco, a Pole of noble birth, and the bosom friend of Erasmus and Peter Martyr. Laski arrived at Lambeth in 1548, and resided six months with the English primate. After a visit to the continent he returned to England in 1550, and was nominated by Edward VI. superintendent of the foreign Protestant congregation established in London. Upon the death of Edward he fled to Germany, for he had taken a proper measure of the fierce intolerance of Queen Mary. After many adventures he returned to his native country, where, during his absence, the Protestant church had greatly declined, more through dissensions among its professors than through any active persecution on the part of the government. *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland, and of the influence which the Scriptural Doctrines have exercised on that Country in Literary, Moral, and Political respects By Count Valerian Krasinski.* London, 1838.

Roman church in Russia. When supplied in Poland with money, men, and arms, the false Demetrius invaded his native country, and his antagonist, Baritz Fedorowitz, *died suddenly of a cholic*. Demetrius was crowned czar at Moscow; he married the Polish palatine's daughter, but he did not long enjoy his ill-gotten honours. A conspiracy was formed against him, and his supposed mother, the widow of Ivan Vasilowitz, who had retired to a convent, being interrogated, declared Demetrius to be an impostor. This sealed his doom; he was literally torn to pieces by the enraged people, and his body was burnt. After suffering much persecution, the Protestants of Poland with the rest of the Dissidents were formally admitted to an equality of rights with their Catholic countrymen by the charter called the Pacta Conventa. But owing to the fierce intolerance and the numerical superiority of the papists, and to the circumstance of the king's always being of the Catholic faith, both letter and spirit of the Pacta Conventa were continually violated, until by degrees the Dissidents saw themselves secluded from all the offices of the state. They were expelled from the courts of judicature; they possessed no influence in the election of the nuntios or deputies to the diets and dietines; they had no means of procuring redress for the vexations and oppressions to which they were continually exposed. Even in the pacificatory diet held in 1736 the Pacta Conventa was annulled; for it was passed into a law (what, indeed, had long been matter of practice) that every Dissident noble should be for ever excluded from the government, and reduced to the condition of a simple subject. The inquisitorial law *de hæretico relapso*, that tyrannical shield of proselytism, had been enacted with all its confiscations and penalties; and the Dissidents were forbidden to build any new places of worship. All this fanaticism was opposed to the present interest of the country, and contrasted in a singular manner with the ancient tolerance to which the republic had owed many of its acquisitions. Red Russia, particularly, became a province of Poland only under the express condition that she should preserve her Christian creed as she had received it from the Greeks; and Leopel, the capital of that province, was the tranquil seat of three bishops of the Greek, the Armenian, and the Latin churches. Indeed, at other times, the Poles had seen, without horror, not only the schismatic church and chapel, but the synagogue and the mosque rise amidst their own temples. Against this impolitic and cruel intolerance the Russians, as members of the Greek church, considered themselves in a special manner bound to protest; and, besides, the courts of Prussia, England, and Denmark, remonstrated at different times, but ineffectually. It will always be found that patriotism can maintain but an unequal struggle with men's feelings for their religion, when under persecution; and moreover the Poles of all factions had been so long accustomed to invite foreigners to interfere in their internal dissensions, that nothing could be expected but that the Dissidents should do the same. They did, and the matter was finally brought to an issue by the confederacy of Thorn in 1767, supported by Russian bayonets. After a sanguinary contest, aggravated by the mingled animosities of a civil and a religious warfare, the Dissidents were admitted to something approaching to an equality of rights. It was decided that the Dissident nobility (the other classes were not mentioned in the arrangement) should be eligible to every employment and to the judicature of the country, and should be on a footing of equality with the Catholic nobility, with one exception only, namely, that the latter should have the exclusive right of electing to the throne. The Catholic religion also was still defined to be the religion of the state. It was provided, moreover, that a Pole who should even propose the election of a prince not a Catholic should be regarded as an enemy to his country, and as such condemned to death; and that, the church of Rome retaining its full prerogatives as the predominant religion, all those who quitted it for another should be held guilty of the crime of apostasy, and condemned to perpetual exile. The Dissidents, of course, who had been unable to obtain redress from their own countrymen, had accepted as a boon the insidious assistance of Russia; and this became one of the principal and most plausible of the pretexts for foreign interference in the affairs of Poland. The melancholy alliance of intolerance with patriotism still, however, continued in primitive force, and when shortly after (in the year 1768) the confederacy of Barr was formed against the tyranny of Russia—a confederacy which led to bold acts, and which has been lauded by many as an association of the purest and most elevated patriotism—hostility to the Dissidents was almost as strong as hatred to the foreign foe. A monk—the Father Mark—had mainly contributed to form the confederacy, which he continued to animate with his religious enthusiasm and fanaticism. After defeats and horrors almost incredible, the Catholic confederates were besieged by the Russians in Barr, a town whose fortifications were not even in a condition to resist a *coup-de-main*. The monk flew to the rampart as the Russians were completing their first battery; and, with holy confidence, seizing the instant when the match was put to the first Russian cannon, he made the sign of the cross. The cannon burst! "It is a miracle—a miracle!" cried the besieged Poles, and Father Mark confirmed their belief that the Almighty himself was arming for their defence. Other attempts of the fanatic were less successful. A sortie which he conducted, and which had in its front line a number of priests carrying images of saints and consecrated wafers, was repulsed with great slaughter. But the monk spoke the words of common sense, when, addressing the confederates, he told them that their divisions among themselves hindered heaven from blessing their efforts. For the spirit of division and insubordination incident to the Poles prevailed even here—in a weak and besieged

town as in their dietines—and when there were no Dissidents present to occasion jealousy and separation. Barr was taken by assault; the confederates, to the number of twelve hundred, were loaded with chains and carried into Russia. The monk, who was among the number of their prisoners, awed the ignorant, superstitious Muscovites by his devout air and demeanour. The generals condemned him to die; the soldiers fell on their knees, and begged his benediction, which, with the ready assumption of the character of a prophet by Father Mark, is said to have saved his life. It was during this hapless confederacy of Barr, of which one of the mainsprings had been that Catholic intolerance which we would deprecate, that the Russians availed themselves of a rival fanaticism in a mode which we must for ever detest. They invited the Zaporavians, a marauding savage race of Cossacks who occupied a wild territory to the east of Poland amidst the cataracts of the Borysthenes, into the exposed provinces of the wretched kingdom. These barbarians professed the creed of the Greek church with a fanaticism proportioned to their brutal ignorance, and care was taken to instil into their minds that they were engaged in a holy war —in a war to put down those Poles who had risen to massacre all their brethren of the Greek church. The bloody-minded appeal found but too ready an echo; incursion was succeeded by incursion, and, though there must be exaggeration in many of the accounts of the evils inflicted, it appears certain that fifty thousand human beings were sacrificed, and cruelties unparalleled in modern ages perpetrated by the monstrous allies of Russia. Another important and dreadful fact is, that during these insurrectionary wars the Muscovites revolutionised and armed the Polish peasantry, who joined and guided the Zaporavians, and in many instances emulated their cruelty. Now this should establish two facts, which are, however, essentially identified—or of which the one is strictly dependent on the other, namely, the oppression exercised by the Polish nobility, and the degraded, brutal state of the Polish serfs. While Russians, Zaporavians, Calmucks, and Cossacks were fighting in Poland and the Ukraine for the Greek church, the Polish confederates called upon the Sultan and the Turks to fight for them and the Roman church! "To bring in the Turks to drive out the Russians," said one of the Polish Catholic bishops, "is like setting fire to a house to drive away vermin:" yet nevertheless another prelate of the same church, the Bishop of Cracow, negociated with Turkey for aid, and Count Potocki went to the camp of the Mahomedans to endeavour to direct their operations. The government at Constantinople was somewhat shy of contracting engagements with a defeated party; but they were driven by circumstances into the war which proved so fatal to their empire. Barr, the little town in which the Polish confederates had made their last stand, was only seven leagues from the Turkish frontier: some of the defeated Poles fled in that direction; the Russians followed them to the Turkish territory, burnt several villages, and took the town of Balta, which is separated from Poland only by a rivulet; and upon these proceedings the fury of the Turkish people forced the government into open hostilities. The Grand Vizier and the Khan of the Tartars advanced to the Polish frontiers; but they were defeated by Count Romanzoff. The Vizier was put to death, because he had been unfortunate; the Khan with his disorderly host fled towards the Crimea; the Russians took Chocim and Bender, opening their road to Moldavia and Bulgaria; and their ambassadors, Counts Repnin and Volkonski, gave the law at Warsaw and throughout the greater part of Poland; the confederates either submitting or carrying on a desultory partisan warfare in the Carpathian mountains, where they were not unfrequently hunted down by the Russians like wild beasts. Poland might have been the great power of the North, but through her evil institutions her chance had been thrown away, and Russia had risen to that pre-eminence. The king actually on the Polish throne was nothing more than the nominee of the Czarina Catherine, whose lover he had been, and who had put the crown on his head in 1764 by force of arms. Stanislaus Poniatowski, who took the name of Stanislaus Augustus, ascended the throne under the most perplexing and unfortunate circumstances: he was bound by gratitude to Catherine, whose intentions against the independence or separate existence of his country were suspected, and he was opposed, thwarted, humiliated, menaced, from first to last by all the magnates and all the factions that had endeavoured to procure the election of his rivals. Whenever he attempted to rely upon the nobility and their resources, he felt his throne totter under him; whenever he claimed the assistance of Russia, he was denounced by a large portion of the magnates as a traitor and enemy to his country: and, on the other side, whenever he displayed any Polish feeling or any desire of acting independently, he was menaced by the court of St. Petersburg. After the defeat of the confederates at Barr he was little better than a prisoner in his own capital, under the lock and key of the Russians, who called themselves his deliverers; yet, if he had escaped out of their hands, there was scarcely a spot in Poland where he could have found security, not merely for his throne, but for his life and the lives of his family. It is said that Catherine fomented these perpetual disturbances in Poland; but this was a matter which could have required little study on her part, as the magnates were what they had been for ages, and the factions were agitated by a perpetual and frantic rage, which no prospect of national ruin could moderate, until it was too late. It was impossible that Prussia and Austria, whose dominions touched upon the Polish frontiers, should be indifferent spectators of these last struggles, the forerunners of dissolution. When Catherine decreed that Poniatowski should be king, she had concerted

her measures with the great Frederick, who marched 40,000 Prussians to the Polish frontier to promote the election and coronation, and from that moment the great general of his day, tired of reposing upon his laurels, occupied his mind with dreams and plans of territorial agrandisement to be made at the expense of that weak and distracted neighbour. As early as 1768 it was whispered at

PONIATOWSKI (OR STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS), KING OF POLAND.
From an anonymous French Print.

Vienna that Catherine and Frederick were in a secret understanding, and that the Prussian monarchy, which had been made up, in a comparatively short space of time, by conquests, occupations, and encroachments of all kinds, was to be extended and rounded by a portion cut out of Poland. Yet Austria, and not Prussia, was the first power that stretched out her hand to go shares with Russia, or that actually occupied Polish territory; and one of the last acts of the old Empress Queen, Maria Theresa, was a proof and a pledge that she would agree with the czarina in a total dismemberment. But everything was now tending to that melancholy catastrophe, Poland being reduced to so deplorable a state that she could not help herself—a state in which nothing is to be hoped for from the generosity and moderation of powerful neighbours. While the great Russian army was employed on the side of Servia and Turkey, the Polish confederates, with some slight encouragement from France, took the field once more at the beginning of 1770, and formally proclaimed the throne vacant, summoning Poniatowski to appear before their council. Rushing down from the Carpathian mountains, they cut several Russian detachments to pieces and took a few insignificant fortresses. But the troops were undisciplined and without any consistency or order; the soldiers were without pay, almost naked, badly fed, badly armed, and still worse trained; a portion of the people who adhered to the king considered them as rebels and traitors, and a still larger portion, including nearly the whole body of the serfs, saw little difference between being harassed and pillaged by Poles, and being pillaged and harassed by Russians. They had grown indifferent under a prolonged anarchy, and cared not who reigned in Poland, provided it could be in peace. The mass of the population of this *free* country were like the Russians, and to the same degree, *slaves!* The Polish serfs had never been sufficiently elevated in the scale of humanity and civilisation to understand what was going on, or to be warmed by the sacred and enduring flame of patriotism. It is also important to observe that, sprung from the same Slavonic stock, their language, manners, and customs differed but little from those of the Russians. France, possibly, might have taken a more active part in the contest, but the disgrace of the daring Duke de Choiseul, which had saved England from a war with France and Spain, deprived the Poles of any support from the cabinet of Versailles, and left them to run the chances of the contest with the Turks for their only ally.* Maria Theresa's son, the Emperor Joseph II., had two interviews with Frederick of Prussia, and shortly after the latter meeting an Austrian detachment took possession of the little province of Starosty or Zips, situated among the Carpathian mountains, and formerly belonging to Hungary, who had mortgaged it in 1387 to Poland. Stanislaus Augustus remonstrated with the court of Vienna, but, instead of being withdrawn from Zips, the Austrians there were reinforced, and a right was advanced to the possession of that canton. The Prussians were not long behind the Austrians: from that valuable conquest, Silesia, Frederick threw forward a veteran corps, which advanced, with scarcely the shadow of opposition, as far as Posen and Thorn; and 4000 Prussian cavalry took up their quarters on the banks of the Dniester. At the same time the sultan, sinking under the war, applied to Prussia and Austria to mediate for him with the victorious and imperious Catherine; and Frederick, putting himself forward as a generous negotiator, sent his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, to St. Petersburg. By this time the czarina had become convinced that she could neither rule Poland through her viceroy Stanislaus Augustus, nor appropriate a part of it without allowing considerations to Prussia and Austria. She listened to the suggestions and arguments with which Prince Henry was supplied by his brother; she was alarmed by the proceedings of Austria, who seemed to be helping herself without asking her consent or caring for the rights of the Polish crown; and before Henry returned to Berlin she certainly agreed in a scheme of dismemberment which, as we have said, was much rather the project of Frederick the Great than her own. Prussian emissaries were also busy among the Dissidents, assuring the Polish protestants, more

* The schemes and policy of the court of Versailles shifted and changed many times; but, at last, Louis XV. assured the court of Vienna that he should look on the affairs of Poland with perfect indifference! *Dépêches et Manifestes de M. le Comte de Broglie.—Segur l'Aîné, Politique de tous les Cabinets, pendant les Regnes de Louis XV et de Louis XVI.*

particularly, that Frederick was the champion of the reformed religion and determined to secure to them liberty of conscience and equality of rights. As Stanislaus Augustus had paid no attention to the sentence of the confederates which had declared the throne to be vacant, or to the summons which called him to appear before their council, Pulawski, one of the confederates, undertook to sieze him in the midst of his capital; and, on the 3rd of November, 1771, at about ten o'clock at night, as the king was passing from the house of his uncle, in Warsaw, to the palace, in his carriage, attended only by two pages, two guards, and two valets, carrying torches on foot, he was dragged from the coach, mounted on a horse, and hurried out of the town in the midst of armed men. His two guards in attempting to defend him were both killed, and he was himself bruised and wounded. What followed is variously reported; but the most consistent story appears to be, that the daring confederates, being closely pursued, and embarrassed with walls and ditches which all their horses could not leap, and by the darkness of the night, separated and left the king in charge of one or two men, who, moved by his distress and by his promises, relented from their desperate undertaking, and conveyed him to a mill, whence he wrote to Warsaw to obtain assistance. It is certain that in the course of the night a detachment of his guards found him in this mill not far from the walls of Warsaw, and that they conducted him back to the city at an early hour in the morning. The conspirators were pursued by some Cossacks, who killed one of them; and two others were subsequently taken and executed. At the opening of the memorable year 1772, the last year of the independence or integrity of the Polish kingdom, the confederates assembled about 6000 men in Great Poland under Zaremba a Pole; and Viomenil and Choisi, two distinguished French officers, made themselves masters of the ancient city and castle of Cracow. Frederick presently ordered his Prussians to advance into Great Poland. Zaremba, unable to face them with his wretched little army, abandoned position after position, and finally threw up his command, and applied, not to his king, but to the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, for pardon and protection. The French officers in Cracow made a gallant defence; but they were compelled to surrender on the 22nd of April. Nearly at the same time news arrived from Vienna that a treaty was certainly signed between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; and fresh columns of Austrians, moving from Hungary, were crossing the Carpathian mountains to advance into the interior of the devoted country. Upon this the council of the confederacy was broken up, its members fled, and an end was put to all resistance. The Turks, their only allies, so far from being able to assist the Poles, were not able to defend themselves. Their Janissaries and their loose hordes of cavalry had everywhere been defeated by the disciplined troops and the artillery of the Russians;* they had

* The Russian discipline, artillery, and tactics were *then* only good as compared with those of the Turks. The battles in these campaigns were fought at a frightful cost of human life on both sides, without generalship, without science, with little or no intelli-

Turkish Soldiers of different Corps; Janissaries and their Officers.
Selected from D'Ohsson's L'Empire Othoman.

lost town after town, and fortress after fortress; making, however, an heroic defence in some of them, as at Ismael; they had been driven back to the Danube and beyond the Danube. Some of their most fertile provinces were occupied by the armies of Catherine; and their fleet had been annihilated in the Mediterranean. Ever since the time of Peter the Great, when Russia first aspired to take rank as a civilised and maritime power, her statesmen had been anticipating the advantages of carrying her flag into the Mediterranean Sea; and the czarina, having no naval force in the Black Sea at all equal to the forcing of the narrow channels of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and foreseeing that their co-religionists, the Greeks, would rise against the Turks at the approach of the Russians, and the distribution of her manifestos, determined to send all the ships she could equip and spare out of the Baltic, to sail round the continent of Europe, and enter the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar. If England had been the ally of the Poles, if she had given the widest interpretation to her treaties with the Turks, or if she had resented the encroaching spirit of the Russians, she might have prevented the battle of Tchesmé, with the consequences that followed it; for one well-appointed squadron would have swept the fleet of Catherine from the ocean, and not have permitted a single sail to pass the Straits. But the British government of the day was disposed to assist rather than impede the Russians, and British officers supplied to Catherine the deficiences of her own subjects as seamen. In the month of June, 1769, Admiral Spiridoff sailed from Cronstadt in the Gulf of Finland with a part of the Russian fleet, having on board a considerable number of land troops to assist (in the plausible language of St. Petersburg) the unfortunate Christian Greeks in throwing off the cruel yoke of the Turks. Spiridoff descended the Baltic, passed the Sound, and arrived safely at Hull; but he was a long time about it, as it was the month of October before he reached the Yorkshire coast. He was to be followed by Admiral Elphinstone, a native of Scotland, with the rest of the fleet, consisting of three ships of the line and two frigates; but Elphinstone found that Spiridoff had laid bare the arsenal and dockyard, that the Russian commissioners were jobbing and swindling, and that his equipment bade fair not to be ready before the annual freezing of the Baltic. By force, however, of earnest representations to St. Petersburg he got his ships to sea, took on board 600 soldiers, besides marines, and set sail after Spiridoff. But a small frigate, which had been added to his squadron, was lost in the Gulf of Finland; and he had not proceeded far down the Baltic when he found himself obliged to send one of his ships of the line back to Cronstadt. He came to anchor at Copenhagen, where something very like a mutiny broke out among his officers, who complained of being forced into the expedition against their will. With the assistance of the Russian minister at the Danish court, Elphinstone overcame this obstacle, and, at last, got away from Copenhagen. He sailed just in time, for in a day or two after his departure the port was choked, and rendered unnaviable for the winter. In crossing the North Sea his ships separated in a storm, and put into different English ports. Elphinstone made Portsmouth, but it was Christmas before the other ships joined him there.* When all collected they amounted to seven ships of the line, two frigates, and a sloop; but they were so ill found, and altogether in so miserable a condition, that it would have disgraced three or four English ships of the line and a single frigate not to have beaten and destroyed them. They were in such a state that they could neither have gone forward to the Mediterranean nor back to the Baltic without English assistance. "Our ministry," says a Britsh officer, who was serving under Elphinstone, "were not very ready at first to give them assistance; but on the address of M. Mouschin Pouschin, the Russian envoy, an order was dispatched to the officers of Portsmouth yard to be on the most friendly terms with them, and to render them every service in their power." † Thus English carpenters, smiths, caulkers, and riggers got the Russian fleet into sea-worthy condition; English officers and men were sent on board to teach the Russians our marine exercise; and thus the British government enabled the czarina to strike a deadly blow at a friendly power—for such was the Ottoman Porte in relation to us. Moreover Elphinstone was allowed to charter and to arm three large English transports, and one large store ship, and to engage on board his fleet a number of veteran sailors—old fighting men, who had served under Hawke, Howe, and Saunders. Moreover a number of gentlemen volunteers, who, in their eagerness for the game of war, were content to serve under a foreign flag, either embarked now, or followed the fleet to the Mediterranean. In this class was included Lord Howard of Effingham, who was haunted by the traditions concerning his great ancestor and the Spanish Armada. After remaining for months in our port this fleet set sail on the 13th of April, 1770, with a fair wind, and the men in high spirits. In one of the ships there were 100 Greeks, who had been brought round by land from the shores of the Black Sea to the head of the Baltic; and they counted it as a certainty that many more of the Greeks, the best sailors in the Mediterranean, would join them as soon as they reached the Archipelago. But after all the English refitting,

gence. "The generals of Catherine," says Frederick the Great, "were ignorant of castrametation and tactics; but those of the Sultan had still less knowledge; so that, to have a just idea of this contest, we must figure to ourselves a party of one-eyed people thoroughly beating a party of blind men."—*Mémoires, depuis* 1763 *jusqu'a* 1775.

* An Authentic Narrative of the Russian Expedition against the Turks, by Sea and Land; containing every Nautical Circumstance of their Proceedings from their first sailing from Petersburg to the Destruction of the Turkish Fleet in the Archipelago: compiled from several Journals by an English Officer on board the Russian Fleet. London, 1772.

† Id.

and the Greek recruiting, it was lucky for the Russians that the enemy they had to contend with were dreaming, stupid Turks, the most inept and unapt of sailors. On the 20th of May the Russians reached the coast of the Morea, and discovered on the top of a hill, near Cape Matapan, a flag and a fire, a signal agreed on to be made by the Greeks, who had been well prepared by emissaries sent by Catherine overland.* The ships were soon surrounded by Moreotes, Mainotes, and islanders, headed by their priests, who crossed themselves on beholding the czarina's flag, and blessed its coming. The community of religion, the brilliant promises of the Russians, and the wrongs and barbarities they had suffered for centuries at the hands of the Mussulman, all conspired to animate and inflame the Greeks; and in the course of a few days nearly the whole of the Morea was in open insurrection. The Turks were only safe in a few large towns where they had considerable garrisons; everywhere else they were massacred by the Greeks, whose Christianity did not prevent the payment of a long accumulated debt of vengeance. The Russians applauded, and, in some instances, co-operated in the scenes of blood and abomination. The Capitan Pasha soon appeared off the coast with twelve or fourteen ships of the line, some frigates, and several galleys. Elphinstone ventured to attack him with his inferior force, and got into such a predicament that none but Turks could have failed in crushing him at once. But the Capitan Pasha, who knew nothing of sea matters, and who could not trust the Greeks forcibly detained on board, lost his opportunity through sheer ignorance and stupidity, and, after a short fight, ran into the port of Napoli di Romania, whither the Russians did not dare to follow him. Elphinstone remained to blockade the Capitan Pasha, while Spiridoff sailed down the coast to join Count Alexey Orloff, who had arrived from Russia with two ships of the line and a bomb-ketch.† In a day or two the Turks, perceiving the inferiority of the blockading force, got under weigh, and came boldly up from Napoli di Romania. Elphinstone proposed to wait for them, but his Russian captains said it would be better to sheer off, and his second in command told him that, if he would not make sail to join Spiridoff, he was determined to leave him to fight the Turks by himself. Yielding to this strong argument, Elphinstone converted his blockade into a retreat, and ran towards Cape St. Angelo, being closely followed by the Capitan Pasha. At one moment the Turks, in a dead calm, nearly surrounded one of his ships with their galleys; but fortunately a fine gale sprung up, and he joined without accident the rest of the Russian fleet near Navarino. The Capitan Pasha then withdrew. Spiridoff had landed some troops, and was attempting the siege of Navarino; but now he heard that the Turks were collecting a great army in Thessaly, which was to march through Greece to the defence of the Morea; and as soon as he received this intelligence, he called in his troops, marched them instantly to the beach, re-embarked them, and sailed away, loaded with the curses of the Greeks, who had joined him and who now fled to the mountains for shelter from the fury of the Turks. The armament then went in quest of the Capitan Pasha, whom they soon discovered between the island of Hidra and the Greek main. Elphinstone, who was far a-head of the rest, began a fight at long shots, but Spiridoff neither came up nor took any notice of his signals; and the Capitan Pasha was allowed to sheer off again without any injury. The Turks re-ascended the Archipelago to meet reinforcements that were coming down from Constantinople, Salonica, and Smyrna. Instead of pursuing, the Russians came to anchor at Cape Colonna, and consumed two or three days in taking in water. They then went back again to Navarino, where they learned that the Turks had retaken the castle of Modon, with other places which had been occupied by the Greeks and Russians, and that Orloff had re-embarked all the troops he had with him, and had gone to the island of Paros, followed by fresh maledictions of the Moreote Greeks. The count's ships were managed by Commodore Greig; but Orloff himself held the supreme command both of the sea and land forces, as high admiral and generalissimo of the czarina. His interference frequently drove Elphinstone, Greig, and the other British officers to their wit's end, for he was almost as ignorant of seamanship as a Cossack; and Admiral Spiridoff had not much more knowledge. At the same time these untutored Muscovites seemed to disdain to be taught by the English with them. They continued at Paros till the 1st of July, when they received intelligence that the Capitan Pasha had met his reinforcements, and was waiting for them near the head of the Gulf of Smyrna, in the channel that separates the island of Scio from the coast of Anatolia. Upon this Orloff, as high admiral, made the signal to weigh, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the whole Russian fleet, headed by Elphinstone, began to beat up for Scio. The passage was long and tedious, the wind blowing from the north, as it always does at

* Some Russian officers of rank had been employed in the course of the preceding year to carry on a negotiation with the Greeks, who were in possession of all the trade and shipping, of all the open country, and of many of the towns on the coast. The Greeks were the only subjects of the sultan that could navigate his ships, or that knew anything of sea affairs. In the hour of need they were all against him, not for him.

† These ships were commanded or managed by Commodore Greig, a Scotsman. They had arrived in the Mediterranean before Elphinstone, in a shattered and deplorable condition; but the British dockyard at Port Mahon had received them, and there they had been refitted, re-victualled, and recruited. The Italian ports in the Mediterranean were not quite so friendly. The government of the Two Sicilies, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the grand master of Malta, all testified aversion to the Russian cause, and to the appearance of the Russian flag. They limited supplies of provisions, and prevented all assistance as much as they could. The king of Naples and the knights of Malta refused to admit into any of their ports more than three Russian ships at a time; and the Venetians, jealous, and apprehensive about the Ionian Islands, then their possessions, strictly excluded the Russian ships altogether. But British merchants at Gibraltar had been allowed to contract with an agent at Petersburg, and to supply the Russian fleet not only with provisions but military stores; and cargoes continued to be sent up in English or Greek bottoms.

that season of the year; and it was not before Saturday, the 7th of July, that they turned the north-east end of Scio, and descended the channel, with both wind and current in their favour. About nine o'clock in the morning they lay-to off the town of Scio, where they had a full view of the Turkish fleet, which was anchored in line-of-battle, a little above the Bay of Tchesmé, which is nearly opposite the town of Scio, and not above four leagues from it.* The Capitan Pasha had now with him fourteen ships of the line, two large frigates, and a considerable number of galleys, zebecs, and long row-boats. He had stationed his own ship about half a mile from the Anatolian shore, to windward of all the others, and close to a small flat island or rock, which seemed made for the erection of a battery, and where he might have formed one, *à fleur de l'eau*, with the greatest ease. But he had not put a gun or a man upon it; and he had formed his line in so unskilful a manner that only five of his largest ships could bring their broadsides to bear upon the Russians without firing into one another; and, though the Russians, with a stupidity almost equal to his own, allowed him full four hours before they began their attack, he never attempted to remedy his blunder, or to get his ships into better order. Close in his rear, on the hills above the town of Tchesmé, there was an encampment of troops; but he seems never to have thought of stationing some of them with a few guns on the flat rock. The Russians had in all eight ships of the line, two frigates, a bomb-ketch, two English-armed transports, and five Greek vessels fitted out as fire-ships. Elphinstone proposed a plan of attack, and asked for the honour of leading it; but, to his surprise and mortification, Orloff told him that the plan was already determined upon, and that Admiral Spiridoff was to have the honour of leading. At the hour of noon Orloff threw out the red flag, as the signal to attack, and the fleet moved down upon the Turks upon a long loose line. Spiridoff, in the van, attacked the Capitan Pasha's own ship, which received him with a tremendous broadside, that strewed his decks with killed and wounded, and so completely destroyed his rigging that his ship became unmanageable, and no longer answered her helm. Thus, as he was to windward, and neglected to let go an anchor, his ship fell with her broadside upon the Capitan Pasha's beam; and Spiridoff came to closer quarters than he desired, for the Turk was crowded with men, and much loftier than his own vessel. While they were thus fighting with their yard-arms mixed and locked together in a most fatal embrace, one or both the vessels took fire, and they were presently blown into the air together. Spiridoff and some twenty-five of the Russians, chiefly officers, saved their lives by abandoning the ship at the first alarm of fire; but the old Pasha, like a true Turk, staid to the last, and was blown up with his ship and his men, who amounted to more than a thousand.* The tremendous explosion struck all the combatants with awe; the firing slackened on both sides; and, correctly speaking, there was no more fighting, the rest of the battle of Tchesmé being a slaughter and a conflagration, performed solely by the fire-ships, led on—we regret to say it—by British officers. The Turks, bewildered and panic-stricken, cut their cables, and ran all together, in the wildest confusion, into the cramped, narrow bay of Tchesmé. This inlet is about a mile broad at its entrance, and two miles in length; but it contracts midway, and the navigation for large ships is made still narrower by some beds of rock. The town, only about thirty-five miles (going by land) from Smyrna, stands near the bottom of the bay, and has a small castle, but so miserably weak and ill built that two or three heavy shot would have buried guns and cannoneers under the ruins of its walls. In this inlet the Turkish ships of war, with a large number of transports, store ships, and merchant-vessels, lay huddled together, like a flock of sheep in a snow-storm. Elphinstone proposed sending in the fire-ships among them immediately, before their panic should pass; but a black officer in the Russian service, who went by the lofty name of General Hannibal, said that, as master of the train, it was his office to order the fire-ships, which could not be got ready till the next morning. They were not got ready till a late hour the next night; but the Turks were not wise enough to profit by this long and strange delay of thirty-six hours. We believe, however, that many of the men were wise enough to get on shore, and remain there. Some of the smaller vessels were hauled up on the beach to allow the large ships a little more sea-room. About midnight on Sunday Commodore Greig, with three ships and the bomb-ketch, entered the mouth of the harbour and began to throw shot and shells; and, while the attention of the Turks was engaged by him, the fire-ships glided round on the opposite side and shot into the bay. The first and largest was commanded by Lieutenant Dugdale, whose men abandoned him and jumped into their boats before their proper time, rowing away as fast as they could. Dugdale remained alone, and when he thought his fire-ship near enough to take effect he fired the train, leaped into the sea, and swam for his life. He was picked up by a Greek boat, but his boldness proved of little service, for the fire-ship ran upon a rock and blew up there without doing any mischief to the Turkish ships. Lieutenant Mackenzie had a stancher crew, and was therefore more successful: his vessel was not fired till he was right upon the Turkish ships; and thus when she exploded the

* It is at Tchesmé that the greater part of the fruit known in our market by the name of Smyrna raisins is shipped. The town is small and mean, but the scenery round about is as magnificent as any in the world. The bold coast of Asia Minor, the channel, the islands of Scio and Samos form a picture of grandeur, beauty, and poetry.

* The Capitan Pasha was, however, picked up alive, and carried ashore in a Turkish boat. But it would have been better for him to have died in the battle, for, according to the usual custom, his head was cut off a few days after.

effect was terrible. The fire spread from ship to ship as they lay all wedged together, and explosion followed explosion in rapid succession. A third fireship was not used, and two others had not come into the bay, as the Russian officers in charge of them were dead drunk. But Mackenzie's infernal machine had done enough, and by the dawn of day nothing remained of the Capitan Pasha's fleet save one 64-gun ship and a few galleys, which fell into the hands of the Russians. But for the catastrophe of Spiridoff's ship, which had from six to seven hundred souls on board when she blew up, the victory would have been a very cheap one, as in all the rest of the Russian fleet there were not fifty men killed and wounded. The greater part of the ships had never come into action, and had not received a single ball in hull or rigging; and Orloff himself had kept at a comfortable distance, out in the channel of Scio. The Turkish loss in lives was estimated by the enemy at ten thousand; but this was a gross exaggeration, as a vast number saved their lives by swimming or by leaping on shore when the conflagration began.* It must be said, however, that the Russians took all possible means to cram the greedy maw of death; they showed no mercy to the poor wretches who had escaped alive from the explosions; they put out boats to knock them on the head; and wherever they could reach them they fired grape-shot among the swimmers. One of the English officers was struck with horror at this barbarity; but when he attempted to stop it in his boat's crew he was told by the Russians it was Count Orloff's order that no quarter should be given.† When the havoc was over the count made a signal for a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for the success of the Russian arms; and the applauding Greek priests who attended the expedition, or who put off in boats from the Greek villages of Scio, Samos, and Anatolia, sprinkled the ships with holy water and gave their benedictions to the crews.‡ On the other side, the Turks massacred every Greek they could find, man, woman, or child, between Tchesmé and Smyrna; and when the retreating soldiers and the unshipped sailors reached the populous city of Smyrna they murdered many hundreds more.§ These horrid scenes were repeated at Magnesia, Pergamus, and all along the road to Scutari and Constantinople; so that the Greeks of Asia Minor had almost as much cause as the Greeks in the Morea to curse the appearance of the *liberating* flag of the czarina. Elphinstone, who had told the autocratix that he would force the passage of the Dardanelles and bombard the sultan in his capital, was anxious to advance immediately, before the Turks should recover from their consternation; but Count Orloff had other business to do;—the morrow was the anniversary of the battle of Pultawa, and to be kept as a holiday, with the ships dressed out in the colours of all nations; and it was not until the third day, and late in the afternoon, that the fleet got under weigh and stood across the narrow channel to the town of Scio, at which they threw some shells, but from too great a distance to do any harm. While they were amusing themselves in this manner an English man-of-war, the Winchelsea, sailed right through the fleet and took from the English transports that were serving with them their Mediterranean passes; upon which they quitted the Russian service to return home. Yet, after this visit of the Winchelsea, other English ships, to the number of twelve or fourteen, and having on board military stores and troops from the Baltic, were allowed to join the expedition and serve with it. The English merchants at Smyrna trembled for their property and their lives; and all the Europeans there dreaded that, in their exasperation, the Turks would treat them as they had done the Greeks. The consuls of England, France, Holland, and the Italian states sent a mission, composed of the most respectable merchants, to entreat Orloff not to appear before Smyrna, unless he wished to witness a general massacre of the Christians of all nations. At length, on the 16th of July, the Russians sailed away from Scio, passed the mouth of the Gulf of Smyrna without entering it, and beat up for the coast of Troy and the mouth of the Dardanelles, which they did not reach till the 23rd. Orloff and Spiridoff had determined before this that it would be too dangerous an enterprise to attempt the narrow passage, fortified on either side with castles and batteries; and the sight of two line-of-battle ships and several galleys at anchor in the channel, and of troops assembled both on the European and Asiatic shores, on the plains of Troy and on the island of Tenedos, did not tend to remove their prudent conviction. Orloff sailed away with part of the fleet to take the island of Lemnos, leaving Elphinstone with the rest to perform the difficult and all but useless office of blockading the Dardanelles. Elphinstone attempted more than once to get a good peep into that redoubted passage, and to destroy the Turkish ships and galleys; but the wind never served, the current ran down, as it ever does, from the Propontis, three of his ships fell on board of each other, with some damage and more confusion; and the most that he could do was to fire a few long shots, and drink the czarina's health on the Hellespont, *on the safe side of the castles*. The month of August was passed without any serious disaster; but in September, when the equinoctial gales began to blow, the blockade, with indifferent ships, worse seamen, and fierce enemies on every lee shore, became a service of great difficulty and danger.

* Still, however, the loss of the Turks was frightful. Fifty-seven years after the event an old Turk of Tchesmé related on the spot, to the writer of these pages, many particulars of the memorable conflict. He said that for weeks after the bay and its shores were covered with dead bodies, blistering and putrefying in the scorching heat of that July sun. All the Turks in the neighbourhood preserve dreadful traditions of the battle.

† Authentic Narrative, &c., from several journals, by an English Officer on board the Russian fleet.

‡ Id.

§ But for the arrival of the great Deribey, Kara-Osman-Oglou, with 3000 of his vassals and dependents, the Europeans, consuls and all, would have been massacred, and little more would have been left of Smyrna Frank town than was left of the Capitan Pasha's fleet.

Through the obstinacy of the officer of the watch Elphinstone's own ship was run upon a rock one night while he was in bed, and beat to pieces. The crew were saved, and that was all. Orloff and those with him consumed two months in the siege of the castle of Lemnos, and then, just as they thought the place would surrender, they were scared away by the sudden apparition of some thousands of Turks, who had crossed over from the continent in open boats and in a dark night. Orloff then not only quitted his entrenchments, but abandoned the whole island, sailing down the Archipelago to Paros, and ordering Elphinstone to give up his blockade and follow him. At the same time he ordered all the captains of Elphinstone's squadron to put their ships under the command of Spiridoff. This provoked a quarrel between the count and the Scotsman. After staying a short time at Paros Orloff ran down to Leghorn, in order to pass the winter more pleasantly at Florence; and Elphinstone, with most of the British sailors, soon returned to England. The Turkish ship of the line—the only one the Russians had taken—was run on shore and lost. Such were the exploits of the Russians in the Mediterranean in the year 1770. The sequel of the miserable insurrection in the Morea, excited by the Russians and the solemn promises of the czarina, was told in a vast pyramid of human skulls which the Turkish Pasha erected near Napoli di Romania. The Russian fleet remained in the Archipelago the whole of the year 1771, and part of 1772; but its operations were contemptible, resembling rather the proceedings of pirates than the warfare of a great nation. Their ships, originally bad, became for the most part unserviceable. The Mainotes, at all times "robbers on the deep," the Samiotes, the Candiotes, all the worst of the Greeks of the continent and of the islands, scoured the seas with their brigantines and misticoes, or lay in wait for prey under the numerous headlands or in the many narrow passages; the Ragusans, the Montenegrins, the desperadoes from the Bocca di Cattaro and the Dalmatian coast, among whom the profession of piracy was ancient and respected; the scum of the Italian seaports, the outcasts and thieves of nearly every *Christian* country on the Mediterranean, joined in the profitable pursuit; and, with or without the Russian flag or letters-of-mark, plundered nearly every ship they could come up with and master, under pretence of waging war upon the infidels. The commerce of England, of France, of Holland, of all states trading with the Levant, was interrupted, and, for the time, ruined. France was inclined at first to prevent, and afterwards to resent, these injuries; and by giving the Russians and their rotten ships a deep grave in the Archipelago, which she might easily have done with one half of her Toulon fleet, she might have somewhat revived the spirits of the Turks, and perhaps delayed for a short time the fate of their allies the Poles; but France was deterred by her alliance with Austria—an alliance made closer than ever in the year 1770 by the marriage of the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI.) with the Austrian Arch-Duchess Maria Antoinette,—by her fear of provoking England, who would have considered any demonstration at that time as an avowed intention of taking part in the Falkland Island quarrel and backing Spain, by the wretched state of her finances, and by the desire of Louis XV. to close his reign in peace. Meanwhile the successes of the Russians by land had continued uninterrupted; and when the Poles were at their last agony the sultan was soliciting the mediation of Frederick of Prussia, one of the co-partitioners, to obtain a peace from Catherine. The three powers therefore proceeded to the work of dismemberment, with no other check or impediment than such as arose out of their own clashing pretensions, or the eagerness of each to get as much of the spoil as he could. The court of Vienna seemed to be the least impatient for this breaking up of an ancient kingdom, but this was probably nothing more than the effect of the proverbial slowness of that cabinet. Frederick and Catherine certainly concluded their bargain first. His Prussian majesty was exceedingly anxious to get included in his share the rich commercial, and in every sense important city of Dantzic. To this the czarina would not agree, and Frederick, after many struggles, gave up the point, comforting himself with the conviction that, as he was to be the possessor of the course of the river Vistula, of its embouchure on the Baltic, and of the port of Dantzic, he must eventually obtain possession of the town also; and thus thinking that it was not worth while to delay so important a negotiation for the sake of an advantage which was only deferred.* He, by means of Van Swieten, the Austrian envoy at Berlin, hastened the march of Austrian diplomacy, and the Treaty of Partition between the three powers was signed at Petersburg on the 2nd of August, 1772. It was followed in the month of September by declarations, manifestoes, and specifications of the territories which each of the powers was to appropriate. Prussia and Austria boldly pretended that their obsolete claims gave them a right to what they took; but Russia adopted in her manifesto a totally different tone, representing that the expenses she had incurred to keep Poland in order could only be discharged by a session of territory. All three agreed in stating to the world that the anarchy and frequent troubles in Poland had reduced the country to its present deplorable condition, and threatened the total dissolution of the state—an event which would probably destroy the harmony and friendship at present subsisting between the great powers the neighbours of Poland. These considerations, they said, put them under a necessity of taking a decisive part at such a critical juncture, and compelled them with one accord to adopt such effectual measures as would re-establish tranquillity and good order. After this gentle language they announced in good set terms their

* Frederick's own Works; Mémoires depuis 1763 jusqu'à 1775.

generous intention of placing the ancient constitution of Poland and the national liberties upon a sure and solid foundation. But then came, in less liberal but far more sincere language, the announcement and the justification of their several appropriations of cities, towns, provinces, rivers, and mountains, with the declaration that they had reciprocally communicated their rights and claims, and, being mutually convinced of their justice, had determined to take immediate and effectual possession of such parts of Poland as might serve to fix more natural and sure bounds between her and the three great powers her neighbours. They promised that, resting satisfied each with the territories it appropriated, they would discharge the Poles from all other debts, dues, demands, and claims whatsoever, and for ever respect the integrity of the dominions left to them. Preaching peace, the three sovereigns, who had for so many years filled Europe with war and havoc, invited the Poles of all ranks and orders to put up their swords, and to banish the spirit of discord and delusion, in order that a diet legally assembled might co-operate with their imperial majesties and the king of Prussia in re-establishing tranquillity, and at the same time ratify, by public acts, the titles, pretensions, and claims of the three powers, and the partition agreed upon and effected. It is to be oberved that neither of the three powers rested satisfied with the specifications delivered in and published, but that all encroached a little more. The whole of the territory taken and divided among them was almost the third part of Poland, and comprised some of the richest provinces of that kingdom.* Prussia got the whole of Pomerelia, part of Great Poland, the bishopric of Warmia, and the palatinates of Marienburg and Culm, with the complete command of the lower part of the Vistula. Russia took for her share the greater part of Lithuania, with all the vast country between the rivers Dwina and Dneister. Austria took the country along the left bank of the Vistula, from Vielicza down to the confluence of the Vistula and the river Viroz, the whole of the country called Red Russia (now Gallicia), the palatinate of Belz, and a portion of the province of Volhynia. In square miles Russia got the largest portion, and Prussia the smallest, the acquisition of the latter power being only about 800 square miles: but the importance to Frederick of the country he acquired was immense, for it united the kingdom of Prussia with Pomerania and the marches of Brandenburg, which before it had separated in a most awkward manner, so that Voltaire was accustomed to compare Frederick's dominions to a pair of long gaiters. "It is extremely worthy of remark," says an English traveller who was in the country soon after this first dismemberment," that, of the three partitioning powers, Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to Poland; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarcely a century before, was indebted to a sovereign of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence."* The helpless king of Poland could scarcely credit that the three powers intended this perpetual dismemberment; and when he saw the fact and recovered from his astonishment he could do nothing but address useless protests and prayers to France, Spain, England, and all the other powers of Europe. That lively sympathy which some of these states affected a few years later for the cause of our American colonists was shown by none of them for the Poles. In the month of April, 1773, after the Polish senate had been dispersed by the united troops of the three partitioning powers, a sort of diet assembled at Warsaw to ratify all that had been done. It was surrounded during its deliberations by Russian troops, and it was dictated to by Stakelberg, Benoit, and Rewiski, the ministers of the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, who told its members plainly that any man who opposed their wishes would be considered as the enemy of his country and of the three powers; and that, if the diet or the country attempted any resistance, the armies of the three powers would at once take possession of the *whole* kingdom. As a reward for submission the promises of the manifestoes were repeated, and the diet was assured that their imperial majesties and the king of Prussia would guarantee the remainder of the kingdom. The president or marshal of the diet, Poninski, had sold himself to the allied powers, and many of the members were equally venal or convinced of the indisputable fact that resistance would be useless. But still there remained a small enthusiastic band, chiefly from Lithuania, the country of Kosciusko, who ventured to raise their voices against the dismemberment, and the outrages offered to the honour and independence of the nation. Reyten, the leader of this weak band of patriots, was by the orders of Count Stakelberg arrested and sent out of the country to wander through Europe an exile and a maniac, and on the 17th of May the diet agreed to appoint a commission to act in conjunction with the ambassadors of the three powers, in regulating the new frontier lines and settling the changes to be introduced into the Polish system of government. The commissioners, though not without several faint struggles, ratified the treaty of partition, and established a permanent council in which the executive power was vested. This council consisted of forty members, who among them engrossed all the branches of administration. Poniatowski remained without the shadow of authority—a mere king by name—the ambassadors of the three powers continuing to dictate to the permanent council as they had done to the diet. Many members of the confederates of Barr besides the unfortunate Reyten became wanderers and outcasts, with no fortune

* The territory of Poland, before the partition, was estimated at 13,500 square miles (15 to a degree):—the partitioners, in all, took from it very nearly 4000 square miles!

* Coxe. The saviour of Vienna was John Sobieski.

but their swords, for the property of the exiles was in nearly every case confiscated. We shall find some of the bravest of these Poles fighting under George Washington, in America, when the English colonies there raise the standard of independence.

That we may not have to return for some time to these continental affairs we may briefly mention here the conclusion of Catherine's war with the Turks. Through the representations of Prussia and Austria she consented to negotiate with the sultan; and, after some direct intercourse on the banks of the Danube between General Romanzoff and the grand vizier, a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, an armistice was signed at Giurgevo on the 30th of May, 1772, and a congress was arranged to be held in the month of July at Foczani in Wallachia, a few miles north of Bucharest, the capital of that province. Catherine's plenipotentiary was Count Gregory Orloff, who appeared at the congress with a pomp and magnificence that quite dazzled the Turks. He was all over a blaze of jewels; every part of his dress was studded with diamonds; and he wore upon his breast, in the midst of an infinitude of orders, the diamond-circled portrait of Catherine, his *mistress* in a double sense. One hundred and sixty domestics in splendid liveries followed this northern modern Leicester, and he was preceded by troops of hussars in gorgeous uniforms. His demands were suitable to his proud bearing: he asked for the whole of the Crimea and all that vast tract of country on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, between the Danube and the Don; for an unlimited freedom of navigation on the Black Sea, and through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles; for nearly all the fortresses that had been taken from the Turks; and for an indemnity in money or in additional territory for the expenses the czarina had incurred in the war. The sultan was also called upon to acquiesce in the dismemberment of Poland, and to engage on no account whatsoever to assist the Polish exiles, of whom not a few had fled to Constantinople. Humbled as they were, the Turks would not consent to these hard terms: the congress of Foczani broke up in July; and Count Gregory hastened back to St. Petersburg to find that during his absence Catherine had supplied his place with another lover—the still more splendid Potemkin. Negotiations were, however, soon renewed between Romanzoff and the grand vizier; a new congress was appointed to meet at Bucharest, and the armistice was extended to the month of March, 1773. In the mean time Russia had concluded a separate treaty with the Tartars of the Crimea, which gave her the absolute command of that long coveted country. The negotiations at Bucharest ran out to a great length and ended in nothing. The Turkish commissioners proposed a prolongation of them and of the armistice; but the Russians refused, and took the field in the month of March, 1773. The Danube, the centre of the operations, was again tinged with blood and choked with the bodies of the dead; but fortune was not invariably on the side of the czarina. Prince Repnin, with a considerable corps, was taken prisoner and led in triumph to Constantinople; Romanzoff in crossing the Danube about the middle of June, lost an immense number of men, and had the mortification of seeing the Russian horse completely defeated by the irregular Turkish cavalry. As he advanced towards Silistria, Schumla, and the Balkan mountains, as if in the intention of forcing that famous passage, the natural difficulties of which have at all times been grossly exaggerated, he was constantly assailed, in front, flank, or rear, by flying troops of Spahis, who allowed him so little rest that his men could seldom take the bit out of the horses' mouths. When his van arrived at Silistria they found the approaches to that place guarded by three immense divisions or armies, under three pashas. The Russians drove these Turks from their entrenched camps into the town; but in so doing they sustained another prodigious loss, and must have been utterly defeated but for a rash, impatient movement of the mussulmans. Instead of taking Silistria and forcing the defiles of Mount Hæmus, Romanzoff, after fresh losses occasioned by sorties and surprises, found himself compelled to decamp silently in the night, and to begin a most disastrous retreat to the Danube and beyond it. General Weisman, who commanded the van, was driven back by 13,000 Turks, and killed while endeavouring to rally his broken troops. They recrossed the Danube on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th of July; and on the 7th they sang *Te Deum* for their happy escape. They had left 10,000 men in killed and wounded, and in prisoners, between that river and the Danube; but they comforted themselves with the thought that they must have killed almost as many Turks. But malaria fevers and other diseases, brought on by incessant fatigue, miasma, and the scarcity or badness of provisions, forced Romanzoff to retire still farther; and the line of his retreat from the left bank of the Danube to Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, was strewed with Russian dead. But a few thousands more or less signified nothing to the autocratix and her ministers. New levies were made, fresh regiments of yellow-haired Ghiaours, fresh hordes of Calmucks and Cossacks of a darker tinge, were driven down to the scene of carnage; and in the course of the autumn two great divisions crossed the Danube once more, and, while one marched to the siege of Silistria, the other struck away to the left to march along the shores of the Black Sea and lay siege to Varna, an important seaport, at the extremity of Bulgaria, the possession of which might have enabled them to turn the Balkan by water, and to transport troops and artillery, in small craft, close along shore, to the Constantinople side of that chain of mountains. But Romanzoff was compelled to raise the siege of Silistria by the grand vizier, who issued from his fortified camp at Schumla; and Suwaroff and Prince Dolgarucki were repulsed at Varna after a

long and bloody engagement, and then routed and driven from their entrenchment by the Bostangi Bashi from Adrianople. At the beginning of December they recrossed the Danube; but this time their retreat was a disorderly flight, and they left all their stores and a good part of their artillery behind them. The insurrection of the Cossacks under Pugutscheff, the rising of some of the Tartar tribes, the ravages of the plague, the apprehension of war with Sweden, and other causes paralysed the operations of Catherine's armies on the Danube, until the month of June, when General Soltikoff fought a drawn battle with the Pasha of Rutschuk, and Kamenski and Suwaroff defeated the Reis Effendi, and took all his train of artillery, which had just been cast at Constantinople under the direction of the famous Baron de Tott. After this Romanzoff succeeded in investing the Grand Vizier in his fortified camp at Schumla. Upon these reverses the sultan again sued for peace; and on the 21st of July the grand vizier and Prince Repnin signed the treaty of Kainarji, which was ruinous and most humiliating to the Ottomans, though certainly less so than the terms would have been which Orloff had proposed at Boczani. By this treaty the Crimea was dissevered from Turkey, under the decent pretext of its remaining an independent power under its Khans; Russia obtained the absolute cession of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, and of all the district between the Bug and the Dnieper; the navigation of the Turkish seas for her merchant vessels, including the passage through the Dardanelles; with all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the most favoured nations. She restored to Turkey everything she had taken in Wallachia and Moldavia, but she kept Azof and Taganrok, the two most important ports on the Black Sea; and, beyond the wide margin of the treaty, she kept up a party among the Greeks of Bucharest and Jassy, which would at any time lay Wallachia and Moldavia open to her ambition.

The British parliament reassembled on the 26th of November (1772), when the partition of Poland was known to all the world. Yet the king's speech did not contain a single allusion to that startling innovation. As if approving all that had been done, his majesty expressed his satisfaction at seeing there was reason to hope that the war which had so long unhappily prevailed in one part of Europe was now drawing to a conclusion; and he added that, although there was no probability of our being involved therein, yet the discontinuance of those troubles would afford a fairer prospect of the duration of peace; which, he trusted, the alterations that had happened in Europe would not in their consequences affect. All the rest of the speech was about the East India Company, the late bad harvest, the dearness of corn, and the propriety of doing something to relieve the suffering poor. The addresses of both Houses did little more than echo the speech.* There was not in either of them a single word about the dismemberment and political annihilation of Poland; not a word about the monstrous excesses in the Archipelago, not a syllable upon the dangerous encroachments and mighty pretensions of the czarina. The Commons only thought it necessary to express their satisfaction at his majesty's having been enabled, during the coursé of the year, to reduce his naval establishment. The Chatham Correspondence at the time is equally silent on the subject; and neither in the letters of the great orator nor in those of Lord Shelburne and his other friends do we find a word about the partition of Poland. Mr. Burke appears to have been almost the only public man that felt very warmly; and even he reserved his eloquence to a later period.

On the first day of the session very hostile language was used by the retainers of government in the House of Commons against the East India Company; and Lord North himself moved for a *secret* committee of thirteen to examine certain points independently of the select committee appointed last session, which was to proceed notwithstanding. This was agreed to without a division, and the thirteen members chosen by ballot were Alderman Harley, chairman, Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Palmerston, and Messrs. Rigby, Stanley, Jenkinson, Jackson, Fitzpatrick, Burrell, Ryder, Walpole, Eames, and Gilbert. This secret committee, seven days after their appointment, presented a report and recommended bringing in a bill to prevent the company from sending out certain supervisors whom it had selected to settle matters in India. Several directors, who were members of the House, contended that the report was hurried, irregular, and unconstitutional. Burke who was a holder of East India Stock, and closely connected with some of the directors, declared that the proposed bill would be a violation of the company's charter, and of the law of the land. He was witty and almost indecent in his descriptions of the select committee appointed last year, and which had produced nothing, and of the neat little snug one, called a secret committee, which had been brought to bed prematurely. Looking at Lord North, he said, "If we suffer this bill to pass, we shall, in fact, become the East India Company; and you, sir, (turning to the speaker) will be seated in that chair with a little hammer and an inch of candle. The treasury bench will be the buyers, and on this side we shall be the sellers. The senate will become an auction-room, and the speaker an auctioneer." The recommendation of the secret committee of thirteen was nevertheless adopted by a majority of more than three to one; and the bill was introduced.

A. D. 1773.—The East India directors, who maintained that supervisors of their appointment, without any interference of government, would be quite sufficient to remedy the evils complained of,

* In the Lords the address was moved by the Duke of Chandos, and seconded by Lord Catheart; in the Commons it was moved by Fox's bosom friend the Honourable Frederick Fitzpatrick, and seconded by Dr. Burrell. There was scarcely any opposition in either House.

and correct the rapacity, oppression, and irregularities of the company's servants in India; and who insisted that the right of appointing lay with them, petitioned parliament against this bill; and Burke again fought their battle in the Commons. He reminded ministers that ever since the year 1767 they had been receiving from the company 400,000*l.* per annum, and had been conniving all the time at their mal-administration, on purpose that they might have them at their mercy, plunder them, and invade their chartered rights. He admitted that most things in India wanted supervision, but said if ministers appointed the supervisors they would make a gross job of it, and use their interest and influence most mischievously. Nevertheless the motion for the third reading of the bill was carried by a majority of more than five to one. The bill was also carried through the Lords by a majority of 26 against 6. The company then reduced its dividend to six per cent., and applied to parliament for the loan of one million and a half to relieve them from their pecuniary difficulties. It was impossible to refuse the loan without risking great distress and great discontent at home, and absolute ruin in India. On the 9th of March Lord North moved a series of resolutions, asserting the necessity of parliamentary assistance and the propriety of a loan. He fixed the sum at 1,400,000*l.* and suggested a number of regulations as proper to prevent the recurrence of similar embarrassments, and to reform all abuses in the government of India. Little foreseeing what it would lead to, he afterwards moved that the company should be permitted to export tea to America without paying any export duty; and the company took this as an important boon, as they had at the moment upwards of seventeen millions of pounds of tea in their warehouses in England. All these ministerial measures were carried by large majorities, but were attended with a few protests in the House of Lords. The attacks upon Lord Clive, the real founder of our empire in the East, and other matters connected with India debated during this session, we reserve for our continuous view of East Indian affairs.

A few days before the Christmas holidays, in the course of a debate upon the army estimates, Alderman Trecothick had told the House that the island of St. Vincent, in the West Indies, had been made a scene of iniquity and cruelty, and that our troops had committed against the Caribs, a defenceless, innocent people, barbarities equal to those practised by the Spaniards at their first conquest of Mexico and Peru. Colonel Barré and Lord George Germaine spoke vehemently on the same side, and, together with Mr. Thomas Townshend, said that our men had been barbarously made to suffer even more evils than those they inflicted upon the Indians. This led to an inquiry, and to the production of papers, which seemed to prove that proper care had been taken of the troops sent to that island. But in the month of February a further inquiry, involving the condition of the natives, was set on foot, in consequence of a motion made by Townshend, that Generals Wooten and Trapaud, who commanded the troops in St. Vincent, should be examined before the House. These officers had commanded their regiments from a great distance, for they were both in England. Wooten said he had of late received no accounts from St. Vincent. Trapaud produced a letter from the island, dated in November last, and stating that the natives had been ill used, that the English troops were getting knocked on the head, and that a dreadful mortality, caused by sickness and the heavy and continual rains, was raging among them. "God knows," said the letter, "how this pretty expedition will end; all we hope is, that the promoters and contrivers of it will be brought to a speedy and severe account." On the 12th of February some witnesses were examined touching the character and disposition of the Carib Indians. Lieutenant Fletcher and Governor Gore spoke very favourably of them, but neither of these gentlemen had been among them for many years. Captain Farquhar, who had more recent experience, said that they were well behaved, peaceable, and disposed to trade. Captain Ross, who had very recently returned from St. Vincent, said that they were all thieves by nature, and not to be trusted in anything. Mr. Sharpe, the speaker of the House of Assembly of that colony, declared that they were a faithless people, given to drinking, debauchery, murder, cruelty, and every other vice, and that while they were allowed to continue on the island neither the lives nor property of his majesty's subjects there would be safe. The truth was, that the French, from their neighbouring islands in the West Indies, which we had restored to them at the peace of Fontainebleau, had excited the Carib Indians to rise against us, and had given every possible encouragement to their insurrection; a fact which was fully proved in the course of these examinations. A letter had even been found from Count d'Emery, the French governor of St. Lucie, to the Carib chiefs, treating them as an independent people. Ministers put an end to the debate, precluding any censure, with their usual majorities; and before the discussions were over the Caribs of St. Vincent laid down their arms and submitted to King George. The campaign against them had cost us some four or five hundred men, and detestable cruelties had really been committed on both sides.*

In the month of February a petition was presented by that gallant sailor, Lord Howe, from his brother officers, the captains and commanders of the navy, who modestly prayed for a trifling increase of their half-pay. The noble lord admitted that he had not the consent of the crown, but Lord North said, though he would not take advantage of the informality, he was, for very weighty reasons, determined to oppose the petition to the utmost. A general silence followed the reading of

* Bryan Edwards, History of British West Indies.—Ann. Regis.—Cavendish's (MS.) Debates.

the petition; some members not having a proper sense of an appeal expressed in so plain and unpretending a manner, and more being deterred by the confession that the prime minister was against it. At length Lord Howe rose and stated to the House, in language as plain as that of the petition, the grounds upon which the request of the petitioners was founded. He showed that the rewards of those meritorious and most popular servants of the state had not kept pace with the remuneration of other classes; and that their condition was materially worse now than it had been a century ago. He showed that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth down to the year 1715, when they were put on the footing on which they had continued ever since, notwithstanding the immense difference in the value of money, they had been always highly rewarded, either by profitable employments, by particular gratifications, or by a half-pay, in substance, double what they were now receiving. He therefore moved, "That the petition be referred to the consideration of a committee; and that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same to the House." His lordship was warmly supported by Captain Phipps, Sir George Saville, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir William Meredith, and many others. But Lord North kept his promise, and opposed him, acknowledging the great merit of the petitioners and the justice of their claim on the nation for favour and support, but stating that the present state of the public finances put it out of his power to be liberal. He observed that the admission of this claim would open a door to many others—that the military would put in their claims—that the shipwrights, a very serviceable and necessary class of men, actually intended to apply for an increase of wages—and that, as such general relief was absolutely impracticable, the receiving of some applications and rejecting others would be inconsistent, partial, and unjust. Mr. Charles Fox, who had returned to office the preceding December, and Mr. Welbore Ellis supported Lord North, and the debate became very animated. The opposition orators asked what could be thought of a government which, after ten years of peace, confessed that the finances of this great and opulent country were in so wretched a state as not to be able to afford a pittance for the relief of the brave men to whom her power and glory were so much indebted. The whole sum required would amount only to about £6000 a-year—a sum, they said, which had been often voted for the most trivial objects. They declared, some of them of their own knowledge, that several of the bravest officers, whose services in the last war had been known to all the world, were now languishing in poverty and sickness, with large families to support, and with no means or resources except their stinted allowance from government. These strong appeals, which were sure to produce an immense effect out of doors, made considerable impression within, not many members choosing to incur the unpopularity of voting against the people's favourites. North saw himself deserted on this question even by many of his old retainers; all the Duke of Grafton's party voted against him; and upon a division Lord Howe's motion was carried by a majority of 154 against 145. A committee was accordingly named, and it soon presented a report, confirming all that had been said on Lord Howe's side in the course of the debate, and concluding with a recommendation that the prayer of the petitioners should be favourably considered. Lord Howe moved accordingly; and then Lord North, who did not feel very comfortable under the popular odium he had incurred, stood up and seconded the motion, protesting that, in opposing the petition, he had chiefly dreaded that it might be converted into a very inconvenient precedent. Some additions proposed in the committee were rejected by the House, which agreed to the original request, and came to this resolution—"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to take into his consideration the deficiency of the allowance to several of the junior captains and commanders in his majesty's navy, for their support when out of employment; and that he will direct such addition to be made thereto, proportioned to the present establishment for the senior captains, over and above the provision made for the (then) year 1773, as his majesty in his great wisdom shall think fit." The king thought fit to add two shillings a day to the half-pay of the junior captains.* Chatham, who kept away from parliament all this session, in his snug mansion at Burton Pynsent, declaring that the state of public affairs was so bad that farthest from them was best, exulted in the result of the petition. "I am happy," says he, "that the captains of the navy have triumphed over the *miseri* of Downing-street. The eminent majority does honour to the House. As the captains have prospered, I hope the shipwrights will too, if their desires are equally reasonable. You see I am an arrant spendthrift throughout! Should the king's yards be deserted by the ablest workmen, for want of such due encouragement as they can find elsewhere, what will the economists say?" † The shipwrights' demands *were* reasonable; for they only asked to be more regularly paid, and offered to commute a perquisite very wasteful and expensive to the public for a small increase of daily pay. But Lord North opposed their petition, and the House, with very little scruple, threw it out; and so the shipwrights were left to sell their chips as they had done before—that is to say they were left to waste as much good timber as they could to make the more chips and fragments to sell, and so to get the money to make up for their defective wages and the irregular payment of them.

Another subject in which Chatham took a warm interest was the fate, in the military service, of Colonel Barré. That very distinguished member of

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Lord Howe.—Ann. Regis.—Cavendish's Debates.—Chatham Correspondence.

† Letter to Colonel Barré, in Chatham Corresp.

opposition had been put on the shelf long before, in revenge for his conduct in parliament; but he retained his rank and his half-pay. In the course of the preceding summer the king made an extensive promotion in the army, particularly among lieutenant-colonels, and only excluded Barré and Sir Hugh Williams, both refractory members of the House of Commons, whose heads were directly passed over, to get at Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, a much younger officer, but one who voted on the court side. Barré resented this as an insult, and was the more angry, as the secretary at war, Lord Barrington, had last session assured him, in a private and unsought-for conversation, that his majesty would certainly give him brevet rank in his turn. He poured out his wrongs to Chatham. "This new discipline, my lord," said he, "is surely not calculated to cherish the spirit of that army which your lordship had taught to conquer in every climate. Directed as it has been lately, I am proud of renouncing the profession. To enable me to take this step, with propriety to myself, and with decent respect to the king, I feel that I stand in need of the long experience and sound judgment of much abler men than myself." Chatham recommended him to write a short letter, officially civil, to the secretary at war, accompanying a memorial to the king, conceived in measured terms, stating simply his years of service, the promotion of junior officers, &c., relying on his majesty's tender justice to be treated according to the seniority of rank, in conformity with the usual course of promotions. Barré followed this advice; and presently received from Lord Barrington the following laconic answer:—"I have laid before the king your letter of the 8th instant to me; and I am commanded to acquaint you that, in consequence of your request therein expressed, you have his majesty's permission to retire from the service."* As Barré had served with distinction in three quarters of the globe, and had obtained the reputation of an excellent officer, and as there was nothing to urge against him except his conduct in the House of Commons, his dismissal excited much animadversion. To many it seemed a good argument in favour of that total exclusion from parliament of all military men, which had been proposed more than once in the reign of William III. It was evident, they said, from Barré's case, that the court held the officers of the army as their direct servants and dependents, as men that ought on no account to vote against them, and that could be punished for any disobedience, not merely by stopping their promotion, but by summarily dismissing them from the service, and depriving them of the honours and emoluments they had gained by years of toil and danger. In humanity to that class of men, they ought not to be subjected to such a hard trial. Colonel Barré had preferred his conscience to his interest—had sacrificed everything rather than truckle; but it was not to be expected that all officers would possess such heroic virtue; and Barré's case, they said, was the exception, proving the general rule that military men would vote in the House of Commons as the court and Horse Guards commanded.

* Chatham Corresp.

The subject of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles again occupied the attention of parliament in this session, when another bill, more generally conceived, for the relief of Protestant dissenters, was brought into the Commons. Upon this occasion the methodists, who had now become very numerous and powerful, made common cause with the church, and denounced, as dangerous, any change or innovation in the Act of Toleration. The methodists of Chatham particularly distinguished themselves by sending up to parliament a strong petition against the relief which the dissenters prayed for. Other congregations followed the example of Chatham; but Chatham remained the favourite figure in the speeches of the church party; and, as Chatham had military lines and fortifications, they spoke of the Chatham methodists as lines and outworks protecting and defending the church. Burke, who thought this bill more reasonable than the petition presented against the Thirty-nine Articles by men professing to be members of the Established Church, and who voted and spoke for the bill with great animation, played mischief with these metaphorical and spiritual fortifications. "The first symptom of alarm," said he, "comes from some dissenters assembled round the lines of Chatham. These lines become the security of the church of England! The honourable gentlemen, in speaking of the lines of Chatham, tell us that they serve not only for the security of the wooden walls of England, but for the defence of the church of England. I suspect the wooden walls of England secure the lines of Chatham, rather than the lines of Chatham secure the wooden walls of England. Sir, the church of England, if only defended by this miserable petition upon your table, must, I am afraid, upon the principles of true fortification, be soon destroyed." He reprobated the notion of one part of the nation enjoying religious liberty merely through the connivance of the other. "Liberty under a connivance!" he exclaimed; "connivance is a relaxation from slavery, not a definition of liberty. What is connivance but a state under which all slaves live? If I were to describe slavery, I would say, with those who *hate* it, it is living under will, not under law. . . . . The state of slavery and connivance is the same thing. If the liberty enjoyed by the dissenters be a liberty not of toleration but of connivance, the only question is whether establishing such by law is an attack upon Christianity. Toleration an attack upon Christianity! What, then, are we come to this pass, to suppose that nothing can support Christianity but the principles of persecution? Is that, then, the idea of establishment? Is it then the idea of Christianity itself, that it ought to have establishments, that it ought to have laws against

dissenters, but the breach of which laws is to be connived at? What a picture of toleration! what a picture of laws, of establishments! what a picture of religious and civil liberty! These very terms become the strongest reasons for my support of this bill; for I am persuaded that toleration, so far from being an attack upon Christianity, becomes the best and surest support that possibly can be given to it. The Christian religion itself arose without establishment, it arose even without toleration; and, whilst its own principles were not tolerated, it conquered all the powers of darkness; it conquered all the powers of the world. The moment it began to depart from these principles, it converted the establishment into tyranny; it subverted its foundation from that very hour." He observed that they all seemed to agree that the penal laws, as they stood, inflicting heavy punishments on all teachers and schoolmasters not signing the Thirty-nine Articles, ought not to be executed; and he asked whether it could be wise or proper to retain laws which it was not proper to execute. He urged that it was *most unwise to hold in terror* those whom *they intended* not to punish; while at the same time it might be dangerous to leave on the statute-book what other men, less humane and less just, might possibly, at some future day, endeavour to enforce. "All penal laws," said he, "are either [put in force] upon popular prosecution, or on the part of the crown. Now, *if they* may be roused from their sleep whenever a minister thinks proper as instruments of oppression, then they put vast bodies of men into a state of slavery and court dependence; since their liberty of conscience and their power of executing their functions depend entirely on his will. I would have no man derive his means of continuing any function, or his being restrained from it, but from the laws only; the laws should be his only superior and sovereign lords. . . . . If they are taken up on popular actions, the operation of these penal laws, in that light also, is exceedingly evil. They become the instruments of private malice, private avarice, and not of public regulation; they nourish the worst of men to the prejudice of the best, punishing tender consciences and rewarding informers. Shall we, as an honourable gentleman tells us we may with perfect security, trust to the manners of the age? I am well pleased with the general manners of the times; but the desultory execution of penal laws does not depend on the manners of the times. I would have the laws tuned in unison with the manners; very dissonant are a gentle country and cruel laws; very dissonant, that your reason is furious but your passions moderate, and that you are always equitable except in your courts of justice."* This eloquence and good reasoning had their effect on the House, but what had still more effect was that the bill had the concurrence of Lord North and other ministers, and a warm support from Ellis, Dyson, George Onslow, and other placemen on the Treasury bench. Thus the bill passed in the Commons by large majorities; the zealots, after the first reading, staying away from the debate. But in the House of Lords the bill was strongly opposed, and was rejected, on the second reading, by the enormous majority of 102 against 29—a majority which included all the king's friends and all the bishops. Chatham spoke passionately in favour of the bill, and against the opposers of it. He did not spare the right reverend bench. Doctor Drummond, the Archbishop of York, having called the dissenting ministers "men of close ambition," Chatham said that this was judging uncharitably, and that whoever brought such a charge against them defamed them. And then, pausing for a moment, he thundered at the bench:—"The dissenting ministers are represented as men of close ambition: in some respects they are so; but their ambition is to keep close to the college of fishermen, not of cardinals—to the doctrine of inspired apostles, not to the degrees of interested and aspiring bishops: *they* contend for a spiritual creed and spiritual worship; *we* have a Calvinistic creed, a popish liturgy, and an Arminian clergy." The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Shelburne spoke and voted with Chatham in the minority. Shelburne proposed a strong protest; but Chatham very properly objected to it, saying, with unusual moderation, that he conceived such a protest would change the situation of the measure from defensive to offensive, would in no way serve the dissenters, but would afford great advantage to their enemies.* At a later period of the session a motion was made in the Commons by Sir William Meredith for entirely abolishing subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles at the time of matriculation, and was negatived in the Commons; although it had been stated that one of the universities (Cambridge) neither approved nor practised the subscription with youths.

Burke calls this "a tedious session, during a great part of which their seemed to be no business to attend to, and matters of the greatest national and constitutional importance were brought on, when the season for all business seemed to be over."† The opposition was weak and spiritless, and in general ministers carried their motions and plans with great ease. "The minister," said Burke, in a debate on the budget, "comes down in state, attended by his creatures of all denominations, beasts clean and unclean; for the Treasury, as it has been managed of late, is worse than Noah's ark!" On one occasion, however, the ministerial harmony and the good concert between the two Houses was interrupted by some jarring notes. The Lords took upon themselves to make some amendments in a money bill; and the Commons, resenting this as an infringement of their rights, tossed the bill over the table, and kicked it along the floor out of the House, both parties joining in this game of foot-ball. In put-

* Burke's Works

* Chat. Cor.—Cavendish's Debates.—Kippis' Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers.

† Annual Reg.

ting an end to the session his majesty expressed his great satisfaction at the zeal, assiduity, and perseverance which had been displayed: he regretted the continuance of the war between Russia and the Porte; but made not the most distant allusion to the fate of Poland: he declared he had a close friendship both with the czarina and the sultan, but no engagements with either; he applauded the effectual relief and support which had been afforded to the East India Company; and stated that some progress had been made in reducing the national debt.

John Wilkes continued to give his majesty and his ministers some trouble. When the Duke of Gloucester's court-excluded wife was delivered of a daughter, he moved, at a court of common council, that an humble address of congratulation should be presented to his majesty on the safe delivery and the birth of a princess. Sir Watkin Lewes supported the motion; but other aldermen opposed it, as being an affront to the king, who had never owned the lady for his sister. The Wilkites maintained that, by the laws of God and man, the king was bound to acknowledge that marriage—a marriage notorious to all men; and they said that the Dukes of Richmond and Dorset, the Bishop of Exeter, Lady Albemarle, and others of the first quality had been present at the delivery. After a warm debate the motion was negatived upon the ground of precedent, it not having been usual for the city to address the crown on such occasions, except for the issue of the king or his immediate heir. Wilkes and his friend Oliver, however, succeeded in obtaining from the court of aldermen a resolution, that a frequent appeal to the constituent part of the people, by short parliaments, was their undoubted right; and the only means by which the right of a real representation could be enjoyed and maintained: and the livery not only passed a similar resolution, but proposed a test by which future candidates for the city should bind themselves to use every endeavour to obtain at least triennial parliaments. They also carried another strong petition and remonstrance, on the old grievances, the Middlesex election, the imprisonment of the lord mayor, &c., and praying for a dissolution of parliament and a change of ministers. "Your people," said this paper, "have, with the deepest concern, observed that their former humble petitions and remonstrances were received with a neglect and disregard very hardly brooked by the high spirit of a great and powerful nation; but, the hopes of redress still encouraging us to persevere, we again supplicate your majesty to listen to the voice of your aggrieved subjects." Wilkes staid away, but the lord mayor, Sergeant Glynn, now recorder, Alderman Bull, one of the sheriffs, and others of the city officers went up to St. James's on the 26th of March. Before the citizens were introduced to his majesty, they were given to understand that they were not to expect the honour of kissing his hand. In reply, the king sternly told them that their petition was so void of foundation, and conceived in such disrespectful terms, that he felt convinced they did not seriously imagine it could be complied with.

Ireland continued in an uneasy state, although the Marquess of Townshend had been succeeded as lord-lieutenant by a much more popular nobleman, Lord Harcourt. But the storm raised by the Whiteboys and Hearts of Steel was not to be compared to the tempest, further west, conjured up by the Sons of Liberty upon the apparition of Lord North's tea, and upon his attempt at taking the payment of the colonial judges and governors out of the hands of the Houses of Assembly. While the British government argued that the salaries of the judges were inadequate to the dignity of their stations—that both judges and governors were too dependent upon the people to be able to execute justice impartially, or in any way do their duty—the Americans declared that the design of the British government was to impose its own arbitrary instruments upon them, to destroy the very essence of their charters and liberties, by making the judges and governors wholly independent of the people, and wholly dependent upon the crown. A series of protests, begun at Boston, where the assembly of Massachusetts had returned to sit, soon ran through all the colonies; and a general corresponding committee was established, with branches and ramifications reaching to nearly every town and village in the colonies. This committee of correspondence proved the great lever of revolution. The invention of it has been attributed to Franklin; but the thing itself, the uses to which it might be applied, and its absolute necessity in a country where the population was scattered over such immense tracts of land, with mighty rivers and forests, mountains and deserts, intervening, were all so obvious that they must have struck the dullest apprehension, and the idea no doubt sprung up spontaneously in thousands of minds at once. The effect was soon seen in a general combination of measures, a unanimity of language, and a general avoidance or persecution of all who presumed to side with the British government. The words and deeds of an individual at Boston were made known everywhere, and the Tories, as they were called, could not travel or show their faces anywhere without being reviled and threatened as enemies to their country. Liberty has its arbitrary devices as well as despotism. Descriptions of persons, like the *signalémens* on a French passport, were scattered far and wide, so that the travelling Tories found themselves recognised even where they least expected to be known.

The committee of correspondence had not long been at work when the people of Boston got up a declaration or manifesto, which treated the authority of the British parliament with very little respect. They denied the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies in any matters whatsoever; they denounced the famous declaratory act recommended by Chatham, and passed in 1766,

as an arbitrary, unjust assumption of a legislative power without their consent; they charged the British ministry with designing to complete a system of slavery begun in the House of Commons, &c. Six hundred copies of this paper were printed and dispersed throughout the province of Massachusetts, accompanied with an address to the people, urging them "not to dose any longer, or sit supinely in indifference, whilst the iron hand of oppression was daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty."* The Virginians—the most active of all in giving efficacy to the corresponding committee—did not immediately follow the example of the Bostonians in this manifesto; and the Bostonians themselves became convinced that they had gone too far, and they subsequently apologised to the British government, declaring that they had been provoked by the intemperate proceedings of their new governor, Mr. Hutchinson, but that they were in their hearts true and faithful subjects of his majesty, and thought themselves happy in their connexion with Great Britain. But just at this critical moment, when men's minds seemed wavering even in New England, and when the southern and middle colonies were comparatively peaceable, communications were produced from Benjamin Franklin, their agent in England, conveying alarming intelligence as to the real disposition of the king, the ministry, the parliament, and the British nation at large, and inclosing letters addressed by Hutchinson and Oliver, the governor and deputy governor of Massachusetts, to the home government. These letters, which were strictly pri-

Franklin. From a Picture by Martinet.

vate and confidential, conveyed to the secretary of state for the colonies some unfavourable pictures of the leaders of the movement, and seemed to recommend coercive measures. As to the intention of Franklin in transmitting these letters, there can be no doubt. Nor was he disappointed as to the effect they produced upon the cooling spirits of the New Englanders. The perusal of them operated like a match thrown upon a train of gunpowder. All who saw them or heard of them felt convinced that they were to be proceeded against with fire and sword, and that their governor and lieutenant-governor were in league with the most violent part of the British cabinet, and were amusing them with gentle words and fair promises, while they were actually preparing their destruction. A committee was appointed to wait upon Governor Hutchinson, and to demand whether he acknowledged his signature, taking care the while not to trust the letters out of their own hands. Hutchinson would not be guilty of a useless falsehood; and he acknowledged his handwriting, with which every person present was well acquainted; and hereupon the House of Assembly drew up a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging the governor with betraying his trust and slandering the people under his government, by giving private, partial, false, and malicious information; declaring him an enemy to the colony, and praying for his instant removal, together with that of Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant-governor. Copies of this petition and remonstrance, and of the letters which Franklin had sent them, were soon scattered all over the continent, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi—from the shores of the Atlantic to the regions in the far west. The leaders and movers found in them a text to justify extreme measures; and men who had been cool and cautious before—half longing for they knew not what, and half relying on the old connexion and the friendship and the traditions of England—now became impatient, intolerant, suspicious, hot, and altogether unruly.

Long before matters had got to this height—in the preceding year, 1772—the people of Rhode Island had not only offered the greatest insult to the British flag, but had also boarded, captured, and burned a British ship of war. This was the Gaspee schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, who had been exceedingly active in enforcing the laws against smuggling—a business to which the Rhode Islanders were much addicted. The Rhode Island packet, that sailed between Providence and Newport, came up one evening with colours flying and refused the ordinary compliment to the national flag of Great Britain. Lieutenant Dudingston made a signal for her to lay to and lower her colours, but no notice was taken. He then did what is usual on such occasions—he fired a gun across her bows. The gun was no more heeded than the signal. The officer then crowded sail and gave chace. The commander of the packet, well knowing she drew less water than the king's ship, stood in for land, and ran along shore as close as possible. The Gaspee followed and soon ran aground, where she was left fast, to the extreme delight of the Rhode Islanders. So far, however, no great harm was

* Almon, Remembrancer, or Collection of Documents relating to the American Troubles.

done: the schooner lay at her ease on a sandy bottom and in a quiet sea, and in a few hours the returning tide would have floated her off. But some people of Providence town thought it a fine opportunity for revenge, and, beating up for recruits, they presently filled a number of whale boats with armed men, and in the middle of the night they pulled off to the Gaspee, which expected no such assault, and which lay in such a manner as not to be able to use her guns. Lieutenant Dudingston was wounded in attempting to defend his quarter-deck; his small crew was overpowered, beaten, insulted, and carried ashore; and then fire was set to the vessel, and she was burned to the water's edge. It was perfectly well known who had been the instigators of, and the principal actors in, this daring outrage:—one was Mr. John Brown, a considerable merchant of Providence; another was Captain Whipple; and nearly every one of the two hundred and odd men that acted under them was not only well known on the spot, but in the habit of boasting of the exploit in the neighbouring country. Yet, though government offered a reward of 500*l.*, with pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, for the discovery and apprehension of any of the persons concerned, they could never procure any information that would have sufficed for a conviction in a court of law, and the commissioners appointed to investigate the matter reported to ministers that they could obtain no evidence. It appears that the Rhode Islanders made it a common concern, and threatened every man that should turn informer with destruction.

It is not easy to conceive a more irritating case than this. And now, when the spirit of discontent was at its height—when the letters transmitted by Franklin had conjured up all kinds of dark visions and ungentle spirits,—two ships arrived at Boston with the cargoes of tea which Lord North had allowed the East India Company to export from England duty free. Previously to their arrival meetings had been held, and mobs had been raised, to terrify the consignees into an engagement not to receive the tea.* Another meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and of all the neighbouring towns was now called, and it led to the instant and unanimous declaration that a resolution previously passed at Philadelphia, asserting, among other things, that the tea ships were sent for the purpose of enslaving and *poisoning* all free-born Americans, should be adopted; and that the tea which came charged with a duty to be paid in America, should not be landed, but be sent back in the same bottoms. At the same time they held out terrible threats to the captains of the tea ships, and to all who should dare to give them any encouragement or assistance. This was on the 30th of November of the present year 1773. The consignees, by letter, offered to store the teas till they could receive further instructions; but this moderate proposal was rejected with anger and disdain; and a strong guard of Bostonians were sent down to Griffin's Wharf to watch the ships, and prevent a single leaf of tea from being landed. The men appointed to this duty were armed with muskets, rifles, swords, and cutlasses, and they were regularly relieved day and night. The committee of correspondence plied the pen with incessant industry, and bolder doctrines were now announced to all the towns and settlements. On the 14th of December another crowded meeting was held at the Old South Meeting House, whence orders were sent to the captains of the tea vessels to return to England without further delay. The answer received was, that the collector could not give any clearance until the vessels had discharged their cargoes. As for the captains of the tea ships, they could do nothing, for the governor had ordered that they should not be allowed to pass the forts without a permit signed by himself, and Admiral Montague had sent down two ships of war to guard all the passages out of the harbour. This conduct has been bitterly reprehended by writers who can discover nothing wrong on the side of the Americans, and nothing right on the side of government; but cooler minds will reflect that to have submitted to the commands of a popular meeting, and to have bowed to its decree that English shipping were not free to stay in an American port, and that the English flag could not cover English property in one of our colonies—a colony too which had just assured us that she wished to remain, what she was, a dependence of the British crown—would have been an absolute renunciation of sovereignty. To give a colour to their high pretensions, the Bostonians and those acting with them ought to have spoken more plainly, and not have continued to express in the same breath allegiance and independence. A few of the movers did indeed assume, at this moment, the true tone of revolution. Mr. Josiah Quincey, junior, for example, told the meeting on the 16th that this quarrel about tea must end in a contest carried on by bullets and cannon balls. "The exertions of this day," said he, "will call forth events, which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy!" About three o'clock in the afternoon the question was put to the meeting whether they would abide by their former resolutions with respect to the tea; and it was carried in the affirmative without one dissenting voice. They then sent to desire the governor to give the ships a permit to depart. The governor replied that he could not, consistently with the laws and his duty to the king, give any pass unless the vessels were properly qualified from the Custom House. The meeting began to discuss this *horrible*

* The houses of the consignees had been surrounded, their windows and doors also had been broken, and they had been obliged to fly for their lives to Castle William, where the two regiments were still quartered. The governor had in vain attempted to suppress this riot, the sheriff had been grossly insulted for attempting to read a moderate proclamation, and the council had positively refused either advice or assistance.

answer; but the debate was presently interrupted by a person in the front gallery of the meeting-house, who was disguised like an Indian, and who uttered the war-whoop in a tone so natural, that he might have been taken for a real savage. This yell was succeeded by the general cry of "A mob! a mob!" Some cautious Bostonians then moved that the meeting should be dissolved; and it was dissolved accordingly, before any overt act was committed. By this time it was six o'clock at night and quite dark. Many of the people ran at once from the Old Meeting House to Griffin's Wharf, where the tea ships were lying, and where they were met by a number of armed men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, and by a number of skippers, sailors, boat-men, and men of colour, which latter class had not forgotten the fate of Crispus Attucks. In overwhelming force these rioters and sham Indians boarded the ships, broke bulk, hoisted out the chests, and discharged their contents into the sea with much joy and jubilation. The "sons of liberty" then returned quietly to their homes, having destroyed property to the amount of many thousands of pounds. When the blow was struck many of the Bostonians began to tremble for their charter, their property, or their trade; and some of them attempted to throw all the blame upon the wilful obstinacy of the governor. On the other hand Governor Hutchinson represented to the ministry at home, with perfect truth, that it had been absolutely out of his power to prevent the destruction of the tea, without yielding to unreasonable demands, and thereby giving up government, and rendering himself obnoxious to his employers.*

A. D. 1774.—Although the British parliament was assembled much later than usual, it met before this last startling intelligence from Boston was received. In opening the session, on the 13th of January, the king in his speech said, that the unusual length of the last session of parliament had made him desirous of giving them as long a recess as the public service would admit: he spoke of Russia and the Porte, of the bad state of the gold coin, and said nothing else, except that all foreign powers continued to have the same pacific disposition with himself. The addresses were voted in both Houses with little or no debate. The first parliamentary struggle took place on the ministerial motion for 20,000 seamen, as in the preceding year. The opposition said it was absurd to talk of peace and yet keep up such an establishment; and they called upon ministers to answer in what manner they had disposed of the supplies voted for the navy from the year 1763. In reply to the latter question, Lord North observed that he was not bound to answer for what had been done before he came into office,—that it could not be expected he should account for the conduct of others. He declared that the present state of our navy was admirable, that the dock-yards were well supplied with seasoned timber, and all other materials; and that since he had had the management of public affairs the money voted had been honestly and well spent. The motion was carried without a division—"a division," says Burke, "not having been usual, for several years, upon a matter of supplies." Alderman Sawbridge made his annual motion for shortening the duration of parliaments; but he did not succeed in getting up a debate, and, the question being called for, the motion was rejected by a majority of 221 against 94. On the same day Sir George Saville made *his* annual motion about the Middlesex election and the infringement of the rights of electors. He said that "he flattered himself he had this year some glimmering hopes of carrying his question; that the House was not now in that heat and ferment in which it formerly was; that truth had now a chance of prevailing; that the House was now in cool deliberation, and no doubt this question, by being calmly considered, might meet with friends, who in times more heated than the present were of another opinion; that this was not a question meant to stagger and overthrow administration; such a thing was the farthest from his thoughts; that he himself would wish to grant the ministry a long lease of their possessions, if this great object might prevail." This motion brought on a warm debate, and produced a closer division than might have been expected, the ministerial majority being only 59, or 206 against 147. Experience seemed to have proved the excellence of George Grenville's controverted election act; and it was now proposed to render it perpetual. This motion met with considerable opposition, which was rendered the more formidable by Lord North's appearing at its head. It was contended that the Grenville act was meant to be temporary and experimental; that, though in some particular instances it might hitherto have worked well, no conclusion could be drawn as to its general effect until it were tested by a general election; and that, when that experiment was tried upon it, it might be left to live or die by its own merits. But the minister on this occasion found himself deserted by many of those whom he considered as certain friends, and who had usually gone with the court; and he was left in a humiliating minority, the numbers being 250 in support of the question against 122 who opposed it. After this division the perpetuating bill was carried with great ease through both Houses, and it received the royal assent before the end of the session. The country at large prized the Grenville act so highly that most of the members who voted with Lord North on this occasion were afraid of showing themselves at the next general election. Yet North weathered the storm, and he was soon supported in the House by the usual large majority. This effect was partly produced by the strong national resentment against the Americans for their exploits at Boston and Rhode Island. Government must have received the information some weeks before; but it was not until the 7th of March that

* Dr. Gordon, Hist. Amer. Rev.—Stedman, Hist. Amer. War.—Documents in Almon's Remembrancer—Ann. Reg.—Gent. Mag.

the king sent a message to both Houses, acquainting them with all the practices carried on in the colonies, and particularly with the outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston. His majesty confided in the wisdom and zeal of parliament to enable him to put an immediate stop to these disorders, and make regulations and permanent provisions for better securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. This message was accompanied with a mass of papers, consisting of letters from Governor Hutchinson, Admiral Montague, the consignees of the tea, dispatches from governors and officers in other colonies, and a variety of extracts and other documents, the most numerous and inflammable American manifestoes, hand-bills, pamphlets, and fugitive pieces. These papers made the House of Commons as hot as Faneuil Hall or the Old Meeting House at Boston. Yet, if less precipitancy would have become them more, it is quite certain, from the temper the Americans were in, that moderation would have been interpreted into a confession of weakness and fear. A motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This motion produced a warm debate. The opposition, however, admitted that the conduct of the Bostonians and Rhode Islanders was exasperating in an extreme degree, and disclaimed all intention of impeding the measures of government in a matter of such high importance: but they condemned the manner in which hasty, ill-digested addresses were passed without deliberate inquiry, and the House continually pledged for the performance of acts which were never further thought of. Ministers urged that it was worse than useless to rake up the past; and that now the great points of the question might be fairly canvassed. They asked whether America was or was not to be any longer dependent on this country?—how far?—in what degree?—in what manner? *It might be a question whether the colonies should not be given up;* but, if this question should be decided in the negative, then it would be necessary to examine in what manner their subordination should be preserved, and the authority of the king and parliament of Great Britain enforced. The immense majority of the House agreed in condemning all retrospect, and the address was carried without a division. At this moment Mr. Bollan, agent for the council of Massachusetts Bay, presented a petition, praying he might be permitted to lay before the House the Acta Regia of Queen Elizabeth and her successors for the security of the colonists and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. The Commons received the petition without difficulty, but took no farther notice of it than by ordering that it should lie upon the table. Before these proceedings, and even before the arrival of the intelligence of the tea riot, Doctor Franklin, the agent for the colony or house of representatives of Massachusetts, had met with a severe castigation from the sharp tongue of a crown lawyer, for his conduct in the affair of the letters. That affair, moreover, had led to bloodshed in England, for a duel had been fought in Hyde Park, between Mr. Whately, banker in Lombard-street, and brother to Mr. Thomas Whately, late secretary to the treasury, and member for Castle Rising, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Temple, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire; and the unfortunate banker had been dangerously wounded. Upon this event, which caused considerable excitement, Franklin wrote and published a letter, declaring that neither Mr. Whately nor the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire had anything to do with the mischievous letters, and that both of them were totally ignorant and innocent of that transaction. "I think it incumbent on me," wrote Franklin, "to declare, for the prevention of further mischief, that I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question. Mr. Whately could not communicate them, because they were never in his possession; and, for the same reason, they could not have been taken from him by Mr. Temple. They were not of the nature of *private letters between friends;* they were written by public officers to persons in public stations, on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were, therefore, handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures: their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and, by the steps recommended, to widen the breach, which they effected. The chief caution expressed with regard to privacy was, to keep their contents from the colony agents, who, the writers apprehended, might return them, or copies of them, to America. That apprehension was, it seems, well founded; for the first agent who laid his hands on them thought it his duty to transmit them to his constituents." * On Saturday, the 29th of January, Franklin, with Mr. Dunning as counsel to speak to the Bostonian petition for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor,† appeared before the privy council, where thirty-five lords were assembled, besides those in office. Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, attended as counsel for the governor. Mr. Dunning having asked, on the

* This letter was signed "B. Franklin, agent for the house of representatives of Massachusetts Bay," and was dated Craven-street, December 25th, 1773. As a matter of course, it left in mystery the means by which the philosopher had got possession of the letters. But the secret has since transpired. "It is only within these seven years," says the writer of the History of the American Revolution, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1830, "that it has been ascertained that Governor Hutchinson's letters were put into Franklin's hands by a Dr. Williamson, who, without any suggestion on his part, had procured them by stratagem from the office where they had been deposited. This curious fact is stated, with many particulars, in a Memoir of Dr. Williamson, by Dr. Hosack, of New York."

† The petition got up in consequence of the letters he had transmitted.

part of his clients, the reason of being ordered to attend, and having spoken shortly on the general object of the petition, was replied to by Wedderburn, whose naturally sharp tongue was made sharper on this occasion by his friendship and sympathy for Mr. Whately, the banker, who was at that moment lying between life and death.* After entering largely into the constitution and temper of the province of Massachusetts, he concluded with a most scurrilous invective against the double dealing and malice of Franklin. According to another great philosopher, whose sympathy with Franklin and his cause were perfect, and whose affection for his native country had been nearly extinguished at the time he wrote, by a popular and brutal persecution—"Mr. Wedderburn had a complete triumph: at the sallies of his sarcastic wit, all the members of the council, the president himself (Lord Gower) not excepted, frequently laughed outright; and no person belonging to the council behaved with decent gravity, except Lord North, who came in late."† The Earl of Shelburne, who conveyed to Chatham an ample account of what passed, taxes Wedderburn with violence and indecency of language; but he does not mention that the members of the council misbehaved themselves so grossly. It was no laughing matter: Wedderburn was no buffoon, and his invective was calculated to arouse the violent passions, to provoke anything rather than laughter. It concluded with this indignant burst of feeling:—"Amidst tranquil events, here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge'—

> '——— Know, then, 'twas I.
> I forged the letter—I dispos'd the picture—
> I hated—I despis'd—and I destroy!'

I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed to the bloody African is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?" Whatever may have been the effect upon the members of the council, the invective sunk deep into the soul of Franklin. It is said that he controlled his feelings in that, presence, standing in a corner of the room without the least apparent emotion; but it is added, that, when he got back to his lodgings, he took off the suit of clothes he had worn, and vowed he would never wear it again until he should sign the degradation of England and the independence of America. On the following morning he is said to have told a friend, who breakfasted with him, that he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; that he had been accused of clandestinely procuring the letters, and sending them to America with a view to excite animosities and embroil the two countries; but that, in fact, he did not even know that such letters existed, till they were brought to him as agent of the colony, in order to be sent to his constituents.‡ He never would name the person from whom he got the letters, but said, some time after, that he had received them from a gentlemen that was since dead.* Our highest estimation of that philosopher's genius and address is by no means incompatible with the belief, that he was in more respects than one a *cunning man*, and a total stranger to some of those high and delicate notions which we, improperly, call *chivalrous*. We believe that by nature, by habit, by the whole course of his life, Franklin was disposed to be a republican; and that, from the very beginning of the troubles, he aimed at nothing short of revolution, independence, and the establishment of a commonwealth in his native country. These aspirations in themselves might be honest, laudable, noble, but they cannot justify the employment of base means, or excuse the duplicity, the mental reservation, and the cajolery (practised chiefly to keep the opposition party on their side) which Franklin and his countrymen persisted in so long. It is said that that liberal-minded Whig, the Earl of Shelburne, saw through Franklin's mask as early as the year 1766, when the British government was adopting measures of conciliation, and abolishing the stamp act; and that his lordship told the philosopher, that what he and the Americans wanted was a total independence; to which Franklin replied, that his lordship was much mistaken—that all they wanted was a total exemption from taxation by the British parliament.† Yet, according to Adam Smith, Franklin said, in the presence of a particular friend of his, and with much triumph, "that, whatever measures Great Britain might choose to pursue with regard to her colonies, whether mild or vigorous, they would equally tend to bring about that great and desirable event, the entire independence of America."‡ Franklin, it is added, never made any secret of this wish and intention when among private friends; and the letters which he addressed from London to private friends and to public bodies, in America, were generally charged with matter to awaken suspicion, to wound pride, and to excite a determined spirit of resistance. He says, over and over again, that neither the intention of the British government nor the temper of the British people is to be trusted; that, if America does not insure light, life, and strength of her own, her sun is set for ever. And while he was writing these letters he was telling his best advocates, the leaders of the opposition in the House of Com-

* Letter of the Earl of Shelburne to Chatham, in Chat. Corres.

† Letter from Doctor Priestley, dated November, 1802.

‡ Letter of Doctor Priestley already quoted.

* Even that very partial writer Gordon admits, at the time, that —"there is something mysterious in this business, which it is apprehended *will not bear a discovery at present*. It is suspected that the letters were procured *out of some public office*, and that Mr. Temple is not so perfectly ignorant of all circumstances as Doctor Franklin's language seems to express."—*Hist. Amer. Rev.* A long and minute account of his whole conduct in this affair was found among Franklin's papers in his own hand-writing, and has been printed by his grandson Mr. W. Temple Franklin. See Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, 3rd edition, vol. i. pp. 360—399. He states that the letters were given to him by "a gentleman of character and distinction,"—"whom," he adds, "I am not at present permitted to name."

† Gordon, Hist. Amer. Rev.

‡ Letter from Doctor Adam Smith, author of the Wealth of Nations, &c., to Doctor Roebuck, of Birmingham; printed in the Second Number of the Verulam, London, 1827.

mons and in the House of Lords, that the wish dearest to his heart, and to the hearts of all honest Americans, was a continuance of the connexion with the dear old mother country.

Hitherto Franklin had been allowed to retain his profitable place of post-master general for America; but three days after receiving Wedderburn's chastisement in the council he was dismissed by letter from that office. Though far too wise to be a miser or a niggard, we know that the philosopher was not indifferent to money:—indeed, setting aside his discoveries in natural science, the best or most prominent part of his philosophy is the art of making money or thriving in the world; his morality is essentially a calculation—a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence—a dry and hard utilitarianism, which, assisted no doubt by many local, natural, and inevitable circumstances, is supposed by some to have left too deep an imprint on the minds of his countrymen, who have grown up under lessons of his teaching and institutions of his forming. Therefore we think we do not err in surmising that, if Wedderburn's invective was a cap full of wind, the deprivation of this profitable place was a steady breeze to fill his sail and propel him on his bold and most hazardous voyage; the result of which, after all, must have been far different, at least at the time, from what it was, if it had not been for a most marvellous and incredible combination of accident, craft, imbecility, and madness. Thus much we may say without giving any reasonable offence to American pride, or without renouncing our inward conviction that the colonists must have succeeded at last, and that we should have lost and not have gained—possibly not even on the score of military honour—by prolonging the desperate struggle. Few minds could have more differed in essentials than those of the English orator and the American statesman and philosopher; and we believe, even now, out of office and violent in opposition as he was, Chatham would have held up Franklin to the hatred and detestation of Englishmen if he had been fully aware of his real and extreme intentions; for the great orator, let it always be remembered, held from first to last, and even in the very fury of his opposition to everything that was done or proposed by Lord North and his cabinet, that the dependency of the colonies was absolutely and vitally essential, not merely to the honour and greatness and wealth of the mother country, but also to her safety and existence; and that the moment America should be free, wholly independent of, and separated from, Great Britain, the sun of England would have set for ever. Yet in a pleasant illusion, suited to harmonise with his own views and his own oratory—in a kind of half dream filled up by party figures and party objects—Chatham hastened to express his sympathy with the profound American agent, and his detestation of the treatment he had received from Wedderburn and the government.

Following up the warm and almost unopposed address on American affairs, Lord North, on Monday the 14th of March, moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the customs, courts of justice, and all government offices, from Boston to New Salem—"a step," says Gibbon, "so detrimental to the former town as must soon reduce it to our own terms, and yet of so mild an appearance that it was agreed to without a division, and almost without a debate."* It encountered, indeed, scarcely more opposition than the address had done: on its first introduction it was received with very general applause, and it was pushed on with such vigour that it did not remain long in that House, and on the 28th of March was passed by the Lords, who had some lively conversation upon it, but no debate.† The Boston Port Bill, as it was called, was generally considered not only just but lenient, considering the amount of the provocation and offence given by the Bostonians, and as it was evident its provisions were not meant to be lasting, but only to be carried into effect until some reparation should be made. During its progress through the Commons a petition was presented from Bollan, the agent of the council of Massachusetts Bay, desiring to be heard against it; but this prayer the House refused to grant. And, on the third reading, another petition was presented by the lord mayor of London, in the name of several natives and inhabitants of North America, who strongly insisted that it was unreasonable to deprive Boston of its trade, because *some of the people* had committed unlawful acts; that the bill was harsh and unjust, and that its tendency was to alienate the affections of America from this country. On the 31st of March the bill received the royal assent, and the trade of Boston was annihilated. Lord North's tone was moderate. Chatham spoke favourably of it, and of the candid and right

* Letter to Lord Sheffield.

† Such is the account given by Burke in the Annual Register. Lord Shelburne, in a letter to Chatham, thus describes what passed in the Upper House:—"Enclosed I send your lordship the Boston Port Bill; *which underwent a fuller, and by all accounts a fairer, discussion on Tuesday in the House of Lords, than it did in the House of Commons.* The debate took a general turn; and Lord Camden, in his reply to Lord Mansfield, met the question fully, and even as near the extent of his former principles as he could well do. The remarkable features of the day were—the notorious division among the ministry, which was very near avowed, some calling what passed in Boston commotion, others open rebellion—a more than disregard to Lord Dartmouth—and somewhat of the same sort towards Lord North. Lord Mansfield took upon himself a considerable lead; alleged that it was the last overt act of high treason, proceeding from very lenity and want of foresight; that it was, however, the luckiest event that could befall this country, for that all might be recovered, for compensation to the India Company he regarded as no object of the bill; that if this act passed we should be past the Rubicon; that the Americans would then know that we should temporise no longer; and if it passed with tolerable unanimity Boston would submit, and all would pass *sine cæde*. The House allowed me very patiently, though very late at night, to state the tranquil and the loyal state in which I left the colonies, with some other very home facts; and I cannot say I met with that weight of prejudice which I apprehended. Lord Temple, having come down to attend General Fraser's bill, declared, early in this debate, that he did not intend voting, or giving any opinion on the measure, but that the backwardness of the ministers to explain their plan appeared an indignity to the House; that they were mistaken if they thought the measure a trifling one; that in his opinion nothing could justify the ministers hereafter, except the town of Boston proving in an actual state of rebellion; but he feared the ministry had neither heads nor hearts to conduct their system. During the whole debate the ministers would never declare whether they would this session repeal the act or not. In regard to their plan, Lord Dartmouth appeared to stop after declaring the proposed alteration of the charter; but Lord Suffolk declared very plainly that other very determined measures should be offered before the end of the session."

principles of Lord Dartmouth, the present secretary for American affairs.* Afterwards, on the 19th of April, Mr. Rose Fuller, in the Commons, moved that the House should that day se'ennight resolve itself into a committee for taking into consideration the question of a total repeal of the unfortunate tea-duty. Ministers, however, maintained that this was not the proper time for such a measure, arguing that repeal at this moment would show such a degree of wavering and inconsistency as would defeat the good effects of the vigorous plan which had been at length adopted; and the motion was negatived. Ministers remembered, and it was difficult for any one else to forget, that concession on this side of the water had not in one single instance been met with a return of kindness and good will on the other. Moreover, whatever might be thought of internal taxation for America, the great body of parliament and of the nation, including the most enlightened, the most liberal, the best men then living in England, certainly entertained the opinion that Great Britain had the right to tax those colonies externally, in the way of duties on merchandise, port duties, &c. And this had been asserted and maintained by successive ministers—by Charles Townshend, by George Grenville, by the Marquess of Rockingham, and by none more imperiously than by Chatham himself. Writers of the most opposite views and characters, men who differed on nearly every other subject—Gibbon, Burke, Hume, Doctor Johnson, Adam Smith, and Soame Jenyns—had all agreed on this one point.

On the 28th of March, while the Boston Port Bill was before the Lords, Lord North, in a committee of the whole House, brought in a bill "For the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay." The purport of this bill was to alter the constitution of that province, as it stood upon the charter of William III.; to do away with some of those popular elections which decided everything in that colony; to take the executive power out of the hands of the democratic party, and to vest the nomination of the members of the council, of the judges, and of magistrates of all kinds, including the sheriffs, in the crown, and in some cases in the king's governor. In support of the bill, Lord North said that the province of Massachusetts Bay had been turbulent beyond bearing, and had set an ill example to all the colonies; that an executive power was wholly wanting in that province, where the force of the civil power consisted solely in the *posse comitatus*, that is to say, in the very people who committed the riots. He asked, if the democratic party showed a contempt of the laws, how any governor was to enforce them? Magistrates he could not appoint; he could give no order without seven members of the popularly elected council assenting to it; and, let the military be never so numerous and active, they could not move in support of the civil magistracy, when no civil magistrate would call upon them for support. He urged that it was in vain making laws and regulations here in England, when there were none found to execute them in America: but he hoped that the present bill would create an executive power and give strength and spirit to the civil magistracy. He professed himself open to discussion and to a change of opinion and of the provisions of the bill whenever it might be proved erroneous. A much warmer debate ensued, and the opposition was much more active and united, than upon the Boston Port Bill. Lord North was true to his promise, and the bill was considerably altered. As it stood when presented anew after the Easter holidays, the council of Massachusetts Bay was put on the same footing as the councils of the other colonies; the nomination was vested in the crown, and they were to have no negative voice, and were not to appoint, as hitherto, the judicial officers of the province. The mode of choosing juries was also altered, and the continual assemblies and town meetings held in Boston were no longer to be convened without the consent of the governor, unless for the annual election of certain officers. The opposition condemned the whole bill as arbitrary and tyrannical, and lauded to the skies the democratic institutions of the province. They showed that the Bostonians and their neighbours had flourished for near fourscore years under that democratic charter; but what they neither showed nor attempted to show was, how those institutions could possibly harmonise with the different system of the mother country. The charter might suit the colony if it ceased to be a colony and became an independent state; but neither Dowdeswell nor Sir George Saville, who were warmest in defence of the charter, approved of or contemplated independence and disseverance. There was, we repeat, an utter incompatibility between the charter and a dependence on a constitutional monarchy—between the spirit of New England liberty and the spirit of liberty as trained and moderated in old England. In the course of the debates upon the bill much eloquence was displayed, and many predictions were uttered, and by being uttered in that place and in that manner these predictions tended to their own fulfilment. General Conway could see nothing but increased exasperation, misfortune, and ruin, from the adoption of these measures; and he and others asked for more time to consider what was best to be done, and what crimes and errors the New Englanders had really been guilty of. Replying to this delaying proposition, Lord North said, with more heat than was usual with him, "I will tell you what the Americans have done: they have tarred and feathered

* In the latter part of the year 1772 some important changes had been made in the ministry. The Earl of Hillsborough resigned his posts of head of the board of trade, and secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded, in both his places, by the Earl of Dartmouth, who was generally understood to be more moderate, or more favourable to the Americans. Franklin considered it a victory to have got rid of Hillsborough, and hoped, from the regard Lord Dartmouth had always expressed for him, to be able to obtain more favour for the colonies. At the same time Viscount Townshend was recalled from Ireland and made master-general of the ordnance; and Earl Harcourt was sent over as lord-lieutenant. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance in lieu of General Conway, who was made governor of Jersey.

the officers and subjects of Great Britain; they have plundered our merchants, burnt our ships, denied all obedience to our laws and authority! Our conduct has been clement and long-forbearing, but now it is incumbent to take a different course. Whatever may be the consequence, we must risk something, or all is over." Governor Pownall, who declared that he spoke for the last time on the subject, told ministers that their measures would be resisted, not by force of arms, but by the united opposition of the whole population. He knew the effects likely to be produced by the corresponding committees, and by the dismissal of Franklin from the post-office. "The committees of correspondence," said he, "are in constant communication: they do not trust now to the conveyance of the post-office; they have set up a constitutional courier which will soon grow up to the superseding of your post-office. As soon as the intelligence of these affairs reaches them, they will judge it necessary to communicate with each other. It will be found inconvenient] and ineffectual so to do by letters; they must confer. They will hold a conference; and to what these committees, thus met in congress, will grow up, I will not say. Should recourse be had to arms, you will hear of other officers than those appointed by your governor. Then, as in the great civil wars of this country, it will be of little consequence to dispute who were the aggressors." Sir Richard Sutton concluded the present debate, which was on the second reading of the bill, by stating broadly and truly that the Americans, though they did not confess it, were aiming at total independence, and would never again submit quietly to English laws and regulations of trade. "If," said he, "you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you, he has none, nor any governor but Jesus Christ." And such, at least, was the language of the New Englanders. On the third reading, which took place on the 2nd of May, Sir William Meredith, who had carried Whig principles as far as any man,* insisted that the parliament of Great Britain had an indisputable right to lay duties upon the Americans, and to tax them externally. Mr. Thomas Townshend, though equally warm in opposition to ministers on general points, gave them his support on the present occasion, declaring that he should consider himself the lowest wretch upon earth, if he suffered party prejudices to smother his inward conviction that the bill was a necessary one and a good one. He declared that the charter, the town meetings, and the juries of Massachusetts Bay all required to be altered and brought into conformity with the constitution and practice of this country. Thurlow, the attorney-general, maintained that, while the sovereignty over the colonies remained in this country, the right of taxing was not, and never could be, surrendered. Lord North denied that his bill would destroy any civil rights, or establish anything like a military government: nothing was altered, he said, except the civil government. The measure might not succeed, but he would hope for good consequences from it. England had not been a harsh mother to America, and the return of the Americans to their duty would immediately re-animate her kindness. Colonel Barré condemned the violent language against America which had been used in both Houses: "In the Lords," said he, "the phrase was, we have passed the Rubicon; in the Commons *Delenda est Carthago*." Having taken a very erroneous view of the probable effects of the reforming ministry of M. Maurepas and the financial theories of M. Necker, he represented France to be in a most flourishing condition, and prophesied that she would be sure to interfere if we engaged in a war with our colonies. Yet, though the finances of France were really in a condition which ought to have suggested a different course, her pride was wounded by the loss of Canada and the whole course of the last war, and we shall find her fulfilling Barré's prophecy, and thereby hurrying on a far more terrible revolution at home. Mr. Burke spoke with his usual warmth and eloquence against the bill; and now he was joined, as by a personal friend and pupil, by Mr. Charles Fox, who had again disagreed with his superiors in the cabinet, and was dismissed by them just as his abilities were ripening and becoming of value. He had spoken and voted against the Boston Port Act, and he now spoke and voted against this bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. Ministers seem scarcely to have been aware of his power and eloquence until they had lost him past recovery.* According to Gibbon, the historian, who took his seat for the first time in parliament soon after Fox's conversion, he took the vast compass of a question, and discovered powers for regular debate which neither his friends hoped nor his enemies dreaded.† On the present occasion he seems to have denied the right to tax America either internally or externally, and to have recommended, like General Conway, delay, circumspection, and mildness. The bill was, however, passed by the overwhelming majority of 239 against 64. In the Upper House it was criticised and opposed, and vehemently denounced by a few Lords; but there too it was carried by an immense majority.‡

The absence of the great orator was sensibly

* It is to be noted, however, that Sir William had just been made comptroller of his majesty's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy council.

* In the preceding month of December Charles Fox was put somewhat at his ease in money matters, by his father Lord Holland paying his debts, which amounted to 140,000*l.*!—*Gibbon, Letters to Lord Sheffield.* Two or three weeks before the third reading of the Boston Port Bill—on which occasion Fox appeared for the first time in decided opposition—he had been turned out of his place in a very unceremonious manner. In a letter to Chatham, dated February 27th, the Earl of Shelburne says,—"On Thursday night Mr. Charles Fox received a letter from Lord North, acquainting him that the king had ordered a new commission to be made out for the Treasury, and that *his* name should be left out of it."—*Chat. Corres.* The following was the minister's laconic epistle to Fox:—"Sir, his majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the Treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name. NORTH."

† Letters to Lord Sheffield.

‡ By 92 against 20. Eleven peers signed a protest in seven long articles. The practice of protesting was continued by some of the lords in opposition all through these American debates.

felt on this occasion; but Chatham, complaining of his gout, kept away at Burton Pynsent, writing to his friend Shelburne that England was hurrying on to perdition, and that he knew not how to prevent it. "In this forlorn state of things," he writes in April, "your lordship does me too much honour in thinking one man more at Westminster of any consequence. I have too long seen my no weight to dream any longer on that subject; nor have I the least ambition left to be talked of any more, in a world I am unable to be of service to. I foresee inextricable confusion, and a temper in the times ripe to embrace destruction. As to changes surmised, I still incline to discredit them; unless Lord North should wish to retire from a too dangerous and painful pre-eminence." But efforts were repeated to draw him from his present retreat, and even ministers were said to be anxious to have his opinion on American affairs. On the 17th of May, six days after the Massachusetts Government Bill had been passed through the Upper House, we find the second Lord Lyttelton — "the wicked Lord," as he was styled, to distinguish him from his religious father—writing to Earl Temple that "the ministry seem desirous that Lord Chatham should again arise, though, as they hope, not in his fury; for, if he does, they are annihilated!" To this Lyttelton adds—"It will not be possible to delay the king's assent to these bills that are now before the House; but there is another American bill which will serve Lord Chatham's purpose, and that they will put off on his account till Wednesday."* This was a bill for the quartering and better regulating the troops in the colonies. As a compliment to Lord Chatham, the third reading was put off till the 25th, and then further postponed till the 27th, in order that, if he chose to deliver his opinion, he might have the opportunity of so doing. On the latter evening the great orator was in his place, and, in spite of the gout and the other infirmities he had been complaining of, he made a very long speech. He said that the whole history of the American people, their descent, and the character and disposition they inherited from their English ancestors, all gave ground for believing that they would never submit to slavish and tyrannical principles. As was the mother, such were her children. "If," said he, "the British colonies had been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and the spirit of despotism; but, as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers." Yet, he said, he could not help condemning, in the severest manner, the late turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in several instances, and particularly in the late riots at Boston. But he denied that the means pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty were either wise or just. Overlooking the certainly notorious fact—a fact boasted of by the parties themselves—that all classes and conditions of men had taken part in the tea riots, he inveighed against the barbarity of blocking up the harbour and trade of Boston, and involving the innocent in the same punishment with "the guilty profligates" who had destroyed our goods. "Instead," said he, "of making a well-concerted effort to secure the real offenders, you clap a naval and military extinguisher over their port, and punish the crime of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants." He assumed, as a positive fact, what was doubted by nearly every man who had thought upon the subject, and what could be positively disproved by American documents, that the colonies thought not of prosecuting the quarrel; that they were in an excess of gratitude for the repeal of the stamp act, and that, but for the tea tax, which he believed had driven them to despair, we should never more have heard of their insubordination and violence. He then charged Lord North and his colleagues with having purposely irritated them into their late violent deeds—"purposely to be revenged on them for the victory the Americans had gained by the repeal of the stamp act, a measure in which they seemingly acquiesced, but to which at the bottom they were real enemies." He seemed to forget that his own high declaratory act had inflamed the passions of the colonists after the repeal of the stamp act; and the Americans, too, seem to have been willing to forget that fact in the praises he lavished upon them, and the vast use his opposition indisputably was of to their cause; though Chatham, as a minister, would never have granted the objects which they, or their leaders at least, now aimed at. In continuing his present speech he advised the noble lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America; and said again, that, though the British parliament had the supreme legislative power over the colonies, it had no right under heaven to tax them. "Proceed," said he, "like a kind and affectionate parent towards a child whom he tenderly loves; and, instead of these harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors; clasp them once more in your fond and affectionate arms; and I will venture to affirm that you will find them children worthy of their sire. But, should their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, I, my lords, will be among the foremost to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent!" The bill which Chatham was opposing was, nevertheless, passed by a majority of 57 against 16.

* Lord Lyttelton to Earl Temple, in Chat. Cor.—Lyttelton, who was new in politics, but who had displayed very considerable abilities, felt convinced that the court could no longer do without Chatham. In the same letter he says, "I have the pleasure to assure your lordship, that all the comments upon that part of my speech which regarded that great statesman convince me that at present all parties feel the necessity of his interference. Some great little people opened themselves very freely upon that head. The politics of France are changed, and, consequently, the politics of England. *The commonwealth calls loudly for a dictator, and you cannot be mistaken in the man.*"

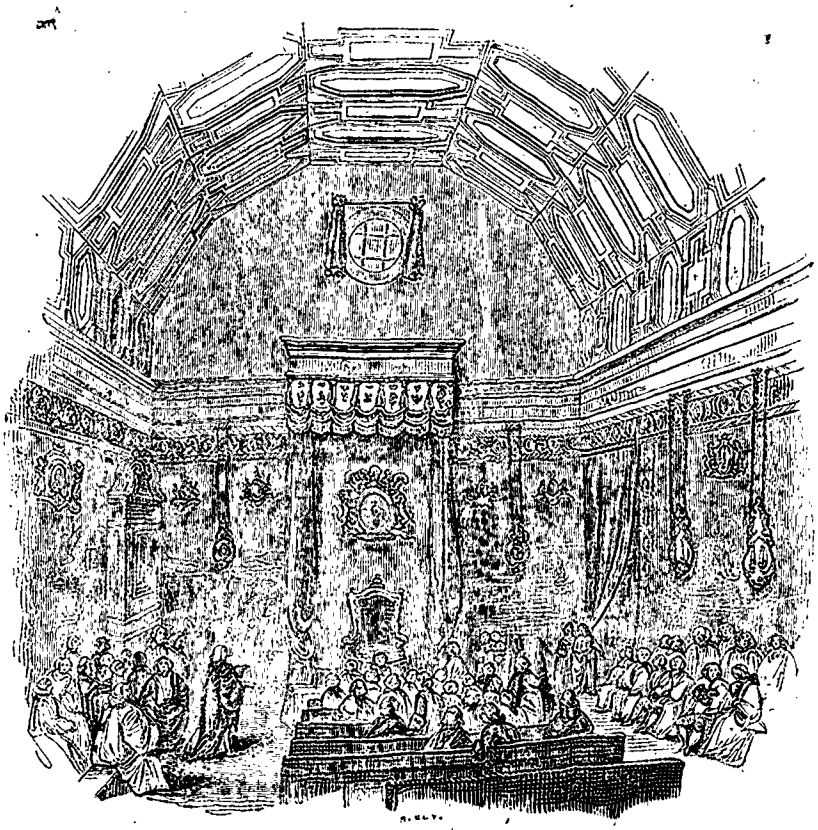
In the mean time, in the Commons, on the 15th of April, the House having resolved itself into committee on American affairs, it was ordered, on the motion of Lord North, that the chairman should move for leave to bring in "a bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." This bill provided that, in case any person should be indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it should appear to the governor that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing tumults and riots, and that, if a fair trial could not be had in the province, he should send the person so indicted to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to be fairly tried there. In contemplation of more tranquil times, the operation of the bill was to be limited to four years. Lord North argued that this bill was absolutely necessary to give effect to the Boston Port Bill and the bill for regulating the Massachusetts government; that it was in vain to appoint a magistracy that would act, if none could be found bold enough to act with them and execute their orders; that these orders would in all probability be resisted by force; that this force would necessitate force on the side of government, and probably occasion blood to be spilt. And he asked what officers would risk this event if the rioters themselves or their abettors were afterwards to sit as their judges? He alleged that even at home such an act as was now proposed was not without precedent: for example, where smuggling was found to be notoriously countenanced in one county, it was customary to remove the trial of offenders to another county; and the Scottish rebels of the year 1745 had been tried in England. He urged that particular privileges ought to give way on some occasions; and that, at home, when the public safety was considered in danger, even the *habeas corpus* had been suspended. He denied that impartiality would ever be shown to persons so indicted by the Bostonians or their neighbours. "But," said he, "we must show the Americans we will no longer sit quietly under their insults; and also that, even when roused, our measures are not cruel and vindictive, but necessary and efficacious. This is the last act I have to propose in order to perfect the plan; the rest will depend on the vigilance of his majesty's servants employed there." He also mentioned that the usual relief of four regiments for America had all been ordered to Boston; and that General Gage, in whose abilities he placed great reliance, was appointed governor and commander-in-chief. The opposition was more vehement, and made use of much better arguments, than on the two former occasions. Colonel Barré, who had given a sort of half support to the Boston Port Bill, denounced the present one as unprecedented, unwarranted, big with misery and oppression to America, and with danger to this country. He made use of the acquittal of Captain Preston and the soldiers who had fired upon the mob as an argument and proof to show that Bostonian courts and juries were to be relied upon for impartial justice; and he denied that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in times of great danger at home, or the trial of the Scottish rebels, or the mode of proceeding against smugglers from smuggling counties, could be admitted as precedents applicable to the case of the Americans. He asked what reliance the Americans could have on the impartiality of English juries, or of juries selected under the crown in other places; and he dwelt with remarkable force on the danger of too much screening the soldiery, whose passions were already inflamed against the people of Massachusetts Bay. He exclaimed—"I have been bred a soldier; I have served long; I respect the profession, and live in the strictest habits of friendship with many officers; but no country gentleman in this House looks on the army with a more jealous eye, or would more strenuously resist the setting them above the control of civil power. No man is to be trusted in such a situation. It is not the fault of the soldier, but the vice of human nature, which, unbridled by law, becomes insolent and licentious, wantonly violating the peace of society, and trampling upon the rights of human kind." Lord North had said that he had had the advantage of being aided by the ablest lawyers, and now Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, explained and defended the principles of the proposed bill, which, he observed, was limited as to time, and intended solely to procure fair play for all that might be concerned or engaged to act under government. The motion for leave to bring in the bill having passed without a division, it was introduced on the 21st of April, and gave rise to another stormy debate. Alderman Sawbridge maintained that the measure proposed was ridiculous and cruel; that witnesses against the crown could never be brought over to England; that the act was meant to enslave the Americans, by a minister who would, if he had the opportunity, enslave England also. "But," continued he, "I sincerely hope the Americans will not admit of the execution of any of these destructive bills, but nobly refuse them all. If they do not, they are the most abject slaves upon earth, and nothing the minister can do is base enough for them!" Lord North, who never lost his temper, replied with great calmness, that the assertion of his intention of enslaving America was about as true as another report, circulated in some quarters, that the Americans had seen through their error, and were willing to make reparation to the East India Company for the tea they had destroyed. Instead of making reparation, his lordship said that letters received recently conveyed intelligence of their renewing their acts of violence. In the course of the debate, a member, who is described as being rarely in opposition (it was, we believe, Mr. Rose Fuller), made use of these remarkable words:—"I will

now take my leave of the whole plan—you will commence your ruin from this day!' I am sorry to say, that not only the House has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the measure. The people, I am sorry to say it, are misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this."* The popular feeling was, indeed, violently excited against the Americans, and the Bostonians in particular; and, as a dissolution of parliament was so near at hand, this probably may have contributed to keep some members away from the House, as much as the reason alleged, that the arguments on the two former bills were equally applicable to this, and parties had already sufficiently tried their strength by division on the bill for altering the Massachusetts government.† There had not been one full attendance during any part of the debates; and on the third reading, on the 6th of May, though the majority was comparatively great, the total numbers were inconsiderable for a question of such moment, being only 127 ayes to 24 noes. Upon being carried up to the Lords, the bill was opposed much in the same manner and to the same degree as in the Commons. On the third reading the Marquess of Rockingham combated the measure in a much admired speech, and made use of one striking argument. He said that, if officers employed in America were men of sensibility and honour, their situation would be worse under the protection of such a law than it would be without it, as no acquittal could be honourable where the prosecutor was supposed not to have the usual means of securing a fair and impartial trial. The bill was passed by a majority of 43 to 12; and the strong protest which was entered against it on the journals was signed only by eight peers.

By this time the session was drawing near to the usual period of recess; many members, fatigued with the long discussions on American affairs, had retired into the country, and both Houses were thinner than ever. Yet, under these circumstances, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, "For making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America." The principal objects of this bill were to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been settled as such

* Ann. Reg.

† The numbers of the minority, however, had all along been very low.



House of Lords, 1774. From a Print of the period

by the king's proclamation of 1763; to form a legislative council for all the affairs of that province, *except taxation*, which council should be appointed and be removable by the crown, and in which his majesty's Canadian Roman Catholic subjects should be entitled to a place; to establish the old French laws to which the Canadians had been accustomed, including trial without jury, in all civil cases, and the English laws, with trial by jury, in all criminal cases; and to secure to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars (or members of the religious orders), the legal enjoyment of their lands and of their tithes in their own communities, or from all who professed the Roman Catholic religion. The bill passed through the Lords with little or no observation; but when it came down to the Commons it met with a very different reception, and gave rise to debates as interesting as any that had taken place during this session. On the 26th of May, on the order of the day being read for the second reading, Mr. Thomas Townshend junior rose at once to oppose the bill, and to ask why the affairs of Canada had been so long postponed—why that

THOMAS TOWNSHEND, JUNIOR. From an Anonymous Portrait engraved by Harding.

country, from the time of its conquest down to the present moment, had been left in anarchy and confusion? He complained of the extension of the limits of Canada, which in the body of the bill were described as extending southward to the banks of the river Ohio, westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the merchants adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay; and he said that there was an opinion abroad that ministers intended to make all this vast tract of country an essentially French colony, as the population was almost entirely French, the religion that of France, &c. "Sir," said he, "whether this be practicable at present I will not pretend to say; but, if it be practicable, it is not very politic. If these Canadians are not to reap any benefit—and I think there is a benefit in going from the French to the English laws—will not men, with their inclinations French, with their constitution French, with their connexion French, with everything French, except one man at their head, their governor, a subject of Great Britain—will not these people wish, upon a future occasion, to recur back to the other part of their government? Will not the French king be naturally desired to complete the system?" He said he disliked the bill from the beginning to the end, as far as it was intelligible to him; and he described the legislative council proposed as the very worst kind of government that could be invented. "If," said he, "it is not the proper time to give to Canada an assembly like those which exist in our other American colonies, it is better to let the governor be absolute—better to let him be without a council. He will then be responsible. But what have we here? Seventeen or eighteen gentlemen, who may be removed or suspended by the governor; so that, if an act of oppression should come from the crown, these may be a screen for the governor to excuse and justify him." He condemned the countenance given by the bill to the church of Rome, and asked if the Roman Catholic religion, and the discipline of that church, were to be established throughout Canada, upon Indians and Englishmen as well as among the French and their descendants? As the French laws were to be retained, he asked whether the English lawyers and crown lawyers were all to be removed and replaced by Canadians or by lawyers imported from France? In so difficult a case, where a handful of English were mixed up with a French population, it was easy to start difficulties; and apparently next to impossible to reconcile the interests of both parties, and please the French many, and the English few. Townshend asked whether English gentlemen who had bought estates in Canada were to be subject to French law? And whether it would not be better, by degrees, to show the French Canadians the advantages of English law, and gradually mix it with their own? It may be doubted how far such a mixture could have been made salutary and coherent; but a stronger argument was to be found in the dislike the Canadians testified towards the whole body of our civil law, and their strong prejudice in favour of the old French law. It was easy for English lawyers and members of parliament to proclaim that our laws were the best; but the Canadians would not believe them. Lord North replied to Townshend with great moderation and ability. He did not pretend that the bill was perfect, but he considered it, after weighing all the difficulties of the case, a good plan for Canada, and the best plan that could be devised for Great Britain. The delay in producing it, had been owing to an anxious desire of being fully informed before legislating. Information had been sought from all quarters; from the officers of the

crown in Canada, from the officers of the crown at home, from every person who could give information. Yet, if it should be proved that the plan as sent down from the House of Lords was not a good one, they might alter it; but on no account ought they to leave the province of Canada in its present unsettled condition, in times of trouble and dissension like the present. He justified the enlargement of the limits of the colony, and showed particularly the inexpediency of leaving the Labrador coast as part of the government of New York. He allowed that the free exercise of the Romish religion was to be established; but he thought that this could not be considered oppressive to the Protestants in that part of the world, who, except about the coast, were very few, and in a very disorderly and ungovernable condition. In perfect accordance with the spirit, and all but universal feeling, of the time, he maintained that a few Protestants mingled with many Catholics could never form a proper legislative assembly. "The honourable gentleman," said he, "dislikes the omitting the assembly; but the assembly cannot be granted, seeing that it must be composed of Canadian Roman Catholic subjects, for otherwise it would be oppressive. On the other hand, as the bulk of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, to subject them to an assembly composed of a few British Protestant subjects would be a great hardship. Being, therefore, under the necessity of not appointing an assembly, this is the only legislature you can give the Canadians, and it is the one under which they live at present. The governor and council really have been the legislature ever since our conquest, only now it is put under some regulation." As to the important question of law, he reminded the House, that the most material part, the criminal law, was to remain and be according to English law; that, if the Canadian or French civil law should be found incompatible with the present condition and wishes of the colony, the governor and council would have power to alter it. "It has been the opinion," said he, "of very many able lawyers, that the best way to establish the happiness of the Canadians is to give them their own laws, as far as relates to their own property and possessions. Their possessions were marked out and secured to them at the time of the treaty of peace; to give them their possessions without giving them laws they understand, to maintain those possessions, would not be very wise. The French law may be worse than the English, but particular portions, for which we have the highest value ourselves, are a part of our political laws, and a part of our criminal law. These may be acted on in Canada, seeing that the criminal law has been submitted to for nine years, and is, I dare say, approved of by the Canadians, because it is a more refined and a more merciful law than the law of France." Then, returning to the question of religion, the provision respecting which, he saw, was the most unpalatable to many members of the House, and to most zealous Protestants out of doors, he remarked that the free exercise of their religion had also been confirmed to the Canadians by treaty, as far as the laws of Great Britain could confirm it. "Now," said he, "there is no doubt that the laws of Great Britain do permit the very full and free exercise of any religion, different from that of the church of England, in any of the colonies. *Our penal laws do not extend to the colonies*; therefore, I apprehend, that we ought not to extend them to Canada. Whether it is convenient to continue or to abolish the bishop's jurisdiction, is another question. I cannot conceive that his presence is essential to the free exercise of religion; but I am sure that no bishop will be there under *papal* authority, because he will see that Great Britain will not permit any *papal* authority whatever in the country. It is expressly forbidden in the Act of Supremacy." He added that there could be no intention to remove any *of the English* judges and lawyers; that it was a happy circumstance for this country that gentlemen of their merit should have been willing to go and establish themselves in Canada, and that it was a happy circumstance for the Canadians that they were so established. Townshend rejoined: he did not wish it to go forth to the world that the whole of the country was to be subject to French law, and that the established religion was to be that of the Roman Catholics; but what he complained of particularly was, the carrying that system of law into parts of the country where it had not existed previously, and where, he said, there were some thousands of British settlers. He asked Lord North whether he thought the law of *habeas corpus* of no value to Englishmen? He expressed his horror at the thought of any Englishman, in any place, being deprived of that great blessing; and he thought that, having at the end of the war promised the Canadians English law, we should be doing them an injustice in giving them back French law. He was followed by Mr. Dunning, who opposed every part of the bill, which he called "as extensive a bill as any that was ever offered to the consideration of parliament." Its direct object, he said, was to take from a large number of the king's subjects the benefits of the British constitution. He violently condemned the extension of the limits of the province. He admitted that the Roman Catholics of Canada were entitled to a full toleration, but he asked whether the same toleration should be given to them everywhere else. "Upon the last part of the case," said he, "different gentlemen may entertain different opinions; my opinion of toleration is, that nothing can be more impolitic than to give establishment to that religion which is not the religion of our own country. Among the circumstances that unite countries, or divide countries, a difference in religion has ever been thought to be the principal and leading one. The Catholic religion unites France, but divides England. Without going further into the subject, it suffices me to say, that the religion of England seems to be preferable to the religion

of France, if your object is to make this an English colony." He ought to have remembered in fairness that there were, as yet, no materials to make this an English colony, and that the Protestants in Canada scarcely amounted to ten individuals in a thousand. "When one sees," he continued, "that the Roman Catholic religion is established by law, and that the same law does not establish the Protestant religion, the people are, of course, at liberty to chose which they like. . . . . Are we, then, to establish the Roman Catholic religion, and tolerate the Protestant religion?" He admitted that the free exercise of their religion was promised to the Canadians by the treaty of peace, and also by the king's proclamation; but he argued that this bill was giving them something more, and was re-instating the Roman clergy in all their accustomed rights and dues, when it was not known what the extent of those rights and dues might be. He insisted that the civil law of England ought to be preserved as well as the criminal law, and that the institution of juries ought on no account to be dispensed with, however little the Canadians liked it or were prepared for it. He said that not only would the *habeas corpus* be done away with, but the odious and tyrannical practice of *lettres de cachet* would be introduced. He dwelt with great effect upon the unfitness of this political state to the habits and character of English settlers—and the real and almost insurmountable difficulty of the case was, how to reconcile the feelings and habits of the small minority with the great French majority. "Ought you not," said he, "upon principles of strict justice, to make some provision for persons going to Canada upon promise that the English laws should be continued, and who find that they have got into a country governed by a despotism—that they have got into a country where the religion they carried with them has no establishment—that they have got into a country where they are to wander throughout an immense extent of territory, or to find their way back again as they can; which they will do, when they consider the treatment they are to meet if they remain there?" The attorney-general Thurlow as warmly defended every part of the bill. He reminded the House that the definitive treaty of peace was made in favour of property in Canada, made in favour of the Catholic religion, and even in favour of the several religious orders; and that it was under these obligations that the crown of this country was called upon to frame a constitution for Canada. He denied that the king's proclamation of 1763 gave any order whatever with respect to the constitution of that conquest. He said he considered the importing and enforcing English laws in a country already settled, and habitually governed by other laws, as an act of the grossest and absurdest and cruelest tyranny that a conquering nation ever practised over a conquered country. "Look back," said he, "to every page of history, and I defy you to produce a single instance, in which a conqueror went to take away from a conquered province by one rough stroke the whole of the laws under which they lived, to impose a new idea of right and wrong, of which they could not discern the means or the end, but would find themselves at a loss, and be at an expense greater than individuals could afford, in order to inform themselves whether they were right or wrong. This is a sort of cruelty which, I believe, was never yet practised, and never ought to be. My notion is, that in Canada it is a mere change of sovereignty. You acquired a new country; you acquired a new people; but you do not state the right of conquest as giving you a right to goods and chattels. That would be slavery and extreme misery. In order to make the acquisition of Canada either available or secure, this seems to be the line that ought to be followed;—you ought to change those laws only which relate to the French sovereignty, and in their place substitute laws which should relate to the new sovereign; but with respect to all other laws, all other customs and institutions whatever, which are indifferent to the state of subjects and sovereign, humanity, justice, and wisdom equally conspire to advise you to leave them to the people just as they were. Their happiness depends upon it; their allegiance to their new sovereign depends upon it." He reminded the House that since the conquest attempts had been made to introduce our laws and juries in civil cases, but that the people were so ignorant of the whole form and matter, that it was found totally impossible to execute the plan. He said that the first thing that happened in setting up our institutions at Quebec was, the grand jury desiring to have all the accounts of the province laid before them; and that, in the next place, there were some very laudable, good Protestants among them, who desired that the no popery laws should be carried fully into execution, and who actually lodged a general presentment against all the inhabitants of the colony for being papists! As to the article of religion he thought it would be monstrous to strip the clergy of their rights and dues, to set up an Anglican establishment where there were few or no followers of our church. These dues were to be exacted only from such persons as chose to be Catholics; nobody was compelled to be a Catholic: but people were rather invited not to be Catholics, by having an exemption from tithes held out to them. He maintained that to assimilate the constitution of the province to that of England, was neither practicable nor desirable, and that the constitution now proposed was, on the side of liberality, a great improvement on the old French one, and the best under all circumstances that could be given. "If any English," said Thurlow, in conclusion, "resort to that country, they do not carry with them the laws that are to prevail the moment they get there. It would be just as wise to say, if an Englishman goes to Guernsey, the laws of the city of London are carried over with him.* To take the laws as they

* Their old French laws were left to the people of the Channel islands; their old Spanish laws to the people of Minorca, &c.

stand in Canada has been allowed; to act according to those laws, and to be bound by their coercion, is a natural consequence. In this view I think the bill has done nothing obnoxious. *I have no speculative opinions. I would have consulted the French customs to a much greater extent, if it had been for me to have framed the law.*" Colonel Barré then rose to complain of those parts of the bill which established the law of France, the religion of France, and the new legislative body to be formed at the will of the crown in the colony. "You have determined," said he, "to establish the Roman Catholic religion, and by this bill it has its establishment. It is very singular to see how this poor Roman Catholic religion has been treated: in Maryland it has been tolerated, in Ireland persecuted, in Canada you choose to give it an establishment! I do not mean to say you ought to strike at the religion of the Canadians; but I think you ought to give it them within certain bounds." He condemned the extension given to the province, and he said that he looked upon the whole measure as bad in itself, and as leading to something worse. Barré was followed by Lord John Cavendish, who seemed to think it very easy to obliterate old habits, feelings, prejudices, and passions, and to assimilate the French Canadians to the subjects of Great Britain. Serjeant Glynn objected that a continuance was given to the Roman Catholic religion, and a direct provision made for it, while the Protestant religion was left to shelter itself under such regulations as might hereafter be found necessary for the due exercise of it. He concluded a long speech, by comparing the bill to the arbitrary forms of government said to have been introduced into some of our colonies by Lord Clarendon in the bad days of Charles II. The solicitor-general Wedderburn defended the bill with great ability, and with more knowledge of history, national and foreign, than had been displayed by any of the disputants. Glynn had said that in conquering the Irish and the Welsh we had imposed our laws upon them. Wedderburn replied, by showing that, with respect to Ireland, the first occupation by English arms was in the reign of Henry II., from which time down to that of James I. a very small part indeed of Ireland was subject to the law of England; the law of England prevailed within the English pale, but no further. As to Wales, from the time of Edward, the great conqueror, down to Henry VIII., the customs of Wales governed Wales, where the English laws were not properly introduced until the time of Henry VIII. "But," said Wedderburn, "not only are there instances of great states not considering themselves warranted, by right of conquest, in forcing their laws upon the conquered, but even countries that have scarcely any trace of public laws and general systems, have had that good policy with regard to the countries they have made themselves masters of. The very Mussulman, the Ottoman, the Turks, the worst of all conquerors, in the countries they subdued left the people in possession of their municipal laws. This is the case in Wallachia; this is the case in Moldavia; this is the case with all the great settlements in which the Turks have pushed their arms!" He showed how much the law of succession differed in England from that established in Canada, and how hard it would be upon *all younger sons* in that province to establish suddenly *the right of primogeniture*. He represented that the people of Canada for several years past had been annually intreating government to take all these matters into consideration, so as to let them know what really was to be the rule and law. Charles Fox objected to the bill that it allowed the clergy of the church of Rome their dues and rights, which dues he understood to mean the receiving of tithes, which were a tax upon the people of Canada. This, he said, made the bill a money bill, and the Commons never permitted bills of that nature to originate with the Lords. He thought this objection alone fatal to the bill, without going further. He complained of this country's establishing a constitution, in which there was not a spark or semblance of liberty. "To go at once," said he, "and establish a perfectly despotic government, contrary to the genius and spirit of the British constitution, carries with it the appearance of a love of despotism and a settled design to enslave all the people of America. My idea is, that America is not to be governed by force, but by affection and interest. But the Roman Catholic religion, it is said, *is not* established in Canada. According to my *notion*, the establishment of that religion consists in government paying its teachers; and, when the professors of that religion receive tithes, that, I maintain, is establishing a tax. I profess I do not myself object so much to that portion of the bill; *because I think the persecution of the Roman Catholics is much to be deprecated, and that the penal laws of this country are repugnant to every principle of toleration.* I think there might be, in some part of his majesty's dominions, an asylum, where Roman Catholics might go if persecuted. I still, however, think that this provision has not yet been distinguished from a tax; that we are now going, for the first time, to levy a tax, brought down from the House of Lords, for the support of a Roman Catholic establishment; that we are about to levy a tax on the people of Canada for the support of a religious establishment; and that we are taking this bill of the House of Lords, when it ought to have originated here." Lord North rose to say, that the bill only legalised what had existed in Canada before our conquest, in giving the Catholic clergy the enjoyment of their accustomed dues and rights; it did not originate them; it gave no rights, it created no dues, &c. Dunning argued with Fox that it was unquestionably a bill that went to raise money; "and if," said he, "we alone possess the privilege of originating money bills, this is a bill directly in the teeth of it." Mr. Dempster, member for Forfar, asked the speaker to resolve the doubt. The speaker, not seeming inclined to rise or speak,

Alderman Sawbridge rose to say, that he thought he was in duty bound to give an answer, and that if he did not he (Sawbridge) would put a question to the House whether he ought to give an opinion or not. The speaker then rose, saying that he was sorry to be called upon in this very unusual manner, and then added—"I have frequently seen bills that have originated in the House of Lords, that I thought ought not to have come to this House; and I have pointed it out to the House, that the House might judge upon them. I never have presumed to judge upon them myself. An objection has been stated to the House. The House will determine as they think right. It would be very unbecoming in me to do it."* Mr. Thomas Townshend, junior, said that, if this act passed, the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada would exact tithes and dues from Protestants as well as from their own community. Thurlow expressed his astonishment at hearing tithe called a tax, and the bill a money bill. Upon a division the second reading was carried by a majority of 105 against 29. On the 31st of May, when the House was about to go into committee on the bill, Mr. Baker presented a petition from Thomas Penn, Esq., on behalf of himself and of John Penn, Esq., true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, and the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware, in America, praying that the territory granted by King Charles II. to their father and grandfather, William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, might not be encroached upon by any extension of the frontiers of Canada. Lord North said it was never intended to entrench upon other colonies. Burke said that the new line did entrench upon the boundary line of the colony of New York.† The petition was ordered to lie upon the table, and leave was given that the petitioners should be heard by counsel if they thought fit. A petition was then presented from merchants of the city of London trading to the province of Quebec, praying for the preservation or establishment of the English law in civil cases and all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights, with trial by jury, &c. This petition was ordered to be referred to the committee on the bill; and it was also ordered that the petitioners might be heard by themselves or counsel. Captain Phipps thought that the House ought not to go into committee upon the bill at all. He said that the effect of the bill must be to deter every Englishman from acquiring property in Canada; because he was to hold it under French law. He also complained of the reservation of all the dues to the Roman Catholic clergy. "I would have," said he, "some settlement made for the church of England: if any provision, it should be by tithe; but there are few instances in our colonies in which the clergy are paid in that way. In Pennsylvania every man pays his own clergyman. He pays to the congregation to which he belongs. Without wishing to take from the Canadians their religion—without wishing to take away the federal rights of that country—and without thinking that the Canadian, because he professes the Roman Catholic religion, would be unfit, under certain limitations, to be of the legislature of that country, I think there might be some limitations; but I would not have the Roman Catholic religion established as the favourite religion of the country. In short, Sir, I see nothing in this bill but the language of despotism." He said, as Fox and several other members had said before him, that if the House adopted it at all, they ought to pass it as a *temporary* bill, for three or four years, until better regulations could be formed. Mr. Mackworth then moved that copies of the reports made by General Carleton, governor of Quebec, by William Hey, Esq., chief-justice, and by Francis Maseres, Esq., late attorney-general of the province, should be laid before the House. Lord North opposed the motion, as the reports would be a very long time copying, and as the parties themselves were about to be examined by the House. Mr. Mackworth thought that information *vivâ voce* was far inferior to reports drawn up coolly and officially. "A report," said he, "is the best sort of brief that can be brought to this House: we are all counsellors here. I hope the noble lord will assent to the motion; for without his assent we shall not get it." Bamber Gascoyne said that Mr. Maseres's report was printed, but that the other two, which would make a large quarto volume, could not possibly be got ready in time; and Mackworth's motion was negatived by a majority of 85 against 46. Mr. Dempster instantly moved for the opinions of the great law officers of the crown, and for copies of the reports of his majesty's advocate-general, attorney-general, and solicitor-general, relating to the province of Quebec. The House divided again, when there appeared for ministers 85, and against them 45.

The order of the day being then read, and the House having resolved itself into a committee on the whole bill, Mr. Mansfield, *counsel for the merchants of London*, who had petitioned against the bill, was called in. This distinguished lawyer, afterwards Sir James Mansfield, solicitor-general, and chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas, represented that his clients were likely to be sufferers, if some of the provisions of the bill should prevail, and the French law of Canada be esta-

* Upon this Mr. Dempster said:—"Sir, what it would be unbecoming in you to do would be unbecoming in me to ask; I therefore rise to make an apology to you. I have always understood that there is a right to ask the opinion of the chair; not that I mean to propose it upon this occasion, but I apprehend, if the majority were to appeal to you to give your opinion, that we should hear it. I have not a doubt of it." The speaker rejoined, "The honourable gentleman mistakes me. I did not take it amiss in him, in calling upon me to give my opinion. What I take to be the province of the chair is this:—if there was a doubt, when the fact was decided so and so, whether it came within the privilege of this House, I should give my opinion. Decide the fact. I have no difficulty in saying, if you decide that this is raising money upon the subject, that it comes within the privilege. But am I to decide that fact? The House are in possession of it."

† Burke, who was now sitting in parliament for the great commercial city of Bristol, had been appointed, as far back as November, 1771, agent to the state of New York, with emoluments amounting to about 700*l.* a-year.

blished in civil cases without jury—that they objected to the legislative council, because, when pushed as far as it could go, it would make the Canadians slaves, whereas the inhabitants of all the other colonies in America were freemen—that in consequence of the optional jury, by which either of the contending parties might call for that safe-guard, many causes had actually been tried by juries since our conquest, not only to the satisfaction of Englishmen, but also of the Canadians themselves; and he was warranted to say that the Canadians were desirous to have continued among them this very mode of trial. He represented that the general state of the province was far more flourishing now, both as to trade and agriculture, than it was in the time of the French; and this, he said, was the strongest proof that there was no necessity for changing the system of law. He thought that the old French or Canadian law might be left to regulate the descent of real property, its devolution, &c., without being applied to commerce and other matters where the English law was so far superior. He concluded with an eulogium on trial by jury in all cases, civil or criminal; and he was followed by two other barristers, who spoke generally in favour of the English laws, and stated that the *English residents* in Canada were of opinion that an annihilation of the right of trial by jury would be very injurious to the colony.

On the 2nd of June General Carleton, governor of Canada, was called in and examined. He declared, over and over again, that the Canadians did not like our law, first from *the great expensiveness* of it, and, in the next place, from all the proceedings being in a language they did not understand; and that they did not like juries, because the serving on them occasioned great trouble, and because, from custom, habit, and education, they preferred trial by the judge. When asked whether he thought, if all their customs of descent and heritage were preserved, they would be dissatisfied with the introduction of English laws and trials by jury, he said—"I believe they would make no objection to any such commercial laws, if they could know what those laws are. But laws in the bulk which nobody can explain to them, they think, would be delivering them over a prey to every body that goes there as an attorney or lawyer." He declared, most distinctly, that the Canadians did not know what the law of England was—that in its essential parts, deciding matters of property, they had not the least idea of it—and that even the intelligent part of the Canadians thought and hoped, that their own laws and customs might be continued, because they knew what they were. When asked whether the intelligent part of the Canadians had any idea of the law of *habeas corpus*, he replied, he believed not the least, though there might be a few gentlemen who had studied the matter. He informed the House that compacts and associations had been entered into by the Canadians to resist the operation of the civil laws of this country, and to bind themselves in all marriage contracts, as strictly as it was in their power to do, that all their possessions should go according to the Canadian customs. He clearly showed the necessity of doing something towards fixing one system of law or the other; for, he said, he had heard the same man argue for the English law in one case, because it suited his cause, and for the French law in another case, and for the same reason. When asked if he could give an authentic account of the number of Protestant subjects in the province of Quebec, he said that there were about 360,* besides women and children, in the whole colony of Canada, and about 150,000 Roman Catholics. The clergy, he said, had generally since the peace received their tithes and parochial dues as formerly. When asked by Charles Fox whether they received from Protestants as well as from Catholics, he said he really did not know, there were so very few Protestants that cultivated land—Protestants were so few in the country—out of the towns of Quebec and Montreal so very few, that they were scarcely to be seen in travelling through it, as there were but 360 families in a district three hundred miles long and very wide. He admitted, however, that trade, industry, agriculture, and population were increasing rapidly, and chiefly through the great capitals of English merchants, and their superior knowledge and spirit in trade. As to a house of assembly, he said he had put the question to several of the Canadians, who had told him that assemblies had drawn so much distress upon the other colonies, had occasioned such riots and confusion, that they wished never to have one of any kind whatever. He added that, independently of other considerations, they disliked an assembly, as not being conformable to their ancient customs. Being asked whether the Canadians were aware that an assembly would be a legal way of making the sense of the inhabitants known, or whether they had been led to look upon all representative bodies as factious, he replied,—"I believe they have no idea of assemblies, but what they receive from our newspapers, and the accounts that come from the other provinces." He was asked whether any pains had been taken to explain the excellence of a constitutional government?—To this *the soldier* said—"It is a difficult matter to instruct a whole people in lessons of politics, and I have never attempted it. . . . . The Canadians have frequently expressed *their desire and prayer to have their* ancient usages restored to them; and have stated that the form of government which came nearest their ancient usages would be most agreeable to them." But, immediately after this, he seemed to admit that the indifference to constitutional forms of government proceeded in a great measure from our anti-popery laws, our test act, oath of supremacy, &c. "They have very often told me," said Carleton, "that during our military government, the English frequently ex-

* In this number he included "a good many disbanded soldiers, that kept tippling-houses." He said that there were some who had purchased land in the province—officers, or reduced officers—some very respectable merchants, and some inferior officers in trade; but that in general *these settlers were people of small property.*—*Cavendish's Debates.*

pressed to them the happiness and great advantages they would receive by the introduction of the English laws and forms of government; telling them that they were to become a happy people by the change. Several years after, when they had experienced what it was, and found that they were debarred of what they looked upon as the civil rights of subjects, and that they understood that, *as Roman Catholics*, they could not enjoy places of profit, or trust, or honour, they thought it was adding mockery and insult to severity; and were astonished that people could hold such language to them."

After a very long examination, General Carleton was told that he might attend on another day; and Mr. Maseres, late attorney-general of Quebec, but now cursitor baron of the Exchequer, was called in.* This accomplished lawyer, who had resided three years in the colony, and who had diligently studied the matters under discussion, confirmed in part what General Carleton had said as to the aversion of the Canadians to the English law; and affirmed that the greatest uneasiness existed among them as to any sudden change respecting property, family descent, dower, and the like. But he insisted that many of the Canadians liked to have a jury in civil cases; that the property of English merchants, which had so vastly improved the condition of the colony, could not be considered so secure if juries were done away with; and he declared his persuasion that the Canadians would admit that part of the English law, rather than lose those great benefits they derived from the introduction of English capital and the trading of English merchants among them. He thought that a few years' experience might conciliate the Canadians to our form of judicature, more especially if methods were taken to remove some of their objections. He thought that the law of *habeas corpus* should continue, and that the total repeal of the king's proclamation would be considered a breach of the public faith. In the absence of the *habeas corpus* and in the re-establishment of the old French laws, he thought there would be no security against a *lettre de cachet*. In reply to a query respecting the degree of power that the present bill would vest in the crown, he said that it would give the king very nearly the sole legislative authority, but that authority could not absorb the power of the other two branches of the British legislature, as the sovereign could have no power independent of the two houses of parliament. He asserted that the national incongruity and antipathy between the Canadians and English had increased since the coming of the Protestant bishop.* He did not approve of restoring to the Catholic clergy their ancient rights and dues, because, unaccompanied with restraints upon the great power of the bishop, it might be of dangerous consequence, and because it was certainly not necessary to the satisfaction of the Canadians, who preferred having the option of paying tithe or letting it alone—an option which they had held ever since our occupation of the country.† Maseres entertained opinions about conversions and the facility of changing religions, which were scarcely justified by any fact or analogy. He said that the Canadians were a submissive, easy, quiet people; and that he believed that, in many places, if a Protestant minister had been put into a living upon the vacancy of a Catholic priest, very little pains would have brought over many to the Protestant religion. He allowed, however, that this was a mere conjecture, and that no experiment of the kind had ever been tried. He was decidedly of opinion that the Canadians would not object to a house of assembly if Catholics were admitted into it as well as Protestants. After answering many other questions Mr. Maseres was ordered to withdraw. On the next day, the 3rd of June, General Carleton was further examined, chiefly upon the propriety of extending the limits of the colony; and later on the same day Mr. Hey, late chief justice of Quebec, was examined on the matter of the bill generally. He said he had resided six years at Quebec, and had found the Canadians generally approve of trial by jury in criminal causes. He considered them a very attentive and obedient people, but, in general, *very ignorant and very prejudiced*. He said that the higher part of them looked upon the institution of juries in civil cases as humiliating and degrading, while the lower orders looked upon it as a burden and expense. He thought, however, the trial by jury would not be disagreeable to them even in civil cases if they were *paid* for their time and trouble, and if that unanimity which our law requires was not to be insisted upon there.‡ He could not say that the mass of the Canadians understood the blessings either of juries or of the *habeas corpus*. When asked whether the

* Francis Maseres, commonly styled Baron Maseres, was descended from a French Protestant family, driven out of France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He had returned from Canada the preceding year (1773), and had then been appointed cursitor baron, which office he held till his death. He was also at different times deputy recorder of London and senior judge of the sheriff's court. He died in 1824, at Reigate, in Sussex, in the ninety-third year of his age. He appears to have been in all respects a liberal man. He reprinted and published at his own expense a variety of works illustrating the history of his country and mathematical history. His reprint of two volumes of tracts concerning the great civil war in the time of Charles I. has been frequently referred to in the previous part of this history. And very cordially do we wish that others would follow his example in this respect, or that societies of liberal and judicious men would do—what government ought to have done long ago, but which there still seems no hope of its doing—collect and embody the widely-scattered materials of British history.

* An English bishop of Quebec had been appointed a few years before.

† "The ground of that opinion of theirs and of mine," said Maseres, "is the strong words of General Amherst's answer to the demands on the part of the French general, for the continuation of the obligation of the people to pay their tithes and other dues:—*Granted, as to their free exercise of their religion; but, as to the obligation of paying tithes, that will depend upon the king's pleasure.* That has been universally understood, till now, to have been a positive dispensing with the obligation. It has often happened that they have not paid tithe; much oftener that they did, from their regard to their religion."—*Cavendish.*

‡ Mr. Maseres also had said that something like a Scotch jury would be preferable. "One of their objections," said he, "is to juries, from the necessity of being unanimous, which they sometimes ridicule, by calling it *a method of trial by strength of body and power to fast longest*; I conceive, therefore, that that trial would be more agreeable to them if the majority of the jury were permitted to decide the verdict; but, as it is, with all its inconveniences, I believe they would choose to have it in the manner it is, because I see they frequently make use of juries in causes of consequence."—*Cavendish.*

lower and middle orders would not be flattered and pleased by the power given by a jury, in proportion as the higher orders were mortified, he said—"I am inclined to think not. They would *endure it*, that is all; and, under the alterations I have mentioned before, it would be less disagreeable to them; but I fear it would take a long time to convince them of the use or advantage of it." When asked whether the Canadians would have any great objection to a provincial assembly into which Roman Catholics would be admitted, under certain restrictions, he replied—"I believe they have no idea of advantage from it. They look upon a house of assembly as a house of riot, calculated for nothing but to disturb the government and obstruct public servants."

When Hey's examination was over they called in M. de Lotbinière, who had been described by Mr. Maseres as being a very sensible and reflecting man, and a great proprietor of land in Canada. By means of an interpreter, he informed the committee that he was a native of Canada and was of the corps of noblesse, that he had read the bill, and had paid particular attention to that part which referred to the legislative council; that in his own opinion he was much against that council, and that the natural inclinations of his countrymen would be to be governed by a free legislature like that of England, provided they were allowed to be a part of it themselves. He said he would not object if trading persons, or if an inferior order, were admitted into an assembly; and that he thought if there was an equal balance of powers the noblesse of Canada could not reasonably oppose such a constitution.* But when asked whether he thought the English laws in general were not the best for the Canadians, he said roundly—"*I make no doubt but your laws are wise and good, and make you a happy people, but my countrymen prefer their old laws and customs.*" After this plain avowal they asked him no more questions, but called up Dr. Marriott, the king's advocate-general, who was generally understood to have assisted Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of American affairs, and to have had the principal hand in drawing up the bill. The eminent civilian and the opposition made a display of intellectual gladiatorship in a somewhat extraordinary style. *They* seemed determined to force him into confessions and disclosures, and *he* seemed resolute to reveal nothing. When asked what would be the best establishment of laws for the province of Quebec, he replied it was difficult to say, upon any subject in this world, what was best for any men or set of men on speculation. When asked whether he understood the French law, he said *he found it very*

Lord Dartmouth. From a Portrait by Ships'er.

difficult to understand any law. When asked whether he understood the power of the French king under the constitution of the French laws, he said it was a very hard thing for a foreigner to obtain an adequate idea of the constitution of another country; that the constitution of one's own country required a great deal of close application and study; that he wished he understood it better himself, and that *many other people would study it more, and understand it better than they did.* And when asked whether he thought it *expedient* to restore to Canada any part of the French constitution, he said that *expediency* was "ministerial language—a word of state, meaning that high policy, that great arcanum, the sublime of government, which extended almost beyond the reach of human wisdom, which few could pry into, which fewer could comprehend, and which, he was sure, he could not." Being asked, as a man of business and a man of great learning, what sort of government he would give to Canada, he replied—"*The giving of laws to mankind is the perfection of all knowledge, human and divine. It is not the work of days, of months, of years, but of ages.* For me to answer the question, what sort of government I would give to the province, I must be the vainest of men." The question was put to him again, slightly varied in form, as, What was the properest civil establishment to be given by the legislature of this country?—"That," said he, "depends upon a most extensive knowledge, an infinite knowledge indeed, of the relations of men and things, times and circumstances; the positions of both countries; the manners and genius of the people; the wants of the province; the views of the mother-country; the conduct of the neighbour-

* Of the Canadian noblesse Mr. Maseres had said in the course of his examination—"Very few that take the lead among them make a complaint against the English government. Of the set of people who call themselves noblesse, amounting to not more than one hundred and fifty out of one hundred and fifty thousand, eight or ten, perhaps twelve, are noblesse according to the French ideas, of which class there are *fifty thousand families* in France—I mean of the hereditary noblesse; but there are others, who associate themselves with these, and consider themselves upon the same footing—people who have held civil offices, noblesse for life, disbanded officers who had held commissions in the militia or among regular troops;—those people are most apt to complain; they fear the change of government the most; they even are, in some degree, envious of *the success and prosperity of inferior people.*"—*Cavendish.*

ing colonies; the state of the nation *vis-à-vis*, or respecting them and the designs of the rest of Europe. These relations change every moment: this vast political prospect is for ever doubtful and floating; it contains too many objects for my short vision and poor comprehension. My answer, therefore, to the question, What is the properest establishment for the province of Quebec to be given by the legislature of this country, is—I cannot tell." This was a good lesson to many a flighty, confident member of parliament, who thought it as easy to make laws and constitutions as turnpike-roads. William Burke, who was only the brother of a great man, chose to say that this last answer had an absurdity in it. Upon being asked whether he had given no opinion on the subject of Canada, Dr. Marriott replied that he had, as his majesty's advocate-general, to his majesty in council; and that he had drawn up a plan of a code of laws, in conjunction with his brethren in office, the attorney and solicitor-general. They then told him that the House would be glad to know the contents of his plan. To this Marriott replied—"I stand here as his majesty's servant: my colleagues next to me in office, who have given their opinions as well as myself to his majesty, are within the bar. When an advocate or counsellor gives his opinion, it is the property of his client. His majesty is in possession of my opinion. If this House does me the high honour of being desirous to know my sentiments, such as they are (and they are very free ones), the House will then address his majesty to lay my opinion before the House. If the House will not agree to that address, my sentiments must remain deposited with his majesty, in his great wisdom, where they now most happily rest."* The opposition members in committee endeavoured to force the civilian from this position, by varying their queries, and flattering his pride as a lawyer and author—but all was in vain. Mr. William Burke then asked how many pages his plan contained, and what time it had taken him to compose it. He replied that there were about three hundred closely written pages, but as to the time he could not say—ten or twelve months perhaps at different intervals. "But," added he, "if I am to speak to all the time that I was *thinking* upon the subject, it was near two years. I took it up, laid it in my desk; took it up, and laid it in my desk again, that it might ripen in my mind. I saw my difficulties—I dreaded being hasty or positive, and I thought no trouble too much on such a public subject, which appeared too much for the life of any man, and most certainly for any one man's understanding." Here William Burke cried out rudely—"I desire to know what was the name of *the thing* which you took up and laid down so often, and which you delivered in at last to his majesty?" "I think, Mr. Chairman," retorted Marriott, "I remember the face of that gentleman who asks me the question. I answer, when that gentleman was himself in office, he very well knew *what sort of things are the opinions of crown lawyers.*" He had scarcely said the words when there arose a loud cry, "Withdraw! withdraw!" and William Burke, in a towering passion, exclaimed that the witness at the bar had behaved without any respect to the House!—that the House had been insulted enough elsewhere! "We are in an abject state," said he; "we are very ill used! The other House have used us ill. They shut us out, not for fear we should hear what they do, but for fear we should see they do nothing. I am glad to find the origin of these ill manners and this gross contempt, in a noble lord.* They frame the bill there, delay it by keeping it in their hands, then send it down to us; and now we are to hurry through it without sufficient information, and nobody will own it. The doors are shut upon us; nobody will give us information!" He desired that the witness should be ordered to withdraw, and that the sense of the House should be taken whether he had put an improper question, or the witness made an improper answer. Dr. Marriott was ordered to withdraw accordingly. Mr. Pulteney said, with great *bonhommie*, "I have often observed much confusion occasioned in this House when a witness of wit and abilities is examined." He thought it was wrong, considering the last witness's situation, to have called him to be examined at all, although they had been refused the perusal of papers, and although the attorney and solicitor-general had declined telling what were the opinions given in by them upon the bill. Lord North defended the learned civilian, saying that he was under the protection of the House, and that no improper question ought to be put to him. Burke then rose to apologise for his brother William, and concluded a speech of some length by saying he should never have concurred in the motion to examine the learned gentleman, if the motion for the address for papers had not been overruled. Dr. Marriott was then called in again. But the examination was even less satisfactory to the opposition than before, the doctor refining, drawing logical distinctions, and skilfully avoiding any direct answer, and one or two of the puzzled members of the committee descending to down-

* He thus described the way in which he had set to work—"In a question so extensive, and which involved every possible consideration of policy, and very little of law, I drew up my opinion, with all that modesty and diffidence which became me. The danger of positiveness in speculative opinions is obvious to any man of a right mind. The more I viewed the subject on every side the more difficulties occurred to me. I weighed all facts and reasonings in a true balance, without bias to any man or any party, but found it hard, after the whole result of my inquiries, to fix decidedly what the system of law ought to be for a people so remote from home, and of whose manners and wants we know so little. My method of proceeding was this: I collected all facts as represented to me, and as far as other persons, who well knew the colony by having been in it, were agreed in their reports made to the king's government. I then brought all the facts and probable reasonings together in one general point of view, for the assistance of my two colleagues in office, that they might form an easier decision. I drew, indeed, my own conclusions; but they were not positive, but open to better reasonings. I, therefore, through the whole, adopted the style and manner of that which Cicero calls the *deliberativum genus dicendi*. I submitted everything to his majesty's wisdom in council, aided by the opinions and arguments of much higher authority than any which I could offer."—*Cavendish.*

* He alluded to Lord Marchmont, who had so rudely moved the exclusion of all strangers, members of the House of Commons, and all from the House of Lords.

right buffoonery.* At last that bold debater, Colonel Barré, took the civilian in hand. "The gentleman at the bar," said Barré, "is certainly under personal difficulties from his situation in office, and from not being a member of this House; but I see he bears his examination with much patience and good humour. We were all going to be very dull, and he has enlivened us. He has been asked above a hundred questions, and has parried them all; not one decisive answer have we got. I did not expect he would have kept his ground so stoutly against numbers. I will now beg leave to try him. I undertake, Sir, to ask him one very easy question, which I think he may and will answer. What do you think is the King of Prussia's religion?" To this the imperturbable and logical doctor replied, "I have read some of his works, if the writings are really his; although some people have doubted the title, 'Œuvres du Philosophe de Sans Souci.' His religion may be judged from them." "I desire to know," added the querist Barré, "what you judge the King of Prussia's religion to be?" "From those works," said the doctor, "I believe his majesty has no formal religion." "Well," said Barré, "I am the only person that has got a direct answer from the gentleman. But, if the province of Canada were to be ceded to his Prussian majesty, what religion would he introduce into it?" "A soldier's religion," replied the doctor. "And what is a soldier's religion?" enquired the colonel. "If I were a soldier, Sir," said Marriott, "I would answer, my honour." "And what is a lawyer's religion?" asked Barré. "Why, his honour too; and not to give up his client," said the doctor; adding, "But I suppose the gentleman knows there are two orders of lawyers in this country—the civilians and the common lawyers. I am no common lawyer. The religion of which order does he mean?" "Of both," said Barré. "The common lawyers," rejoined the doctor, "must answer for themselves. I can readily answer for the civilians: they are ecclesiastical lawyers, and subscribe; they are of the religion of this country by law established." "I see," said Colonel Barré, "there is no hitting the gentleman; but I have read an opinion of some weight in a book here in my hand; it is so laid down, that I think the gentleman cannot escape answering it. With the leave of the House I will read it:—'In order to judge politically of the expediency of suffering the Romish religion to remain an established religion of the state in any part of your majesty's dominions, the Romish religion—I mean its doctrines, not its ceremonies—ought to be perfectly understood. The opinion of the royal author of the *Mémoires de Brandenburg* seems to be conclusive on this head to every sovereign power, that the Protestant religion is the best both for the prince and the people; because there is in it no middle power to intervene and stand before the prince against the people, nor before the people against the prince.' The House now sees why I put the other question. Did you ever read the *Mémoires de Brandenburg?*" (addressing Marriott); "Is that which I have read, the King of Prussia's opinion? Is that opinion in the *Mémoires de Brandenburg?*" "I have read," said the doctor, "a book with that title; but whether this book was his writing, or whether, being his book, that was his opinion (for many people write books who are not of opinion with their own books), I do not know. There is something like that opinion in the book." "The book," said Barré, "in which this opinion is recommended and adopted ends with the name of the learned gentleman at the bar."* Dr. Marriott, bowing with great respect around to the House, and laying his hand on his breast, said,—"I now subscribe to that opinion most seriously and most sincerely." He was then ordered to withdraw, the committee evidently having had quite enough of him.

Lord North next proposed the reading of some papers which he had to produce; but several members thought that General Murray, who had saved the town of Quebec after Wolfe's death, should be examined. North thought that the two last days had afforded every necessary evidence, reminded the House that General Murray left the province five years ago, and urged that no time ought to be lost. It was quite clear that ministers objected to the examination of Murray, because he agreed in opinion with Mr. Maseres, and, in many points, with the opposition in the House. The question was put to the vote, when 38 voted for the attendance of the general, and 90 against it. On Monday, the 6th of June, there

* The reader may take the following as a specimen:—"*Q.* Do you think that the Canadians will not suffer greatly if the *habeas corpus* law is not introduced among them? *A.* The idea of the suffering is the idea of the sufferer, and not of a third person: I cannot answer for the feelings of the Canadians.—*Q.* Cannot you conceive the pain of another person? *A.* No person has a true impression of the degree of pain or pleasure of another being; there is no complete medium to convey the sensations; words will not do it. *No person can tell what a man of probity and reflection, who wishes to judge without error, and to do his public duty in an arduous question, feels, when put upon the rack of opinion.* No man in this place exactly knows how *I feel in my particular and relative situation, by being so long kept at this bar, and called upon to answer every sort of question that can be imagined, about all possible and probable things, from such a variety of persons.* Witnesses, by all the law I know in the world, are called everywhere only to speak *to facts*; to *opinions*, nowhere; except in one court of religion in the world.—*Q.* You have, then, some sort of idea of another man's suffering, although not an adequate and perfect one. Cannot you tell the House, supposing I were to give the gentleman who sits below me a slap on the face, what he would suffer? [The member who put the question being a slightly made man, and the gentleman who sat beneath him a very stout man, and the latter turning round quick to look at him, it occasioned a loud laugh.] I mean, what would a person struck suffer when there are visible signs of a violent blow? Suppose that the blood gushes out of the nose? *A.* The noses of some people bleed without pain. That gentleman might have a blow on the nose, and he might feel it; I should not. I mean he would feel it if he were sober; if he were drunk he might not; he might take it all in good part; and, as for the blood, swear it was all good claret.—*Member.* Repeat the answer. *A.* If he were inebriated he might not feel. Mr. Chairman, I hope my answers are not improper. I desire to be serious; I am earnest. The answer, I take it, by the law of all evidence, ought to be of the same colour with the question, and pointed to it. *Chairman.* Right, certainly."—*Cavendish.* This portion of Cavendish's account appears to be copied nearly *verbatim* from the report of the evidence published at the time and given in the Parliamentary History. In some other places the two accounts vary slightly.

* Marriott had printed early in the year the work from which Barré quoted—"Plan of a Code of Laws for the Province of Quebec, reported by the Advocate-general." This plan had not been altogether followed in the Quebec Act.

was a stormy debate on the new boundaries fixed by the bill. Lord North denied that there was any intention of encroaching upon any other colony, and said that, as we were so much in the dark as to the real situation of the country, it was not possible to do anything safer than, saving the rights of the other colonies, to leave the line to be settled on the spot by commissioners, and persons possessed of local knowledge. And he proposed an amendment which went to leave the limits less strictly defined. Governor Johnstone objected to any enlargement of the province, saying that it would only extend a despotic government, and establish a boundary line somewhere, where God and nature were against it. He thought the colonists themselves the best judges in the matter. "Sir," said he, "a great maxim to be learned from the history of our colonization is—let men manage their own affairs; they will do it better on the spot, than those at a distance can possibly do it for them." He further said that the whole bill was full of contradictions, implying, as it did, that the *habeas corpus* was not essential, that trial by jury was not the best way of trying civil rights, that monopoly was favourable to commerce, that the Popish religion was better than the Protestant, and that the free system of government given us by our ancestors required to be mixed with the despotism of France, &c. Burke, who was interested for his clients, the assembly of New York, said that there was no possibility of knowing what the limits of Canada had been or what they might be made; and he moved that John Pownall, Esq., under-secretary for the American colonies, should attend the committee. Lord North objected; and then Burke delivered a very long speech, to explain what he considered the proper frontier line. The debate which followed involved the question of the fishery on the coast of Labrador, and it led to some trifling alterations in the wording of the bill. On the 7th Burke again attacked the bill, and condemned all the legislative portion of it. "I am not unwilling," said he, "to intermit some part of the English laws, so far as they interfere with the habits of the Canadians. I consider the Canadians as the first object of attention; no doubt the English subjects ought to be the second object. They ought, indeed, to be a great object of attention; while every security to their liberty should be established. I would have English liberty carried into the French colonies, but I would not have French slavery brought into the English colonies. The clause goes to deprive the subjects of Canada of the benefit of the proclamation; it goes also to deprive the English subject of the benefit of the laws of England, while he is residing in a place under the protection of the laws of Great Britain." Later in the day, when Lord North moved an additional clause, Burke spoke with still greater warmth. The bill, as originally framed, and as passed by the Lords, secured to the Catholic clergy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as should profess their religion, without any mention whatever of a provision for the Protestant clergy. Lord North proposed to add these words—"Provided, nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for his majesty, his heirs or successors, to make such provision out of the rest of the said accustomed dues and rights for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy within the said province, as he or they shall, from time to time, think necessary or expedient." His lordship ventured to say that he did not know whether it was absolutely necessary to insert this proviso, in order to enable the king hereafter to support the Protestants of Canada, in case they should become entitled to have their clergy provided for by the tithe, &c. "I am not a little hurt," said Burke, "that the evils of arbitrary power are to be corrected by insertion of other acts of arbitrary power. It seems to be asserted that the holders of these things hold them not by act of parliament, but at the king's pleasure. In fact, everything is made to depend upon the king's pleasure. It leaves the possession of tithe not fixed agreeably to any certain rule, but possession at the king's pleasure. We find the king's pleasure twisted about every fibre of this bill. All is to be sacrificed to that beautiful idol, the king's pleasure! I want as much of law as you please, and as little of the king's pleasure as possible. This act gives to his majesty a power to appoint. Does it restrain him from taking away, when, where, or how much, he pleases? Does it not give him power to rob the Popish clergy, without giving any advantage to the Protestant clergy? I hope it will become a fund directly for the support of the Protestant clergy. Never will I give a vote for abolishing all religion; for tithe is the large premium upon religion. Some Protestant clergy are wanted immediately, because there are some Protestant inhabitants. Let the law be the golden rule, that establishes religion for the Frenchman, or gives it to the Englishman. I want a legal provision, not an arbitrary provision. Let those who have the tithes, and those who get them, have them and get them by law. Taxes unapplied are not taxes. The clause might seem to give the king a power of taxing, but everything that gives the power gives the means. I will move an addition, which shall give the power of taxing to parliament, as an amendment." Dunning, Charles Fox, and Thomas Townshend, jun., spoke on the same side. The last mentioned gentleman said—"I want to see some specific provision immediately made in Canada for the Protestant religion. I was concerned to hear that, nine or ten years ago, there was not a single place of worship for the Protestants; which I consider to have been a great disgrace to the English governor. I was surprised at an expression dropped by the noble lord—that the Protestant religion in Canada, at present, was hardly an object worthy of consideration. During the whole of these discussions pains have been taken by the prime minister of this country, and chancellor of the university of Oxford, to rank the Pro-

testants in Canada as low as possible, in number, consequence, and character." To this Lord North replied, "The honourable gentleman is word-catching. I certainly did say, that the Protestant inhabitants were so few, that they were hardly worthy of attention; but I explained it at the time. What I meant was, that they were not sufficiently numerous at present to make it necessary for the legislature to provide establishments and a revenue for them." Burke spoke again, saying among other strong things, that the bill did not provide for the establishment of Popery, but for the establishment of Atheism. "I will suppose this case," said he:—"When a man in Canada is sued for his tithe, he will declare that he does not profess the Roman Catholic religion: he then walks directly into that mass-house or church for the support of which he has positively refused to engage himself: he says, he does not profess the Popish religion; and, supposing he abstracts himself from all religion, he pays no tithe. If this be allowed you are encouraging him to be an Atheist. . . . . I shall propose a clause, providing that the tithe paid by persons not professing the Roman Catholic religion shall be handed over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." And he concluded this speech with a proposition, which must have grated harshly on religious prejudice, and have offended equally, Catholics, Anglicans, and most classes of dissenters. "When the people," said he, "become divided in their religion, why not follow the generous example set by the treaty of Westphalia, by which the duties of two or three establishments were discharged in the same church on the same day, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the reformed Protestant religion? This was setting an example of toleration worthy of a Christian church. This was a happy union that fixed religious peace for ever in those provinces." Thurlow defended Lord North's clause as reconciling all difficulties, as leaving the Catholics a fair share of their dues, and providing at the same time for a Protestant church, which was in a manner to be created; and he thought it highly improper to be called upon to declare by vote that the House would place greater confidence in the wisdom and discretion of a religious society, than in the king. Lord John Cavendish, Governor Johnstone, Mr. William Burke, and Mr. Baker, renewed the attack on the bill, and spoke of the danger of the Roman Catholics in Canada becoming an army in the pay of the King of England. Colonel Barré drove home this last argument in a tone well calculated to make a great impression out of the House, and more particularly upon the Presbyterians of New England. "I suspected throughout," exclaimed Barré, "that there was some mischief intended, and not avowed in the bill itself. A very extraordinary indulgence is given to the inhabitants of this province, and one calculated to gain the hearts and affections of these people. To this I cannot object, if it is to be applied to good purposes; but, if you are about *to raise a Popish army to serve in the colonies*, from this time all hope of peace in America will be destroyed. The Americans will look on the Canadians as their task-masters, and, in the end, their executioners. I smelt this business out from the beginning. But is it prudent to arm the Canadians, so long as you can keep them unarmed? If you accustom them to arms, will they ever get rid of their military spirit? Will they not look up to their own country? And will it not be worth the while of that country to cultivate this military spirit more and more? I wash my hands of this business. I here declare my solemn aversion to it. I know what you mean. *Liberavi animam meam!* I have foretold the thing." The secretary-at-war, Lord Barrington, told the colonel that, in a military point of view, the bill would make no difference in the condition of the Canadians; that ever since the conquest every Canadian might become a common soldier by merely taking a short oath to be faithful to the king; that no Canadian could serve as an officer without taking *all* the oaths; so that there was every guard after the bill should be passed that there was previously. The question being put, Lord North's additional clause was agreed to at a very late hour, without a division. The opposition then moved that the chairman should leave the chair, but they were out-voted by 75 against 31; and some other clauses of the bill were debated and hastily agreed to in spite of Charles Fox's complaints of indecent precipitation. On Wednesday the 8th, the House having resolved itself again into a committee, Burke, who had complained of fatigue the preceding night, rose fresh and vigorous, and again stigmatised the bill, and, still more, the hurry with which it was driven. He said that fixing the geography had only been the work of one day, and fixing the religion of another. He spoke of a *fête champêtre* about to be given, and of the probability of its thinning still further a House already so very thin. He and others might prefer duty to pleasure, but they had need of rest in this warm weather. Lord North said, that for his part he did not care for the entertainment, and did not desire to adjourn till Friday the 10th; and he accused the opposition of studying how to delay the bill and prolong the session. This called up Thomas Townshend, jun., who said, "I must complain of the slovenly manner in which the clauses have been carried through the committee. I will venture to say that two-thirds of the majority have never heard the debates. The majority consists of those gentlemen who take their meals regularly, and who are now taking their dinners. They come in when they have dined, and are extremely clamorous, crying, go on! go on! and now I understand we are to adjourn over to-morrow for a *fête champêtre;* and to be sure, the day that follows the 9th of June is a day more proper for a *fête champêtre* than for a Committee of the House of Commons. But, at the same time, I cannot but confess that the noble lord has shown an amazing degree of foresight in fixing, above all other days

in the year, on the 10th of June, for finishing a bill which goes to establish Popery.* For God's sake, Sir, let us come down with white roses in our hats! A day more propitious for a bill of this complexion could not have been fixed on. . . . . This bill will make the Canadians the detestation of the English colonies in America!" Barré assisted him in fixing the papistical stain upon the bill. "This bill," said he, "originated in the House of Lords. It is popish from beginning to end. The Lords are the Romish priests, who will give his majesty absolution for breaking his promise given in the proclamation of 1763. In this bill they have done like all other priests—not considered separately the crimes with which the bill abounded, but have bundled them all up together, and, for dispatch, given absolution for the whole at once. When, however, the measure came down to this House, its members, not being so popishly inclined, wished to have some information. They asked for papers: all the papers they asked for were not granted. They asked for evidence: all the evidence was not granted. The first man who governed the colony (General Murray) you would not hear, though I stated the reasons why he ought to be called. The chief justice and the attorney-general of Canada were both examined; and their testimony goes in the teeth of this bill. Thus it is decidedly opposite to the opinion of two of the most respectable men in the kingdom. When the noble lord was asked for the papers containing these opinions, he refused to give them, alleging that the reports are very long: but the attorney and solicitor-general are both in this House, and I wished to hear the abstract of their opinions given by themselves. This they could have done, but the House would not let them. The advocate-general was called to the bar, upon which they said we meant to create delay.† . . . . Some time ago we were given to understand that we were not to expect a general election: the report now runs that parliament is immediately to be dissolved; and in truth, Sir, after the passing of this bill, the sooner it is dissolved the better! In its infancy it was a very compliant one, and humoured the ministry in what I thought a strong measure; I mean the Middlesex election. It continued to do so up to the middle of its existence; and, upon its dissolution, people may say, as they did after the death of King Charles, that, by some papers found after its decease, there is great reason to suspect that it died in the profession of the Roman Catholic religion." Mr. Jenkinson replied with some point, "The honourable colonel tells us that this parliament is a Roman Catholic parliament, and very near its end. I have always understood that, when a Catholic is dying, he is generally attended by a number of troublesome people, disposed to put many troublesome questions to him. Now, I hope *that* Catholic practice will not be followed in our case, but that he will, at least, allow us to die in quiet." The chairman then read the clause of the bill concerning the legislative council for Canada.* Mr. Dempster thought that the number of members for such council was rather small, and that it ought to consist of thirty rather than of seventeen. Captain Phipps objected to an averment in the bill, that it was at present inexpedient to call an assembly, and wished to know why some reservation was not made in favour of an assembly, and of the right of the Commons to interfere. "It is with great caution," said he, "that this House, acting legislatively, ought to concur with the other House, to take the power out of the hands of the people, and vest it in the Crown." Governor Johnstone affirmed that the English colonies in America had flourished more than any others, because they had had more freedom. "I hope," said he, "gentlemen will not now come to the conclusion, because certain assemblies in America have recently been tumultuous on a nice point, that therefore all assemblies are to be discountenanced. I know that *meeting* an assembly is more dreadful to evil doers than meeting the House of Commons. I know that without an assembly it is impossible to carry on the various concerns of the country. My difficulty lies here: I think you should make the individuals composing that legislative authority feel that they have some rights. To induce them to give their voice faithfully, and without fear and terror, they must hold some rights in the place they possess. The tyranny of a number is greater than the tyranny of a few. If there were no House of Commons, does any gentleman believe that the King and the House of Lords would not be more tyrannical than the king alone? We see it daily. *A multitude will do things which a single person, through shame, would not dare to perform.* I see throughout the whole, that the interest of the governor, and the interest of the receiver-general, are the predominant features of the bill, together with surrounding our older colonies with a line of despotism. As an Irishman said to me, in that nice metaphorical language that belongs to his country, 'You are coming round and round, till, like water flowing in upon an island, encroaching upon it more and more, you will not leave a foot of ground for the fowl of the air to rest upon.' I fear you will not leave a foot for liberty to"

* The 10th of June was the birthday of the Old Pretender.

† Barré showed pretty plainly that he felt he had had the worst of it in the trial of wit with Marriott. "That witness," said he, "is so singular a man, that I cannot persuade myself to be out of temper with him. He was mounted very high, and pranced, and never moved from the place. I noticed a few expressions not becoming him as a witness at this bar, but altogether singular from a man who tells you he has no memory."—*Cavendish.*

* The clause, as it stood in the bill, was—"That it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under his or their signet or sign manual, and with the advice of the privy council, to constitute and appoint a council, to consist of such persons resident there, not exceeding twenty-three nor less than seventeen, as his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall be pleased to appoint; and, upon the death removal, or absence of any of the members of the said council, in like manner to constitute and appoint such and so many other person or persons as shall be necessary to supply the vacancy or vacancies; which council, so appointed or nominated, or the major part thereof, shall have full power and authority to make ordinances for the peace, welfare, and good government of the said province, with the consent of his majesty's governor or commander-in-chief for the time being."

rest upon!" Lord Beauchamp said that no one had ventured to assert that it would always be inexpedient to give the province an assembly; that no man could foresee what changes would happen; and that, for himself, he was in hopes that there were such events in the womb of time as might make a freer plan of government admissible. He denied that the establishment of a popular assembly in Canada was objected to in consequence of our unhappy disputes with our other colonies. Lord North informed the committee that it would be necessary to give the council of Quebec a power to raise certain rates, but that care should be taken not to convey to them any general power of imposing taxes upon the province. He moved an amendment or proviso to this effect, which was agreed to after a slight cavil from Charles Fox. The question was then put upon the whole clause, and Fox spoke again. He said that from all the information he had obtained he was inclined to think that, instead of being inexpedient, it was really expedient to give the French Canadians a representative government by a house of assembly. He now pronounced a prelude to those doctrines of religious liberty which afterwards made his name so famous throughout the world. "No one," said he, "is urging the circumstance of the people of Canada being Roman Catholics as an objection to an assembly, and I trust I shall never again hear such an objection stated; for no one who has ever conversed with Roman Catholics can believe that there is anything repugnant in their views to the principles of political freedom. The principles of political freedom, though not practised in Roman Catholic countries, are as much cherished and revered by the people as in Protestant countries." Lord North, in reply, contended that the evidence heard at the bar justified the most material parts of the bill. "The governor," said he, "certainly is evidence *against* an assembly; the chief justice certainly is evidence *against* an assembly. Mr. Maseres is *for* an assembly; but, in point of fact, what came out in evidence? That there were in the province at present one hundred and fifty thousand Roman Catholic subjects, and about three hundred and sixty Protestant families, whose numbers we will suppose to be a thousand or twelve hundred persons; but very few of them are possessed of any property at all. The fair inference, therefore, is, that the assembly would be composed of Roman Catholics. Now, I ask, is it safe for this country—for we must consider this country—to put the principal power into the hands of an assembly of Roman Catholic new subjects? I agree with the honourable gentleman that the Roman Catholics may be honest, able, worthy, sensible men, entertaining very correct notions of political liberty; but I must say, there is something in that religion which makes it not prudent in a Protestant government to establish an assembly consisting entirely of Roman Catholics." Fox had said that there was more danger to be looked for from the seigneurs of Canada, who were to be included in the council, than from the commoner sort, who would elect to an house of assembly. North replied that some of the seigneurs would, he hoped, be admitted to the council; but then the governor could choose those on whom he could most rely; they would also be removeable by the crown, and would not depend wholly upon the Roman Catholic electors. "I repeat," said his lordship, "that it is not at present expedient to call an assembly. That it may ever be desirable to give the Canadians a constitution in every respect like the constitution of Great Britain, I will not say; but I earnestly hope that they will, in the course of time, enjoy as much of our laws, and as much of our constitution, as may be beneficial for that country and safe for this. But that time is not yet come." In the end the original clause about the council was agreed to without a division. Mr. Jenkinson then rose to propose a substitute for the oath of supremacy to be taken by the Catholic clergy, and others taking office under the king, in Canada. This clause also was agreed to without a division. The preamble to the bill was then read; after which, William Burke made another loud speech about the dangers of popery. "This," said he, "is the worst bill that ever engaged the attention of a British council. It is a bill to establish the popish religion—to establish despotism. There have been instances in our affairs, in which, for purposes of commerce, we have established freedom, as far as we could, in a certain locality; but to establish popery—to establish despotism in a conquered province—is what we have never before done." He then complained of the late season at which the bill had been brought down, and observed that he could not count forty members at that time in the House. Men of rank and property had all been tired out, and had gone to the country. Other gentlemen were unaccountably silent. There was Mr. Soame Jenyns, who was a lord of trade, and possessed of a deal of wit and a deal of information; but he was as silent as the attorney-general and the solicitor-general, who had been very sparing of their law. It was disgraceful in these learned persons not to tell the House whether the king was or was not bound by the bill to apply a portion of the revenue arising from tithes in Canada to the establishment of a Protestant clergy in that province."

On the following day gentlemen went to the *fête champêtre*;* but the House met again on Friday

* Given at The Oaks, in Surrey, on occasion of Lord Stanley's approaching marriage with Lady Betty Hamilton, only daughter of the Duke of Hamilton. According to the chronicles of the time it was a most splendid affair, and nearly 300 of the nobility were present at it. "The entertainments of the day and evening were exceedingly grand and agreeable. Its name *champêtre* was truly characteristic, every fanciful rustic sport and game being introduced. There were groups of shepherds and shepherdesses variously attired, who skipped about, kicking at tambourines, which were pendant from the trees, and many persons habited as peasants, who attended swings and other amusements, and occasionally formed *parties quarrées* to dance quadrilles." At night the performances became much more complicated and allegorical. "In the centre of the ball-room an ancient Druid appeared, with a bough of misletoe, and in a characteristic dress. A scene was also introduced, exhibiting a group of fauns and dryads, in picturesque habits of tiger-skins ornamented with oak-leaves, over a fine rose-coloured silk: these entertained the company with a serious dance under the direction of Signor Lepi, the Opera-

the 10th, when Sir Charles Whitworth reported the amendments to the bill which had been made in committee. There was much puzzling about the boundary-line, and Mr. Edmund Burke, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Baker, and Sir Charles Whitworth went up stairs with maps and charts to settle it, while the House was supposed to be proceeding upon it. This lasted for at least half an hour, during which the House in reality did nothing.* When Burke and the others returned some of the boundary amendments were agreed to, and others rejected. Mr. Mackworth then rose, and, after talking of the flood of eloquence which for five days had deluged the House, even to washing away a large portion of its members, he began a new discussion upon trial by jury in civil cases, and moved that the following clause should be added to the bill:—"That in all trials relating to property or civil rights where the value shall exceed a certain sum, either of the contending parties may demand a trial by jury, constituted according to the laws of England, and that the issue between the parties shall be determined by the verdict of such jury, and not otherwise." Serjeant Glynn was glad that this clause had been proposed, and he spoke twice, and at considerable length, in support of it. Glynn was followed by Dunning, Thomas Townshend, jun., Mr. George Byng, Burke, and one or two others; but upon a division the motion was negatived by a majority of 83 against 40. Thomas Townshend, jun., then moved that the legislative council, which, as admitted in the bill, was not to be perpetual, should be limited to seven years; but this was negatived instantly. Mr. Dempster next moved that a clause should be inserted, securing the English privileges of *habeas corpus* and of bail in cases of commitment. This, upon a division, was negatived by a majority of 76 against 21. Nothing daunted, Dempster then moved that the debates and sittings of the legislative council should be open, and not carried on with closed doors. This also was negatived. Still untired, Dempster said that it was not expressed in the bill whether the governor was to sit in the council or not; and gave it as his opinion that the governor ought not to be present, but ought merely to be presumed present like his majesty. Lord North said that whether the council should sit with or without the governor he could not say, but the governor was to have the negative. It was now very late, and the House broke up, ordering the question of the third reading of the bill to stand for Monday the 13th. When Monday came Charles Fox spoke again against the bill as a money-bill, and an attack made by the Lords on the privileges of the House. "I have always," said he, "acted with those who hold that our glory depends upon our privileges; I have always differed from those who abandon those privileges. In the course of this parliament we have given up privileges enough, and at the end of it, if we pass this bill, we shall give up the only privilege not yet violated. After having given up privileges of various kinds, such as those of protection to juries, and of judgment upon elections; after having suffered poor printers to insult us with impunity, on the principle that they were too contemptible to be resisted—are we now to crown all, by considering the House of Lords as too contemptible to be opposed, and to surrender to them a privilege that we have carefully retained until this time?" The House was thin, and two other members, and no more, spoke:—Mr. Cooper thought that the privileges of the Commons were left untouched and unaffected by the bill, while Mr. Howard said it was a direct infringement of their rights and privileges, and as such ought to be thrown over the table by the speaker, and kicked out of the house by somebody else. The question being then put, that the bill do pass, the House divided 56 for ministry and only 20 against them.* The bill being thus passed by the Commons was sent back to the Lords for their necessary concurrence in the amendments which had been made. On the 16th their lordships took these alterations into consideration; and Chatham rose to reprobate the whole spirit of the bill. He said that it went to establish the worst of despotisms, and that it was a most cruel, oppressive, and odious measure, tearing up justice and every good principle by the roots;—that, by abolishing the trial by jury, he supposed the framers of the bill considered that blessing, together with the *habeas corpus*, as mere moonshine! The supposing that the French Canadians would not be able to feel the good effects of law and freedom, because they had been used to arbitrary power, he treated as a ridiculous and false idea. He took up and gave back, *ore rotundo*, the anti-popery cry, which he knew would most agitate people out of doors:—"When his lordship

house ballet-master. A pantomime story was represented by the dance, in which Cupid and Hymen were introduced as principal characters," &c.—*Ann. Reg.*

* The great difference in opinion was whether a broad tract of uninhabited country should belong to Canada or New York. The following is the clause as finally agreed to:—"That all the territories, islands, and countries in North America, belonging to the crown of Great Britain, bounded on the south by a line from the Bay of Chaleurs, along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the sea, to a point in forty-five degrees of northern latitude, on the eastern bank of the river Connecticut, keeping the same latitude directly west, through the Lake Champlain, until, in the same latitude, it meets the river St. Lawrence; from thence up the eastern bank of the said river to the Lake Ontario; thence through the Lake Ontario, and the river commonly called Niagara; and thence along by the eastern and south-eastern bank of Lake Erie, following the said bank, until the same shall be intersected by the northern boundary, granted by the charter of the province of Pennsylvania, in case the same shall be so intersected; and from thence along the said northern and western boundaries of the said province, until the said western boundary strike the Ohio; but, in case the said bank of the said lake shall not be found to be so intersected, then following the said bank until it shall arrive at that point of the said bank which shall be nearest to the north-western angle of the said province of Pennsylvania, and thence, by a right line, to the said north-western angle of the said province; and thence along the western boundary of the said province, until it strike the river Ohio; and along the bank of the said river, westward, to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the merchants adventurers of England trading to Hudson's Bay; and also all such territories, islands, and countries, which have, since the 10th of February, 1763, been made part of the government of Newfoundland, be, and they are hereby, during his majesty's pleasure, annexed to, and made part and parcel of, the province of Quebec, as created and established by the said royal proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763. Provided always that nothing herein contained relative to the boundary of the province of Quebec, shall in anywise affect the boundaries of any other colony."

* Cavendish's Debates on the Canada Bill, as edited by Mr Wright, 1839.

came to the religious part of the bill, he directed his discourse to the bench of bishops, telling them that, as by the bill the Catholic religion was made the established religion *of that vast continent*, it was impossible they could be silent on the occasion. He called the bill a child of inordinate power, and desired and asked if any of that bench would hold it out for baptism? He touched again upon the unlimited power of the governor of Canada, in appointing *all* the members of the council, and who might be made up of Roman Catholics only. He also took notice of a new clause introduced in the Commons (by Lord North) repealing so much of the Act of Reformation of the first of Elizabeth as relates to the oath of supremacy, and substituting a common oath of allegiance in its place.* This act of Elizabeth, he said, had always been looked upon as one that the legislature had no more right to repeal than the Great Charter or the Bill of Rights. He exposed the train of fatal mischiefs attending the establishment of popery and arbitrary power in that vast and fertile region now annexed to the government of Quebec, and capable of containing (if fully peopled) not less than thirty millions of souls. He deduced the whole series of laws, from the supremacy first re-vindicated under Henry VIII. down to this day, as fundamentals constituting a clear compact that all establishments by law are to be Protestant; which compact ought not to be altered but by the consent of the collective body of the people. He further maintained *that the dangerous innovations of this bill were at variance with all the safeguards and barriers against the return of popery and of popish influence, so wisely provided against by all the oaths of office and of trust, from the constable up to the members of both Houses, and even to the sovereign in his coronation oath.* He *pathetically* expressed his fears that it might shake the affections and confidence of his majesty's Protestant subjects in England and Ireland, and finally lose the hearts of all his majesty's American subjects."† He was, however, left in a minority of 7 against 26: The king's brother, the court-excluded Duke of Gloucester, voted with him against ministers. On the 22nd of June the bill received the royal assent, the corporation of London having ineffectually petitioned the king against it. On the same day his majesty prorogued parliament with a speech approving highly of the bill, as likely to produce the best effects in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of the Canadians. He also applauded the temper and firmness and general concurrence of parliament in the measures they had adopted towards the people of Massachusetts Bay, and assured them that nothing depending on him should be wanting to render those measures effectual. It seemed to be generally understood that this parliament would not meet again; but its dissolution was not pronounced till more than three months after the prorogation. In spite of all the efforts made to shake him, and notwithstanding the numerous and serious difficulties which embarrassed him, Lord North appeared to be more firmly fixed than ever. Chatham himself was obliged to confess that his seat was a good one. "I have," said he, "long held one opinion as to the solidity of Lord North's situation: he serves *the crown* more successfully and more sufficiently, upon the whole, than any other man now to be found could do. This tenure seems a pretty good one. Who, by the way, ever had a better? or indeed any other, in any times?"* He could not forget his old enmity and rivalship to the name of Fox, and was not at all disposed to give Charles any great credit for sincerity or for steadiness of principle in the line of opposition he had taken during the last session. "The part of Mr. Fox," he says, "must naturally beget speculations; it may, however, be all resolved, without going deeper, into youth and warm blood."†

While the British parliament was voting strong bills, the Bostonians and people of Massachusetts Bay were continuing their strong measures and acts of defiance. In the month of January the House of Assembly resolved—"That it is the incumbent duty of the judges explicitly to declare whether they are determined to receive the grants of the general assembly, or to accept of their support from the crown; and their delaying any longer to let the public know their determination will discover that they have little or no regard for the peace and welfare of the province; and in such case it will be the indispensable duty of the commons of this province to impeach them before the governor and council." In February four of the judges acquainted the House that they had received their salary as granted by the colonial assembly; that they had not taken any part of the grant offered by the crown, and were determined to persevere in this line of conduct. But the chief justice, Peter Oliver, Esq., informed the House by letter that he had sat upon the bench seventeen years, during which time he had suffered losses to the amount of above 3000*l.*; that he had been encouraged not to resign by the hope of support, but had never been relieved; that he had taken

* And yet the oath substituted by Lord North was, in all conscience, strong, binding, and solemn enough. It was worded—"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown, and dignity; I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts, which I shall know to be against him or any of them; and all this I do swear, without any equivocation, mental evasion or secret reservation, and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me God." And the clause in the act added—"And every such person who shall neglect or refuse to take the said oath before-mentioned shall incur and be liable to the same penalties, forfeitures, disabilities and incapacities, as he would have incurred and been liable to for neglecting or refusing to take the oath required by the said statute passed in the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

† Parl Hist.—"His lordship stated, with great force, many objections to the clause giving to the French Canadians so advantageous a part of the fisheries of cod on the Labrador coast, to the great prejudice of the English fishermen on the banks of Newfoundland; considering the said fisheries of Labrador as a nursery of French Canadian seamen, to man, in case of a French war, any squadrons of France in those seas."—*Ibid.*

* Letter to the Earl of Shelburne, in Chat. Cor.

† Id. id.

his majesty's grant, and considered that, without his majesty's consent, he could not refuse it. Upon this, the House of Assembly resolved, by a majority of 96 against 9, "That Peter Oliver hath, by his conduct, proved himself an enemy to the constitution of this province, and is become justly obnoxious to the good people of it; that he ought to be removed from the office of chief justice; and that a remonstrance and petition to the governor and council for his immediate removal be prepared." The House further resolved to impeach the chief justice in their own name and in the name of all the inhabitants of the province. The governor excepted of their proceedings as unconstitutional; but they, nevertheless, drew up articles charging the chief justice with high crimes and misdemeanors, in which they said, "The salary and hopes of augmentation from the crown must have the effect of a continual bribe, and expose him to a violation of his oath. His accepting hath betrayed the baseness of his heart and the lust of covetousness, in breach of his engagements to rely solely on the grants of the assembly, necessarily implied and involved in his accepting said office. By receiving a grant out of the revenue unjustly extorted from the American colonies, he hath, as far as lay in his power, put a sanction on and established the said revenue, counteracted the reasonable petitions of the people to his majesty, and, in defiance of the known sense of the body of this people, hath wickedly endeavoured to increase the discontent and jealousies of this people and the grievance aforementioned." And on the 9th of March they resolved, "That the house have done all that in the capacity of representatives can be done for the removal of Peter Oliver; and it must be presumed that the governor's refusing to take any measures therein is, because he also receives his support from the crown." At this moment—that is to say before the arrival of any of the coercive bills—the leaders of the movement party were proclaiming that America must be made wholly independent of Great Britain, and separated from her. At the head of these men was Mr. Samuel Adams, whose patriotism had not yet been able quite to efface certain very serious stains on his scutcheon.* He had said long before, in small confidential companies, what he now repeated more publicly—"This country shall be independent, and we will be satisfied with nothing short of it." The name of Franklin was repeated with more admiration and enthusiasm than ever, and before their dissolution the assembly resolved to continue him their agent in England, while Governor Hutchinson refused to ratify his appointment, or sanction their act for paying Franklin his salary.

On the 13th of May, only a few days after the reception of the Boston Port Bill, General Gage, the new governor, landed on the long wharf, with part of his family and staff, but without any troops. He was not, like Hutchinson, a native of the province, but he was married to an American lady, and from long residence had many friends in the colony. He was complimented on his arrival by the council, the magistrates, and others, and afterwards entertained at a public dinner. That night Hutchinson was burnt in effigy. The next day a numerous town meeting took into consideration the Port bill, and resolved, "That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression: we therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world." The obnoxious act was instantly printed and circulated in innumerable copies throughout the colonies. Other printing-presses besides those of Boston were employed upon it; in some provinces the copy of the act was accompanied with comments, and in many places it was printed with a black border, and cried about under the title of "A barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder." In other places it was burned with great solemnity. At New York, where parties were pretty equally balanced, or where the Tories, as the government party were called, were for a moment rather the stronger, both threats and fraud were resorted to, to obtain a concurrence with the Bostonians, who, by means of the corresponding committees, had expressed everywhere their hope that they would be considered as suffering in the common cause. At Philadelphia a subscription was set on foot for the support of such poor inhabitants of Boston as should be deprived of the means of subsistence by the operation of the port act and the stoppage of their trade.*

But of all the colonists the Virginians were the *most* ardent and the most active, the democratic party taking the lead, and out-voting or out-jockeying the aristocratic party. When the Boston Port Bill and the letters and comments upon it reached Virginia the assembly was in session; but Mr. Jefferson, Patrick Henry, the two Lees, and three or four other young members, no longer willing to submit the direction of affairs to the old members, but determining on a bolder course, assembled in the council-chamber to consult by themselves what ought to be done. These

* He had been a defaulter as a collector of taxes. In the mild language of Gordon, whose political sympathies were all with Samuel Adams,—"At one time his influence was small, owing to defects in pecuniary matters, especially as collector of the taxes for Boston, in which office he served for years. He was accountable to the town for between one and two thousand pounds; but a great part of it had never been gathered. What with not pressing for the payment of the taxes in time, as is too generally the case, not calling when the money happened to be ready, and other casualties, no inconsiderable sum was lost. His necessities probably (for he appears to be addicted to no extravagances) urged him to supply himself, time after time, from the cash in hand, without attending to the accumulation of the balance against him, till called upon to settle. The town had several meetings upon the business; at length, by the exertion of his friends, a majority was obtained for the relinquishment of the demand upon him. Since his first election into the House, in 1765, his influence has been gradually increasing, until he has obtained a great ascendancy in directing the town of Boston and the house of representatives, and consequently the council."

* Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

hot spirits hit upon a measure which would better have suited the presbyterian or puritanical Bostonians and New Englanders. Proceeding from the New Englanders it might have carried the character at least, of sincerity and devoutness; but

Patrick Henry. From a Portrait by J. S. Fleming of Virginia.

from the Virginians it looked like the merest state trick. The measure, in which there was no originality, was fished out of that voluminous collection which we have so often quoted from in describing the great civil war between the English parliament and Charles I. "With the help of Rushworth," says Jefferson himself, "whom we rummaged for the revolutionary precedents and forms of the puritans of that day, we cooked up a resolution—somewhat modernising their phrases—for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the port bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of king and parliament to moderation and justice."* As the students of Rushworth and revolutionary precedents were neither venerable nor devout, they waited the next morning on Robert Carter Nicholas, with a request that he would make the motion in the assembly, as his age and religious character were considered in keeping with its sentiments, and likely to give it weight. Nicholas accepted the mission, and proposed the day of fasting and prayer, which passed without opposition. But on the following day, May the 25th, Lord Dunmore, the governor of the province, dissolved the assembly, assigning as a reason the vote which had been entered. The members then repaired to the Raleigh Tavern, and agreed to articles of association, in which they pronounced the Boston Port Bill to be the result of a determined system, formed for the purpose of reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery. They declared that tea ought not to be used by any well-wisher to constitutional liberty; that, from the course pursued by the East India Company in favour of arbitrary taxation, the people ought not to purchase any of their commodities, except saltpetre and spices, until their grievances should be redressed; and that an attack on one of their sister colonies was an attack upon all, threatening ruin to all, unless it was resisted by their united councils. They therefore further recommended to the committee of correspondence to communicate with all the other committees "on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, *to meet in general congress*, at such place, annually, as should be thought most convenient, to deliberate on the measures required by their common interests." This was a great step in the revolutionary march, and those who had made it were not likely to halt there. They resolved to proceed forthwith to the formation of a congress, agreeing that the members of assembly who should be elected under the new writs then issuing should meet in convention, at Williamsburgh, on the 1st of August following, for the purpose of appointing delegates to sit in congress. They then separated and went to their several homes, to invite the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, and make a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in spite of the governor. It appears that the majority of the Virginian clergy consented to this course, and made fervid appeals from the pulpit, thus co-operating powerfully in the great work. The effect was irresistible, and was likened by Jefferson to a shock of electricity. "And certainly," adds an American writer, who does not seem to consider that there was any religious impropriety in it, "*no plan could have been better devised to keep up the zeal of the people, which is always liable to flag when not stimulated by fresh excitement.*"* The day was also kept as a day of fasting and humiliation at Philadelphia; and at Boston and other places it was observed as a day of mourning, all the shops being shut up, and all the church-bells tolling dolefully.

In the mean while the assembly of Massachusetts Bay had met for the last time at Boston on the 25th of May. General Gage, as the new governor, laid before them some common business of the province, and then announced the painful necessity he lay under of removing them, the courts, and all public offices to Salem, by the 1st of June, in conformity with the recent acts of parliament. They petitioned him to set apart a day for fasting, but he refused, and, to avoid discussion, adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. They met on the day and at the place appointed, and named a committee to consider and report the state of the province.

* Life of Thomas Jefferson, by Professor Tucker. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1837.

* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

Mr. Samuel Adams, seeing that some of the committee were for pursuing mild and conciliatory measures, conferred with Mr. Warren upon the necessity of getting up more spirit. Warren engaged to keep the committee in play, while Adams should go and make a *caucus*—by which, in Bostonian language, was meant a political meeting and consultation carried on in secret. Adams succeeded in the course of three or four days in winning over and concerting measures with more than thirty members; the friends of government knowing nothing of the matter. He then announced to his party that they were sure of carrying their scheme by a sufficient majority. This scheme was completed, their resolutions were all drawn up, and on the 17th they resolved to proceed to business, hoping to finish before the governor could interfere with a prorogation or a dissolution. On that day they ordered the doorkeeper to let no one whatsoever in, and to permit no one to go out. Yet, when they opened the business, a member favourable to government contrived to get out and to give information of what was doing within. A messenger was instantly dispatched to General Gage, who sent his secretary to dissolve them. The secretary found the door fastened: he knocked for entrance, but was told that the house was engaged upon very important business and could not admit him until it was over. The secretary then read the proclamation of dissolution upon the stairs leading to the chamber, in the hearing of several members and others, all shut out of the house. But by this time those within had done all they wanted to do:—they had appointed Samuel Adams, John Adams, and three others, as their committee to meet other provincial

JOHN ADAMS. From an Anonymous American Portrait.

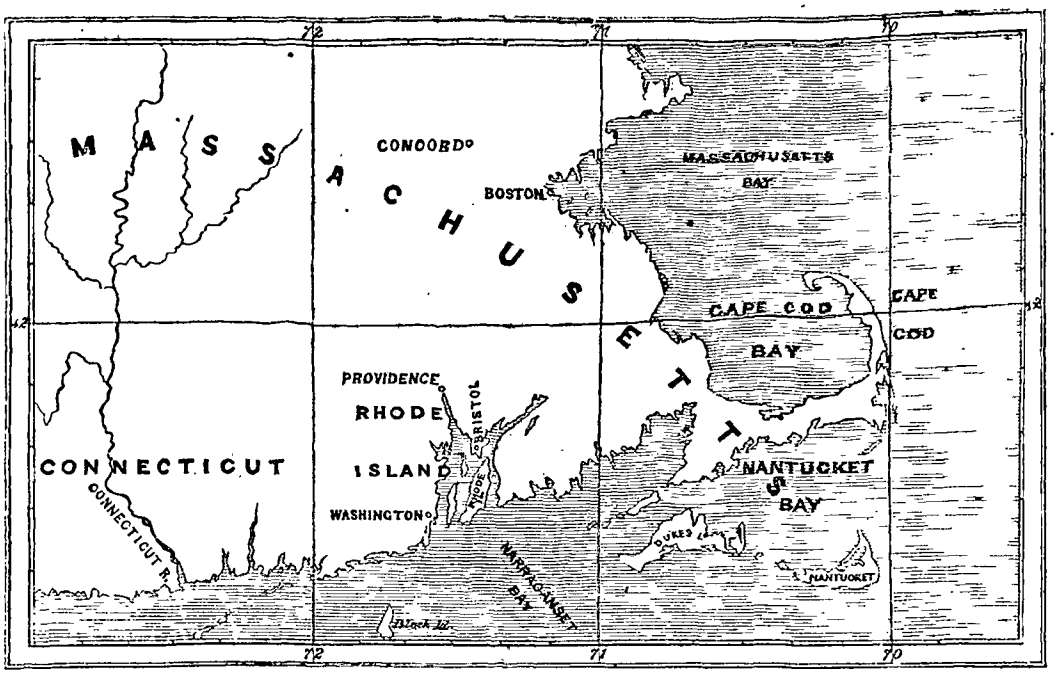
committees to be convened on the 1st of September at Philadelphia; they had voted them 500*l.*; had chosen a treasurer, and, having no money in hand, had recommended the several towns and districts to raise the said sum by equitable proportions according to the last provincial tax—a recommendation which is said to have had, all through the province, the force of a law. They then separated, and many of the sons of liberty triumphed to think how the house had out-generaled the governor.* But it does not appear that General Gage intended any manœuvre, and their own generalship seems to have consisted chiefly in the not very lawful trick of getting possession of the house to the exclusion of all such members as would have voted *against* them.

In rapid succession most of the colonies agreed to the expediency of the general congress, and pressed on the operations of the corresponding committees. After some difficulties, occasioned by the numerous friends of government and families of old standing and large property in that province, a meeting of the citizens of New York was called for the purpose of consulting on measures proper to be pursued in this emergency. A committee of fifty was appointed to correspond with the sister colonies "on all matters of moment." John Jay, who is esteemed one of the fathers of the American revolution, was a member of this committee, as also of a sub-committee appointed to prepare answers to whatever letters might be received. Both committees were soon earnestly and constantly at work. The friends of Jay challenge for him the honour of being the first to propose the general congress; but it should seem that the idea arose simultaneously in several minds and in several places; and nothing could well be more obvious or effective when the Americans had made up their minds for a revolution. Jay certainly drew up the New York paper, recommending that a congress of deputies from all the colonies should be assembled, and he also urged, as early as the month of June, that it ought to be assembled *without delay*.†

On the 1st of June, as the clock struck twelve, the custom-house at Boston had been shut up, and all lawful business had ceased in that port and town. But the people of Salem said they disdained to profit by the injury and losses of their Bostonian brethren; and, as early as the 18th of June, before any business could be well begun, the merchants and freeholders of Salem presented an address to Governor Gage, severely censuring the measures which had been adopted, commiserating the people of Boston, and declining to avail themselves of the advantages tendered by the Boston Port Bill. They said—"By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals with that convenient mart. And, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth and raise our

* Gordon.

† The Life of John Jay, with Selections from his Correspondence and miscellaneous Papers: by his Son, William Jay.



Port of Boston, &c. &c.

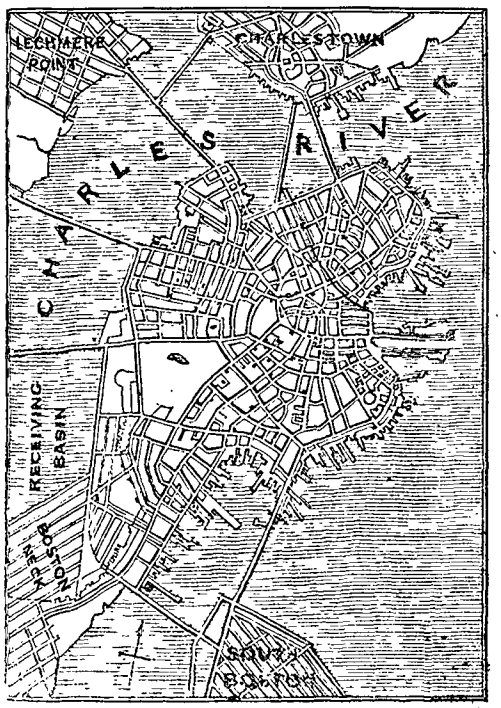
fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours." They repeated the old saying, which was now little better than a quibble, that they still ardently wished to continue united with the British empire. But on the following day the men of Salem joined a general association, got up by many of the committees of correspondence, and called, in imitation of the famous Scotch bond of the preceding century, "solemn league and covenant."* At every move the Americans read Rushworth. The present document might have been taken for a transcript out of his big book. It declared that the compact had been adopted as the sole means of avoiding the horrors of slavery, or the carnage and desolation of civil war; and the parties subscribing, in the presence of God, solemnly and in good faith covenanted to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, till the Boston Port bill should be repealed and the charter restored; not to purchase or consume any goods or merchandize from Great Britain after the last day of August; and to have no dealings with persons capable of breaking this sacred agreement, but to publish their names as enemies to their country, and men excommunicated, or cut off from all social intercourse. Never did league and covenant spread more rapidly among the fiery and oppressed Presbyterians, Covenanters, or Cameronians of Scotland; and it was all in vain that Governor Gage issued a proclamation forbidding such unlawful and traitorous combinations. Those who were not led by free will were impelled by their fears; and in most places it seemed more dangerous to oppose the popular will than to risk a struggle in arms with the mother country; or, at the least, that the one danger was far more immediate and more direct in its operation than the other.*

When all was sullen and threatening in Boston General Gage ordered thither some regiments of foot with a detachment of artillery, who were all encamped on the common, and who were soon reinforced by fresh troops from Great Britain and Ireland. The men had not been there many days ere desertion began to prevail to an alarming extent. The raw recruits more particularly were spirited away by gills of ardent spirits in hand, and high promises in the bush. Gage first issued a proclamation offering pardon to such deserters as should return to their duty; and he next placed a strong guard at Boston Neck, a narrow isthmus which connects the town with the country. The instant this indispensable guard was placed a cry was raised that Gage intended to cut off all communications; to

* The invitations to take this league and covenant were generally expressed in pretty strong terms. In many places the language was "Join or Die."

* A few moderate persons were, however, courageous enough to offer some resistance to the headlong will of the people, and some slight encouragement to Gage and government. An address was sighed by 120 gentlemen and merchants of Boston, expressive of their regret at the lawless violence of their fellow-townsmen. The justices of the county of Plymouth, assembled in general session, expressed their serious concern at seeing the inhabitants of some towns influenced by certain persons calling themselves Committees of Correspondence, and encouraged by some whose business was to preach the Gospel of Christ, entering into a league calculated to exasperate the parent country and interrupt and destroy the harmony of society. Attempts were made by some of the most wealthy people of Boston to raise money to pay the East India Company for the tea which had been destroyed. But all these demonstrations and attempts did far more harm than good, their only effect being to strengthen the cherished conviction of the English Court and Government that the most respectable people in the colonies were wholly averse to revolution.

blockade the town, and to compel the inhabitants, by famine, to submit to government. The inhabitants of the county of Worcester assembled in great numbers, and sent messengers to enquire



PLAN OF BOSTON.]

into the truth of the report, making more than a half threat to drive the guard from the isthmus with their rifles and muskets.* Near and far the exciting cry produced its effect, and former animosities or antipathies between the New Englanders and the men of the more southern provinces were all forgotten in the deep sympathy for the *martyrdom* of the Bostonians, who were encouraged to brave the fictitious doom by assurances that the whole American world had their eyes upon them. Governor Gage, in conformity with the act of Parliament, re-organised the Massachusetts Council; but out of thirty-six members, selected by the crown, only twenty-four would be sworn, and of these twenty-four many were soon glad to throw up their commissions, in order to escape from the odium which bore them down, and from the threats which allowed them and their families no peace. Gage, however, issued writs for convening the assembly in October. All justice, or, at the very least, all law, was at an end in that province; for the juries would not serve under the new judges, nor would the summoning officers call them. Except on the ground covered by the British troops there was no peace or rest for any man that dared to differ with the popular majority. Few of the people of this part of America were altogether unarmed, and weapons had been provided for such as were too poor to purchase them. "The people at large," says Gordon, writing at this moment, "have been for some time preparing to defend their rights with the point of the sword. . . . The countrymen, in returning from Boston, are daily bringing out guns, knapsacks, &c. Every one appears desirous of being well accoutred. They have arms in general, the militia law requiring it of all within a certain age." And he adds, in a note: "They are fond of shooting, are accustomed to it from early life, and are special marksmen. They are perfecting themselves in their exercise. Handling the musket and training are the fashionable amusements. . . . Nothing is to be seen or heard of except the purchasing of arms and ammunition, the casting of balls, and the making of all those preparations which testify the most immediate danger and determined resistance." Under these circumstances Gage bagan really to fortify Boston Neck; and he seized and removed to head-quarters all the gunpowder and other military stores that were deposited at Charlestown, Cambridge, and some other places.

The people rose in arms and again threatened to attack the troops. They did not, however, come to blows, but they threw every possible obstruction in the way of the officers who were employed in erecting the works on the Neck, burning the materials by night, sinking boats laden with bricks, and overturning the waggons that were carrying the timber. A meeting of delegates from all the neighbouring towns was called at the beginning of September, and was held in spite of the governor's proclamation. This assemblage resolved; That no obedience was due to any part of the late Acts of Parliament, which ought to be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration:—That it should be recommended to the collectors of taxes and all other officers, who had public monies in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof until the civil government of the province should be placed upon its old foundation, or until it should be otherwise ordered by the proposed general congress:—That the persons who had accepted seats in the council, by virtue of a *mandamus* from the king, had acted in direct violation of the duty they owed to their country; and that all of them who did not resign before the 20th of September should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country:—*That the late act, establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec, was dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion, and to the rights and liberties of all America*:—That, whereas their enemies had flattered themselves that they should make an easy prey of a numerous, brave people, from the notion that they were unacquainted with military discipline, such persons should be elected in each town as militia officers as were judged to be of good capacity, and inflexible friends to the rights of the people, while the inhabitants of the towns should use their utmost dili-

* Stedman.

gence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and for that purpose appear under arms at least once every week:—That they were determined to act upon the defensive so long as such conduct might be vindicated by reason and the principle of self preservation, but no longer:—That, as it was understood to be in contemplation by the governor to apprehend sundry persons, the people were recommended, should such arrests be made, to seize and keep every servant of the present government until the persons so apprehended should be restored uninjured, &c., &c.* They also drew up an address to General Gage complaining of the fortifications carrying on at Boston Neck, and telling him that although they had no inclination to commence hostilities, they were nevertheless determined not to submit to any of the late acts of the British parliament. To this Gage replied, that it was his duty to preserve the peace, to preserve the lives of his soldiers, and erect such works as should prevent their being surprised; and that the cannon placed in battery on Boston Neck would never be used unless to repel hostile proceedings.†

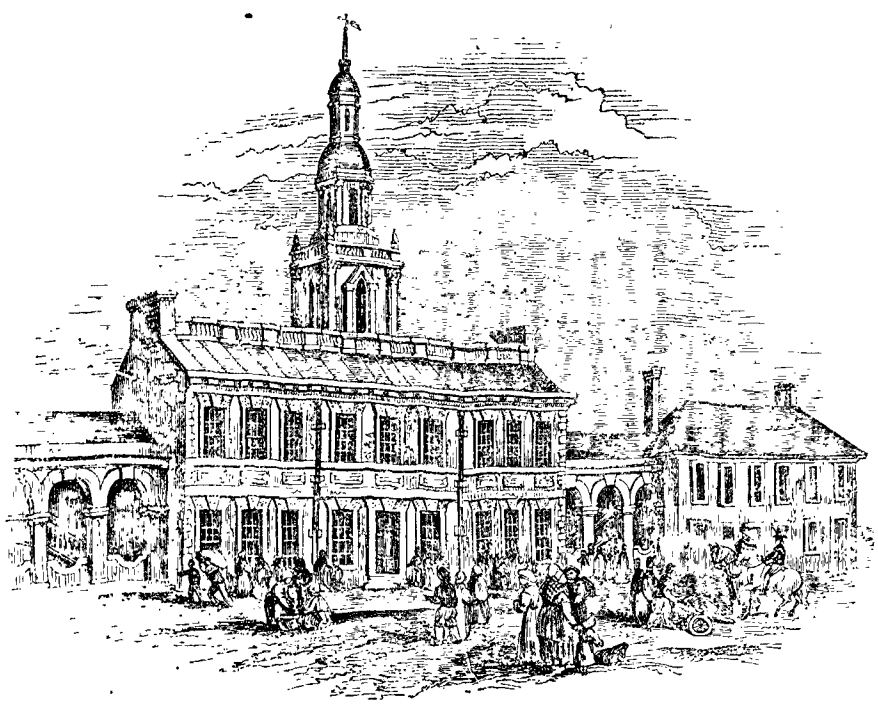
Before this time the men of Virginia had been going so fast, as almost to intimate that they intended leaving the men of Massachusetts bay behind them as sluggards and loiterers on the road of revolution and independence. Jefferson and the other members of the Virginia convention met, as appointed, on the 1st of August, to agree as to instructions for the delegates to be sent to the general congress. Jefferson had drawn up a terrible paper; but, falling sick, he left it to be presented by Peyton Randolph. This document was thought too bold for the present state of things, but it was nevertheless printed and widely circulated in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." In some respects it was a production as crude as it was violent; but in other respects it was an ingenious exposition of the evils attending colonial dependence on a country jealous of her manufacturing and commercial supremacy; as when it stated that by several acts of parliament America was prohibited from selling to or buying from any other country than Great Britain, and that, in the same spirit of monopoly, an American was forbidden to make a hat for himself of the fur he had taken perhaps on his own soil, or to manufacture the iron which he himself had made from the ore dug out of American earth. With a licence as to figures, Jefferson's paper asked, whether one hundred and sixty thousand electors in the island of Great Britain should give law to *four* millions of men in the States of America, every individual of whom—or so said Jefferson—was equal to every individual of them, in virtue, understanding, and in bodily strength? It enumerated, among the delinquencies and oppressions of the mother country, her interfering with local laws prohibiting the further importation of slaves; it denied that the king had any right to any lands within the province, or any right to send a single armed man to their shores; and it declared, not only that the king and parliament should not lay the slightest tax without their consent, but also that they *should not circumscribe or in any way regulate their manufactures and commerce*. The simple amount of the whole was that the Virginians should claim an absolute independence and sovereignty. But, as Jefferson, the author of the document, himself confessed at a later period, "*the leap he thus proposed was too long, as yet, for the mass of his fellow citizens.*"* As is avowed by American writers, this reticence proceeded principally, if not entirely, from the fear of alarming and offending the opposition in the British parliament, and those who were called the friends of America in England. Another set of instructions was therefore prepared far more moderate than those drawn up by Jefferson, yet still strong enough to have convinced even the purblind that the object of its authors was nothing less than independence. They began by averring their allegiance to King George III., their "lawful and rightful sovereign," whom they were determined, with their "lives and fortunes, to support in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives." They declared that they sincerely approved of a constitutional connexion with the mother country, and a return of the intercourse which had formerly united England and America—nay, they even professed a willingness to submit *to regulations and restrictions on their commerce*, provided they were not unreasonable. The colony was deeply in debt to the mother country; there was scarcely a planter or slave-holder there, great or small, royalist or revolutionist, but was debtor to his merchants and agents in England for advances made on tobacco and other produce not yet delivered, nor even grown—these Virginia planters having been for the most part men of thoughtless and expensive habits, fond of putting four or six horses to their coaches, in rude imitation of the style of the nobility and monied aristocracy of the mother country; and an earnest desire was now asserted to discharge their debts, and an order was now passed that exportations to Great Britain should not be stopped till the 10th of August in the succeeding year (1775). But in all other respects the Virginians instructed their deputies at congress to co-operate cordially with Massachusetts Bay and the other colonies that should send delegates to the congress. This paper of instructions further declared that General Gage's proclamation against the league and covenant and popular meetings was odious, alarming, and illegal; and that, if attempted to be carried into effect, it would justify resistance and reprisals. The convention of Virginia further agreed to contribute speedily and liberally to the relief of the people of Boston; to abide by such alterations in their present articles as congress might recom-

* Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.
† Id. id.

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

mend, and the delegates of Virginia assent to; to export no tobacco after the 10th of August, 1775, and, in lieu of its cultivation, to encourage manufactures;—[just as if their negroes could be converted of a sudden by conventions and congresses into artisans, and as if the richness and extent of their soil, the source of their real wealth, were to be neglected for the sake of making hats for their own heads, and hardware goods for their own use;]—to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number; to deal with no merchants who took advantage of the scarcity of goods to raise their price; nor with any who would not sign the act of association; to require the county committees to publish the names of such as would not conform to the regulations prescribed, &c. &c. They finished by selecting as their delegates to the general congress, Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, and Benjamin Harrison.

To this assembly the eyes of all America were now anxiously turned; it being obvious to the least reflecting that it could be only by a strict union of councils, and an unanimity of spirit, that the colonies could brave the storm, or successfully resist the tremendous power of the mother country. It met, as appointed, at Philadelphia, on Monday, the 4th of September, when all the provinces from Massachusetts to South Carolina inclusive, with the single exception of North Carolina, were found to be represented. On the following day they assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in Chesnut-street, chose Peyton Randolph president, and organised themselves into a deliberative assembly. The tardy delegates from North Carolina arrived on the 14th, and took their seats with the rest. The assembly thus completed consisted in all of fifty-five delegates, including nearly all those who were afterwards honoured with the title of *Patres Patriæ;* but the greatest of all,—the real father of American independence, the man without whom there would have been no revolution at this time, or a revolution that would have failed—was not there. We need scarcely name BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. They lost no time in proceeding to business. The debate was opened by Patrick Henry, their Chatham or Demosthenes; and after a few days they agreed upon a Declaration of Rights, to which they said they were entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and their several charters or compacts. This was followed by a new non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation association, to be universally observed, and infringed by no American citizen. And, this done, they set about preparing a series of solemn addresses, one being to King George, to express their loyal affection; one to the people of Great Britain, to show how barbarously they had been treated by a tyrannical, corrupt, and base administration, and to assure them that the project of enslaving the Americans was only a prelude to the utter overthrow of the English constitution, and the introduction of a



CARPENTER'S HALL, Philadelphia From a Vignette to an Old Map of that city.

despotism at home;* one to the French people of Quebec, inviting them to make common cause with the Anglo-American colonies, and urging them to take up arms against the English, who had conquered Canada only fourteen years before. Without heeding the notorious fact that the French Canadians were not a speculative and reading people, but a people blindly attached to the *old* French forms of government and law, a people averse to changes and innovations, and without heeding the real character and political views of the ingenious and eloquent author of *L'Esprit des Lois*, these delegates, in congress assembled, conjured up the ghost of Montesquieu, and made him address the Canadians in these terms:—"Seize the opportunity presented to you by providence itself. You are a small people compared with those who, with open arms, invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness—to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they bid you an eternal adieu."—This language, not much like Montesquieu's, conveyed few ideas to the Louis-quatorze, bag-wigged seigneurs of Quebec, and to the farmers and chasseurs of the province it was altogether unintelligible. But if the Canadians, who were so far behind the European and Anglo-American spirit and movement as to cling to the old feudal institutions, to the laws and customs their ancestors had brought with them from France a century and a half before, were less than indifferent to declarations of the rights of man, and to the advancement of democratic theory and practice, they were exceedingly sensitive as to their religion, and the rights and dignity of their Catholic clergy. Now, while the parliament of Great Britain had just been securing to them the free and honoured indulgence of their religion, and to their priests their tithes, their landed property, their consideration, the convention of the hot Presbyterians of Massachusetts Bay had been declaring that the said proceedings of the British parliament were dangerous to the Protestant interest, and things not to be tolerated by the Protestant people of British America. Nor was this all: the general congress had just been adopting, in their declaration of rights the fanatic, exclusive spirit of the Massachusetts Baymen, having enumerated among their worst grievances the indulgences conceded to the Roman Catholics of Canada! This was quite enough to throw cold water into the tinder-box of congress. It is quite true that in their present address to the people of Quebec, written only a few weeks after the said declaration of rights, congress adopted a different tone, and spoke of the propriety and beauty of religious toleration, quoting the case of the Swiss cantons, where Roman Catholic states and Protestant states lived in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and were thereby enabled to defy and defeat every tyrant that had invaded them. But the French Canadians must have felt that this difference of tone was intended for a particular purpose, or merely to induce them to give their important weight to the confederacy against the British government. And, if these Canadians had little natural sympathy with their British conquerors, they had perhaps still less with their Anglo-American neighbours, who had lived in hostility with them for several generations; who, equally with the king's troops, had borne arms against them in the last war, and who had been invariably accustomed to speak of them with contempt. Their nearest neighbours, the puritanically disposed New Englanders, were in everything the opposites of the French Canadians, and they were no more fitted to unite with one another than oil with water. These, on the side of Canada, were strong disposing causes to peace and tranquillity; and the French colonists, moreover, had recently felt the ploughshares and deep-cutting harrows of war; they had too recently witnessed on their own soil the marchings and countermarchings, the sieges, the assaults, the bloody struggles of hostile forces, and all the devastation, violence, and misery incident to a country that becomes the theatre of war. Of these things, except on their frontiers, and in their bush-fights with the Indians, the Anglo-American colonists knew little or nothing. The Canadians did precisely what might have been expected—they laughed at the address, and remained perfectly quiet. Congress also prepared and sent letters to the colonists of Georgia, East and West Florida, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, to induce them to shake off their dependence on the mother country, and join them in their contest. These letters were, for the moment, scarcely more successful than the address to the French of Quebec; but the provocation given to the parliament, and crown, and people of Great Britain, by the writing of them, sunk deep, and convinced most men who were not blinded by party, or by palpable ignorance, that the Americans would hesitate at nothing that promised to forward their views. The congress resolved that, if any attempt were made to seize any American, in order to transport him beyond sea for trial of offences committed in America, resistance and reprisals, should be made. They agreed that another general congress should be held on the 10th day of May of the ensuing year (1775), and then, on the 26th of October, they dissolved themselves. Their high-handed measures had not been carried unanimously, or without considerable opposition in their own small

* The drawing up of this address to the people of Great Britain was entrusted to Jay, then a young lawyer, under the age of twenty-one, who was one of the delegates from New York. It was his first performance, and was of course not deficient in heat. It was written in a room of a tavern at Philadelphia.—*Life of John Jay, by his Son.*

body. Mr. Galloway, one of the delegates of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Duane, of New York, inclined to more moderate measures, deprecating any disseverance from the mother country; and they would have entered a protest, if they had been allowed so to do by the violent majority. On the latter side it appears that not one—not even Patrick Henry, the Virginian orator,—was so violent as Mr. Samuel Adams, the Bostonian defaulter. In one of his rhodomontades the bankrupt tax-gatherer exclaimed—"I should advise persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it was revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand to survive and retain his liberty! One such freeman must possess more virtue, and enjoy more happiness, than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved!"

Previously to the dissolution of the congress at Philadelphia, the people of Massachusetts had made another demonstration at Salem. Governor Gage had issued writs calling the assembly to meet at that town on the 5th of October, but had afterwards thought it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation. The men elected for the assembly said that this proclamation was not lawful, and met, to the number of ninety, at Salem, on the day appointed. As the governor was not there to open the session, and as there was no one deputed by him to administer the oaths, their sitting was clearly illegal. They, nevertheless, appointed a committee to consider the proclamation, and then resolved themselves into a *provincial congress*, to be joined by such other persons as might be chosen, to take into consideration the alarming state of public affairs. They adjourned to the town of Concord, about twenty-five miles from Boston, and elected Mr. Hancock, the owner of the Liberty sloop, and a great merchant in the contraband line, to be their president. Their next measure was to appoint a committee to wait upon Governor Gage with a remonstrance. Waiving his right to consider their assembly as informal or unlawful, Gage replied to them that it was absurd to talk of their lives, liberty, or property being in danger from the English troops on Boston Neck; that, notwithstanding the constant enmity shown to those troops, by withholding from them almost every thing necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered any of that resentment which might naturally have been expected from such hostile treatment; that, while complaining of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they were themselves, by their present conduct and assembling, subverting that charter, and acting in direct violation of their own constitution. Upon this they adjourned to Cambridge, and appointed a committee to draw up a plan for the military defence of the province. Concord, the place they had left, became a depôt for ammunition, and almost a place of arms. Minute-men, as they were called from the condition of their service, which was to turn out with musket or rifle at a minute's notice, were enlisted, and money was voted to purchase warlike stores. Committees and sub-

JOHN HANCOCK. From the Picture in Faneuil Hall, Boston, by J. S. Copley.

committees were named for different purposes, as the committee of safety, the committee of supplies, and the committee of the militia; and, to complete these acts of preparation and defiance, they appointed Jedediah Pribble and Artemas Ward, who had seen some service in the last war with the French and Canadians, to be their generals, and to have the supreme command of their militia and minute-men. With extreme difficulty, General Gage procured carpenters and masons to erect barracks for his troops outside of the town of Boston. All his provisions he was obliged to bring by sea, generally from distant places. Having, apparently, some apprehension that the Bostonians might point those guns against him, he caused a party of sailors to be landed by night from the ships of war in the harbour, to spike all the cannon upon one of the town batteries.

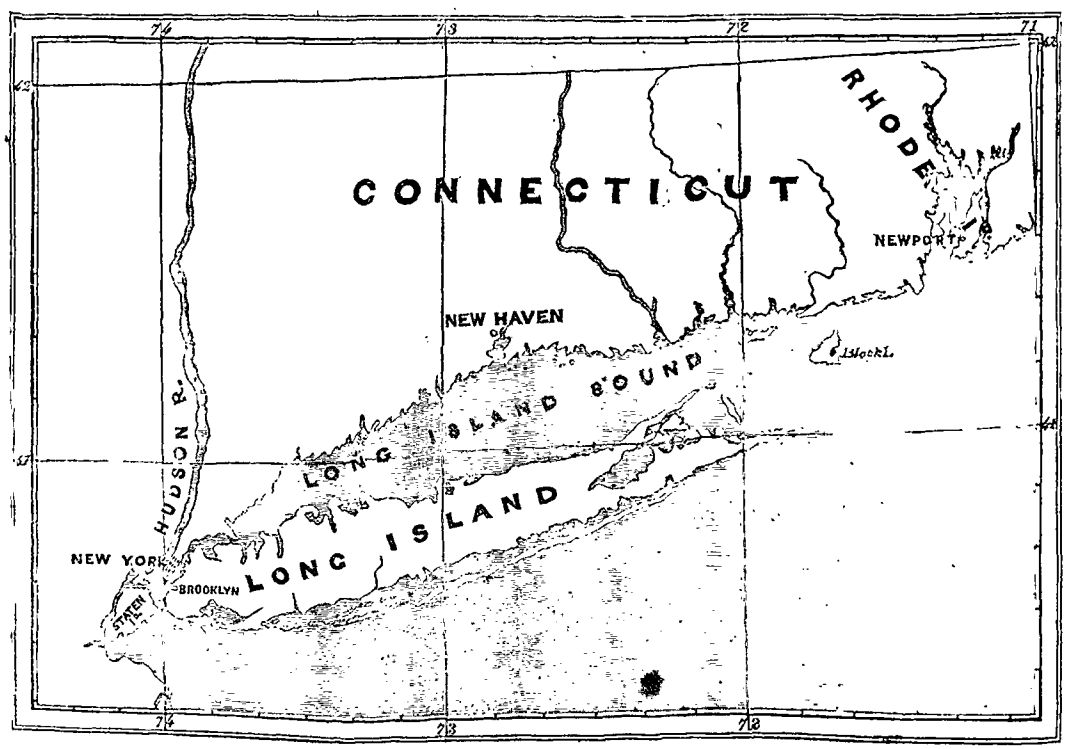
The provincial congress of Massachusetts soon met again to deliberate upon the precise period for opposing or attacking the king's troops. The timid, the moderate deputies, thought this was going too fast, and, under plea of bodily indisposition, they began to quit these dangerous deliberations; but Samuel Adams, to stop this epidemical distemper, proposed that, when members were not well, they should be allowed to retire, but upon condition that upon getting home they should inform their towns they were not represented, in order that other members might be instantly elected to supply their places. This cured the malady; for most men preferred remaining in the provincial congress to incurring the displeasure of their constituents, and being supplanted by others. And it was presently determined that General Gage's troops should be attacked whenever they

marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery, as this would prove they were going to support the acts of the British parliament by force. They resolved that 12,000 men should be got under arms in the province as soon as possible, and that the minute-men should receive regular pay, and be allowed to choose their own officers. They sent emissaries to Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, to request them to prepare their respective quotas, so as to make up an army of 20,000 men; and they appointed a committee to keep up a correspondence with the protestants of Canada, and more particularly with the new settlers of the presbyterian persuasion. They also addressed a circular letter to all the dissenting ministers in New England, expressing great hopes in an order of men who had ever distinguished themselves in the cause of America, and recommending them to assist in averting that dreadful slavery with which the country was now threatened. It is believed that the preachers stood in no need of this incitement, having been very busy both with the tongue in the pulpit, and with the pen in the newspapers, in helping on the design ever since the quarrel began. Early in December the provincial congress of Massachusetts prorogued themselves, that they might be at home in time to keep a day of thanksgiving with their families.*

A proclamation had been issued by the king, strictly prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores to America. As soon as copies of this document were received in the colonies, the people of Rhode Island, who had burned the Gaspee schooner, seized upon forty pieces of cannon belonging to the crown, which had been mounted on batteries for the defence of the harbour, and carried them off into the country, to have them in readiness to mow down the king's troops. In New Hampshire, a number of armed men assembled, surprised a small fort called "William and Mary," garrisoned only by an officer and five men, and carried off the ordnance, gunpowder, and other military stores. Nearly everywhere orders were passed for buying arms and ammunition at the public expense or by subscription, and for training the militia. Mills were erected for making gunpowder, manufactories were set up for making arms, and great encouragement was offered for making saltpetre.* New York, however, in spite of the impetuosity of Jay and other young enthusiasts, continued to be rather lukewarm or divided; the government party, the wealthy classes, were still for reconciliation and a peaceful settlement of

* Gordon. This zealous presbyterian says, "It has long been a custom in the colony to have a fast day in the spring, and a thanksgiving late in the fall of the year, or in the beginning of winter, when the heads of families collect their children around them, and, beside attending the religious exercises of the day, feast upon a plentiful though not a splendid table, and are innocently merry. The observation of this day they call *a keeping thanksgiving*. The appointment of both days belongs, in an orderly way, to the governor; but in these extraordinary times the provincial congress appointed the public thanksgiving, on which, among other enumerated blessings, a particular acknowledgment was to be made to the Almighty for the union which so remarkably prevails in all the colonies."

* Stedman.



Rhode Island Long Island, New York, &c. &c.

the quarrel; and they had influence enough in the assembly of the colony to carry a vote refusing to accede to the proceedings and resolutions of the general congress, which had been approved and confirmed by most of the other provinces.

In England, meanwhile, Franklin had not been idle. As instructed by his constituents, he had given all possible publicity to the addresses of the general congress to the king and to the people of Great Britain—the first to show how loyal were the Americans—the second (Jay's composition) to excite the popular body. Moreover the philosopher, assisted by numerous agents, and by some of the members of opposition in parliament, had been extremely active in some of the principal manufacturing towns of the north of England, particularly among the dissenters, who were urged to petition the throne in favour of the colonies and of their own trade, which must suffer immensely from the non-importation agreements. To counteract these agencies, to show that Franklin's scheme was in reality nothing less than to dismember the British empire, to check the petitions, or get up counter-petitions, Adam Smith, the author of the "Wealth of Nations," applied to Dr. Roebuck, the eminent physician of Birmingham, and the intimate friend of Shenstone the poet, imploring him, without loss of time, to make a journey through the manufacturing districts, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, &c., to see his friends, to communicate with the people, and to explain to them the real motives and objects of the Americans. This was done in concurrence with Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, who at the same time adopted other measures to check or throw discredit on the petitions Franklin was procuring.* Soon after Adam Smith's letter was written, an attempt was made to disarm Franklin's hostility, or to ascertain his intentions, by an English lady, and by that lady's brother, Admiral Lord Howe, who had probably been already designated for the American command, which he afterwards held with so little glory. The philosopher, being introduced by Mr. Raper, a member of the Royal Society, played a few games at chess with the lady, whom he found of very sensible conversation and pleasing behaviour; and the lady, on Christmas-day, made him acquainted with Lord Howe, saying that he was a very good man, and that she was sure they would like each other. According to Franklin, Lord Howe behaved in the most courteous manner, said that, beside the general motives for his desiring an acquaintance with so eminent a man, he had a particular *motive* at this time, arising out of the alarming situation of American affairs, which no one understood better than Dr. Franklin. The philosopher further says that Howe confessed that he (Franklin) had been very ill treated by the English ministry; that he had much disapproved of their conduct towards him; that some of the ministers themselves were ashamed of it, and sorry it had happened. But even in this account, which is Franklin's own,* it is certainly not said that Howe expressed his disbelief of the charges, touching the letters, which Wedderburn had made against Franklin before the privy council. From the nature of his mission, from his inward conviction that in winning over Franklin he would have won over America, Howe, in spite of his habitual taciturnity, may, no doubt, have made use of many conciliatory and flattering expressions (and, without flattery, there was much to applaud and reverence in Franklin's history, character, and intellectual performances); but we cannot discover that, either on this or any other occasion, Howe gave the lie to Wedderburn, however much he may have disapproved of that functionary's injudicious violence. After a few general observations as to the possibility of bringing about a reconciliation through the medium of a communication by himself (Lord Howe) with the ministry, his lordship, says Franklin, concluded by observing that, "being himself upon no ill terms with ministers, he thought it not impossible that he might, by conveying my sentiments to them, and theirs to me, be the means of bringing on a good understanding, without committing either them or me, if his negociation should not succeed; and that I might rely on his keeping perfectly secret every thing I should wish to remain so." Franklin's account—*and we have no other*—goes on to state that he told Lord Howe that his manner was such as had already engaged his confidence; that he requested his lordship to give him credit for a sincere desire of healing the breach between the two countries, assuring him that he would do every thing in his small power to accomplish it, though he apprehended, from the king's last speech, and from the measures talked of, no intention or disposition of the kind existed in the present cabinet. He said that, as to the *personal injuries* his lordship had spoken of, they were not worth mentioning; and that, besides, it was a fixed rule with him not to mix his private affairs with those of the public. This first interview ended by Lord Howe obtaining a promise from Franklin, that he would draw up in writing a series of propositions on which he thought a good understanding between the mother country and the colonies might be based. They agreed to meet again at the same place—the house of Lord Howe's sister—in the course of a few days, in order to discuss those propositions. When Howe saw the paper, he must have been convinced that the British government would not pay the least attention to it, and that Franklin never intended they should; for his propositions, without periphrasis, were:—that all the laws and acts of parliament, or all parts of them, requested to be repealed in the petition of the general congress to the king, should be repealed forthwith; that orders should be given to

* Letters from Dr. Adam Smith to Dr. Roebuck of Birmingham, printed in the second number of the Verulam. The originals are in the possession of John Landseer, Esq.

* Memorials and Letters published by William Temple Franklin, in the Life and Works of his grandfather.

withdraw all the ships of war from Boston, and remove all the troops, that the colonies might be left at liberty in all their future speculations, &c. They scarcely admitted even of a private discussion, and Lord Howe merely told Franklin he would lay them before ministers, without any hope that such propositions were likely to produce any good effect. His lordship, however, brought about a meeting in private between Franklin and Lord Hyde; but this was equally void of effect. The philosopher expressed, indeed, on all occasions, a tender anxiety for the preservation of peace and good fellowship; but he would never pledge himself to a single sacrifice or concession, continuing to ask for extreme conditions, which would have left the English government scarcely the shadow of authority, and which would have given the colonies virtually an entire independence, although he persisted in declaring that independence was neither their object nor their wish. Lord Howe saw him again for the last time a little before his return to his constituents in America, apologised for the trouble he had given him, but hoped, if he should chance to be sent out by his government to attempt an arrangement with the colonists, he might still expect his assistance. Franklin assured him of his readiness at all times to co-operate with him in so good a work. "And so," says he, "taking my leave, and receiving his good wishes, ended the negociation with Lord Howe."* We shall meet the philosopher again before his departure, giving assurances of his good intentions to Lord Chatham, who appears to have been determined not to doubt in the slightest degree of his sincerity, and not to diminish the blame due to the king and Lord North's cabinet by laying any portion of it upon Franklin and his countrymen.

On the 30th of September the parliament, which had yet more than a year to complete its septennial term, had been dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for a new one. The general election in the month of October had gone greatly in favour of ministers. The nation seemed tired of the American question, which had vexed their ear ever since 1765, and the large majority of the people were certainly of opinion that the colonies had grossly insulted king, parliament, and country, and invited chastisement. Loyalty certainly increased at home in proportion as disaffection increased abroad. A glance into the publications of the day will sufficiently establish this fact, and convince every candid man that, whatever might be the complaints at a later period, when our ministers and commanders in America had shown an utter incompetency for conducting a great war, few Englishmen complained at this moment of any obstinacy in the sovereign in persevering against the Americans. In some few places, however, tests were proposed by a portion of freeholders and voters, including pledges to stop hostilities with America. Thus some of the freeholders of Middlesex, at a meeting, proposed to John Wilkes, who was again a candidate, and to his colleague, Sergeant Glynn, a test, in which they should engage to promote bills for shortening the duration of parliaments; for the exclusion of all placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons; for a more fair and equal representation of the people in parliament; for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of Middlesex on the former forced election of Luttrell; and for procuring an absolute repeal of the four late American acts, &c. Wilkes and Glynn, who were both returned triumphantly, signed this paper; and tests upon the same principles were proposed in the city of London and some other places. The court had not ventured to offer the shadow of opposition to the election of Wilkes, who, moreover, was elected at the same time lord mayor of London.* The writs had been made returnable on the 29th of November; and on that day the king went down to the House of Peers, and, being on the throne, commanded the attendance of the Commons; and, they being come, his majesty, by his chancellor, signified his pleasure that they should return and choose a speaker, to be presented on the next day for his majesty's approbation. The Commons unanimously re-elected Sir Fletcher Norton; and on the following day (the 30th) the king opened parliament, with a speech, in the usual form. "It gives me much concern," said his majesty, "that I am obliged, at the opening of this parliament, to inform you that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law still unhappily prevails in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature. These proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in others of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom by unlawful combinations. I have taken such measures and given such orders as I judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, for the protection and security of the commerce of my subjects, and for the restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of my crown; the maintenance of which I consider as essential to the dignity, the safety, and the welfare of the British empire; assuring myself, that, while I act upon these principles, I shall never fail to receive your assistance and support." He mentioned with the greatest satisfaction that a treaty of peace had been concluded between Russia and Turkey. But, again, not a word was said of the fate of Poland. His majesty concluded his

* Franklin's Works, by his Grandson.—Sir J. Barrow, Life of Howe.

* "He was elected lord mayor, with the greatest applause. His daughter was lady mayoress; a situation which she filled with great honour to herself and infinite satisfaction to all the visitors at the Mansion-house. No lady mayoress was ever more esteemed. A more polite and brilliant mayoralty the city had not seen since the days of Beckford."—*Almon, Memoirs and Correspondence of Wilkes.*

speech by particularly recommending both Houses at this time to proceed with temper in their deliberations and with unanimity in their resolutions; in order that his people in every part of his dominions might be taught by their example to have a due reverence for the laws, and a just sense of the blessings of our excellent constitution. An address in the usual form was moved for ministers; but an amendment was proposed on the side of opposition, to the effect that his majesty would be pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America, and lay all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever relating to that business, before parliament. This was productive of some considerable debate, and of a division. Lord North said that it was not a proper time for entering into a discussion of the affairs of America; that a reconciliation was highly desirable, but, as no terms or concessions had been proposed by the Americans, it could not be expected that England should make offers of submission; and that he hoped, since matters were in this state of suspense, the motion for the amendment would be withdrawn. In the course of the debate the conduct of the late parliament in passing the American acts was censured with great bitterness, and the prime minister was reminded of the beneficial and mighty effects he had predicted from those acts, which, according to his showing, were to humble that whole continent in the dust, without any further trouble. "The great speakers in opposition," says Burke, in the Annual Register, "never distinguished themselves in a more striking manner than in this day's debate." They were, however, outvoted by a majority of 264 against 73. This was in the Commons. In the Lords both the address and the debate upon it were still hotter. Their lordships declared their abhorrence and detestation of the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws which so strongly prevailed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, &c.; they thankfully acknowledged the communication it had pleased his majesty to make, of his having taken such measures and given such orders as he judged the most proper and effectual for the protection and security of commerce, and for the carrying into execution the acts passed in the last session of the late parliament, &c. Chatham was away at Hayes; but the Duke of Richmond moved an amendment to the same effect as that made in the Commons, so that their lordships might not proceed to the consideration of this most critical and important matter but upon the fullest information. His grace and the few lords that spoke with him argued that they could not commit themselves, with the careless facility of a common address of compliment, in expressions which might lead to measures fatal to the lives, properties, and liberties of their fellow subjects; that nothing ought to be done or approved of, save upon full information, mature deliberation, and temperate inquiry; that they could not lightly join in an approbation of the unfortunate system adopted with regard to the colonies by the last parliament—a system conceived without prudence, and pursued without temper, consistency, or foresight. After a long and vehement debate, the opposition, upon a division, only counted 13 to 63. Nine of the minority joined in a strong and pointed protest—the first protest heard of upon an address. It concluded with these words:—"Whatever may be the mischievous designs or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects and their future tendency; and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Having carried their addresses by such vast majorities, and having to all appearance made up their minds to the high-handed course they were to pursue, ministers might have been expected to call for an increase of forces; but, instead of doing this, and instead of keeping attention awake to the American business, they left the estimates to be entirely formed upon a peace establishment, continued the army as it was, and reduced the navy by 4000 seamen, thus leaving only 16,000 for the service of the ensuing year. The House and the country were at a loss how to reconcile this conduct of administration with the speech from the throne, which seemed to call for the most vigorous and decisive measures. Some of the opposition thought that it had all the appearance of being a ministerial trick. Vehement debates took place in both Houses. In the Lords, Sandwich, as head of the admiralty, confidently asserted that he knew that the low navy establishment would be quite sufficient to reduce the colonies to obedience. He spoke contemptuously of the power and of the courage of the Americans. He declared that they were neither disciplined, nor capable of discipline; and that their numbers, of which such boasts had been made, would only add to the facility of their defeat when brought into action. Lord Sandwich, as was his too frequent habit, was talking inconsiderately, intemperately, and unwisely; yet, nevertheless, and with all our respect for American courage—issuing from the same great original fountain as our own—we are inclined to believe that the latter part of his prediction would have been verified, if our ministers and the officers they entrusted with the conduct of the war had not hesitated, vacillated, blundered so as military men had hardly ever blundered before, and allowed the colonists full time to train their forces. The petitions which had been got up by Franklin and his agents among the dissenting manufacturers of the North were consigned to a separate, inactive committee, which Burke called a committee of oblivion; the counter-petitions got up through the agency of Adam Smith, Dr. Roebuck and others, were all presented. Ministers pretended to be even more surprised than

pleased with these loyal papers, although it is pretty clearly proved that Adam Smith had been set to work by his friends, Lord North and Wedderburn, and that therefore the cabinet must have known what was coming. We cannot, however, go along with those who consider the getting up of the counter-petitions as an act of unpardonable duplicity and treachery. It seems to us nothing more than the usual, natural, and constitutional process, particularly justifiable when Franklin, who would have seen a civil war in England with a pleasurable emotion, was moving heaven and earth to urge on the dissenters on the other side.

The Duke of Manchester renewed again in the House of Peers the proposal for admitting, not only the members of the House of Commons, but also other strangers, to hear their lordships' debates. He condemned the violent shutting of doors, which had been enforced more than ever of late years; and he represented that, at this time, it was a point to be desired even by ministers, that the public should be fully informed of the grounds on which they were proceeding with respect to the Americans, whose interests were so interwoven with those of Great Britain, that the attention of the people could not be too much awakened to the proceedings of the legislature at this important crisis. His grace was seconded with great eloquence and energy by Lord Lyttelton, who might have become one of the best orators in that House but for his unfortunate habits of dissipation, which were absorbing his time and undermining his health. The Lord Chancellor said that, as it seemed to be the desire of many to relax their standing order on this point, he thought the House ought to come into the proposal; and this was accordingly agreed to without a division and without further debate. This put an end to what Burke has properly termed "that scandalous contention with the Commons, by which, ever since the year 1770, the members of each House were interdicted from the other."*

It remains to be mentioned that government, which had not attempted to oppose him at the hustings, offered no opposition to John Wilkes in the House. He was sworn into parliament as member for Middlesex, and delivered in his qualification in the usual manner on the 2nd of December, the 3rd day of the session. It was soon found that the patriot was far less dangerous or troublesome in the House than he had been out of it. In the course of the session he himself moved for a revisal of all the proceedings relative to his former election by the freeholders of Middlesex, and for the expunging from the journals all the votes and orders about his expulsion. He failed this time in carrying his point, but he vexed the ears of ministers with his motion session after session; and in 1782, upon the downfall of Lord North, he fully succeeded in his object. On the present occasion his speech was much admired. "I sat by the lord mayor," says Gibbon, the historian, "who spoke well, and with temper; but before the end of the debate *he fell fast asleep.*"* Gibbon had just taken his own seat for the first time. He was busy one morning, a few days before the general election, upon his Roman History, and was in the act of destroying an army of barbarians, when his friend, Mr. Eliot, stepped in and offered him one of his boroughs—Liskeard, or St. Germains, whichever he chose.† He took Liskeard, and sat for that place the whole of this parliament. He soon found that writing and speaking were two very different things; and that the latter was more tremendous than he had imagined:—the great speakers (and there were many) filled him with despair; and the bad ones (and there was no lack of them) with terror. So, the brilliant and ready writer remained a mute in the House of Commons. "I was not armed," says he, "by nature and education with the intrepid energy of mind and voice, *vincentem strepitus* et *natum rebus agendis*. Timidity was fortified by pride, and even the success of my pen discouraged the trial of my voice. But I assisted at the debates of a free assembly; I listened to the attack and defence of eloquence and reason; I had a near prospect of the characters, views, and passions of the first men of the age. The cause of government was ably vindicated by Lord North, a statesman of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and ridicule. He was seated on the treasury bench between his attorney and solicitor-general, the two pillars of the law and state, *magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a short slumber, whilst he was upholden on either hand by the majestic sense of Thurlow, and the skilful eloquence of Wedderburn. From the adverse side of the house an ardent and powerful opposition was supported by the lively declamation of Barré, the legal acuteness of Dunning, the profuse and philosophic fancy of Burke, and the argumentative vehemence of Fox, who, in the conduct of a party, approved himself equal to the conduct of an empire. By such men every operation of peace and war, every principle of justice or policy, every question of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended; and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America. . . . . I took my seat at the beginning of that memorable contest, and supported, with many a sincere and silent vote, the rights, though not perhaps, the interest, of the mother country."‡

A. D. 1775.—During the Christmas holidays ministers received more alarming intelligence from America, coming down to the seizure of Fort William and Mary, which we have mentioned; and the opposition arranged their plans of attack, and stipulated with Chatham that he should on the first occasion make one of his grand displays in the House of Lords. A report had spread that the great orator was determined to give himself no

* Annual Reg.

* Letters to Sheffield. † Id.
‡ Memoirs of his own Life and Writings.

further trouble about American affairs, and that for certain he did not intend to come up to town. In making him acquainted that infinite pains were taking to circulate this report in an authoritative manner, his wife added—"It is so strong, that it proves how much there is to be afraid of, of jockey-*ship*, and whatever is bad. . . . . Our friends have met to-day, Lord Ancram, Paliser, and more, who lamented, with the greatest anxiety, this assurance of your not being to come, saying that without you the nation was undone." The countess was in town proposing to go to court on the morrow, yet doubting whether she ought to go when such a rumour was abroad. Chatham, who was at Hayes, hastened to re-assure her, and to advise her not to fail in going to court. Writing in his most earnest manner he added—"For God sake, sweet life, don't disquiet yourself about the impudent and ridiculous lie of the hour. The plot does not lie very deep. It is only a pitiful device of fear, court fear, and faction fear. If gout does not put in a veto, which I trust in heaven it will not, I will be in the House of Lords on Friday, then and there to make a motion relative to America. Be of good cheer, noble love:—

> 'Yes, I am proud—I must be proud—to see
> Men not afraid of God afraid of me.'

Look fresh and merrily to-morrow, and I will *lock* to doors and windows. So to my dear secretary! I wish *somebody* had as good and as honest an one." On the next day (Thursday the 19th of January) Chatham wrote to inform his friend, Earl Stanhope, that he would certainly be in the House of Lords on the morrow, "to touch only the threshold of American business, and knock at the minister's door to wake him." In this note he says—"*I greatly wish Doctor Franklin may be in the House.*" On the same night he wrote again to his wife, rejoicing that America was seeming "to put more of solidity and prudence into *her* plan than the wiseacres who surround his majesty have known how to give to their schemes of destruction."* Before going to bed he wrote to another great oppositionist, the Earl of Shelburne, to tell him that he fully meant "to look the *tapestry* and the bishops in the face to-morrow," and to communicate to his lordship the motion he thought of making. When that great to-morrow—the 20th of January—came, the orator was in his place; and, according to his ardent wish, the American philosopher was there to hear him, having been introduced or smuggled into the House by Chatham himself.† His feet were lame with the gout, but there was no lameness in his tongue, and when he rose to speak there was an awful silence, none but his most intimate friends knowing the motion he was about to make. After a short preamble, in which he condemned everything ministers had done, and severely reprehended their delay in communicating the American papers, &c., he proceeded:—"But, as I have not the honour of access to his majesty, I will endeavour to transmit to him through the constitutional channel of this House, my ideas of America, in order to rescue him from the misadvice of his present ministers. I congratulate your lordships, that the business is *at last* entered upon, by the noble lord's laying the papers before you. As I suppose your lordships too well apprised of their contents, I hope I am not premature in submitting to you my present motion:—That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to desire and beseech that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and, above all, for preventing, in the mean time, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders be dispatched to General Gage, for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigour of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable. I wish, my lords, not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost may produce years of calamity! For my part, I will not desert, for a single moment, the conduct of this weighty business; unless nailed to my bed by extremity of sickness, I will give it my unremitted attention. I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger. When I state the importance of the colonies to this country and the magnitude of danger from the present plan of misadministration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans justly

* In the same letter to his countess, who had been received at court, and the court end of town, with wonderful attention, he says, "How long is this betrayed country to remain a prey to the vilest of domestic enemies? This question seems not easy to answer. By your note on the *barometer* of Pall Mall, nothing *opens* there. Your duchesses and archbishops *flittering* all the streets with cards, to catch you in your passage, is indeed flattering enough."—*Chat. Corres.*

† Franklin himself gives the following account:—"On the 19th of January, I received a card from Lord Stanhope, acquainting me that Lord Chatham, having a motion to make on the morrow, in the House of Lords, concerning America, greatly desired that I might be in the House, into which Lord S. would endeavour to procure me admittance. At this time it was a rule of the House, that no person could introduce more than one friend. The next morning his lordship let me know by another card, that, if I attended at two o'clock in the lobby, Lord Chatham would be there about that time, and would himself introduce me. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, Certainly, and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your presence at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine; and so, taking me by the arm, was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed, and acquainted him that, by the order, none were to be carried in at that door, but the eldest sons and brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen waiting for the peers who were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House; when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known that there was any communication between his lordship and me, this, I found, occasioned some speculation. His appearance in the House, I observed, caused a kind of bustle among the officers, who were hurried in sending messengers for members, I suppose those in connexion with the ministry, something of importance being expected when the great man appears; it being but seldom that his infirmities permit his attendance."—*Memoirs, published by his Grandson.*

owe obedience to us in a limited degree:—they owe obedience to our ordinances of trade and navigation (*here Franklin must have smiled*); but let the line be skilfully drawn between the objects of those ordinances and their private, internal property; let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else it will cease to be property. As to the metaphysical refinements, attempting to show that the Americans are equally free from *obedience and commercial restraints* as from taxation for revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundless." After thus strongly stating the supremacy of the mother country, he ventured, rather boldly, to censure the declaratory act, which was in a manner the work of his own hand. "Resistance to your acts," said he, "was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally competent to convince or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether ambitioned by an individual part of the legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects." He drew a startling, yet not untrue, picture of General Gage's army. It was not easy to exaggerate the ill condition of those forces, half housed in temporary ill built barracks, half bivouacked on Boston Neck and the Common, in that inclement winter, and in a climate so much colder than our own—inactive, torpid, and, for the time, useless—badly provided with everything, save insult and abuse from the colonists—wasting away with sickness—pining for action; but the orator ought to have remembered that it was, after all, a respect to the rights of British subjects, an aversion to begin the shedding of human blood, a constitutional subjugation of the military to the civil power, that had reduced this army to the condition it was in.* If the king and his government had ventured upon that tyranny Chatham was talking of, if General Gage had had the powers which would have been intrusted to him, under the circumstances, by any other government than our own, the soldiers at that moment would easily have found better provisions and better quarters—they would have quartered themselves in the best and warmest houses of Boston, Charlestown, and the neighbourhood; they would have anticipated the hostile preparations which were making all round them, and they would have kept their blood from freezing by hot combats, and the other means usually resorted to by troops let loose in an enemy's country. Chatham, in his splendid declamations, was doing his best to make the condition of the troops worse than it was, and was further embarrassing an officer who was but too much hampered and embarrassed already. "Your means of enforcing thraldom," said he, "are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. Indeed, I cannot but feel the most anxious sensibility for the situation of General Gage, and the troops under his command, thinking him, as I do, a man of humanity and understanding; and entertaining, as I ever will, the highest respect, the warmest love, for the British troops. Their situation is truly unworthy; penned up—pining in inglorious activity. They are an army of impotence. You may call them an army of safety and of guard—but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation." He then went on to say that activity would be even worse than this inglorious inactivity, and that the first drop of blood shed in this civil and unnatural war would produce a wound that would be incurable. Blinded, perhaps, as it was certainly and especially intended he should be, by some of the half-speaking papers of the general congress which had been assembled at Philadelphia, he panegyrised that assembly for decency, firmness, and wisdom, and for qualities equal or preferable to whatever had been seen in ancient days. "I must declare and avow," said he, "that in all my reading—and it has been my favourite study, and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world—for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must." He said that ministers derived their information from wrong sources—from selfish merchants, packers, and factors, and such servile classes of Americans, whose strength and stamina were not to be compared with the cultivators of the land, in whose simplicity of life was found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and

* It should seem that, if the advice of the secretary at war had been followed, Gage and his troops would never have been left at Boston. In the month of November of the preceding year (1774) he had written to Lord North:—"In the present state of the colony of Massachusetts, I presume it is not an improbable supposition, that no magistrates will be found who will assist with their authority in executing the laws made by the parliament of Great Britain: while this situation continues, the riotous mobs, directed by the factious leaders of that country, must govern it; and they cannot be quelled, or even resisted, by the army, which must therefore remain in a disgraceful inaction; enriching with its pay a delinquent colony, and in continual hazard of insult and bloodshed. If the Massachusetts should be in this state, it will immediately become a question, what should be done with the seven regiments now there? I beg leave to submit to your lordship, not as an advice, but as a matter to be considered by better heads than mine, whether they and their general, the governor, should not be directed to leave a place, where at present they can do no good, and without intention may do harm. If this measure should be adopted, General Gage might be instructed to remind the colony that the parliament has made laws, and the government has sent him with a greater number of troops, to deliver it from the tyrannical anarchy under which it has so long suffered; that he should have carried this good purpose into execution, if he had met with that support from the magistrates and better sort of people, which was naturally to be expected; but, having found none, to inform them that he must quit the colony, leaving it in its present distracted state, until it shall become disposed to co-operate in helping itself to a better." He recommended that *one* regiment should be left at Castle William, and no more, and added:—"In the mean time, I humbly conceive that *the naval force may be so employed, as must necessarily reduce the colony to submission, without shedding a drop of blood.*"—*Political Life of William Viscount Barrington, compiled from Original Papers, by his brother Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham.*

courage of freedom. He doubted whether in reality even the mercantile part of the Americans sided with government; but he was quite sure the agricultural part did not. As a proper source of information and irrefragable opinions concerning the colonies, he referred ministers toDr. Franklin. He proclaimed that it was nothing but the glorious spirit of Whigism that was animating the colonists; and that the Whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and the Whigs on this, were engaged in one common cause. "'Tis liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cause they are immoveably allied: it is the alliance of God and Nature—immutable, eternal—fixed as the firmament of heaven!" Having been pathetic upon the case of General Gage, in one part of his speech, he was witty upon him in another, comparing him to the great General Condé, who, upon being asked on one occasion why he did not take Marshal Turenne prisoner, being so very near him, replied, "Upon my word, I am afraid Turenne will take me." Nothing was left but to withdraw the troops from Boston, and to repeal all the late acts of parliament; but this he thought would satisfy the Americans, and bind them to an acknowledgment of our sovereignty, and of our right to regulate their navigation and commerce. In concluding a speech which lasted above an hour, and which, according to his son, William Pitt, was the finest ever made, unless by himself, he said:—"Foreign war is hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain are watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may. To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the king is betrayed; but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone!" According to his son William, who was then a stripling, and who was destined to obtain the chief place in the government of this country before his youth was passed, his splendid speech had not the desired effect "on an obdurate House of Lords," but was sure of having "an infinite effect without doors, the bar being crowded with Americans," &c.* Chatham's motion was supported by Lord Shelburne, who, according to William Pitt, "spoke well and warmly;" by Lord Camden, who was "*supreme*, with only one exception, and as zealous as possible;" by Lord Rockingham, who "spoke shortly but sensibly;" and by the Duke of Richmond, who "spoke well, and with much candour as to the declaratory act."† It was found, however, that the opposition lords were not fully or generally agreed on the propriety of recalling the troops. The brilliant Lord Lyttelton both spoke and voted against Chatham, upon whose altar he had so recently been offering up incense. To other Whig lords it seemed most unjust and unwise to leave those American citizens who had risked their lives in favour of the claims of this country, as unprotected victims to the rage of an armed populace; and that too, before any previous stipulations were for their safety. These lords also considered that proper concessions had not been made by the people of Boston, and that the troops, after all, were not numerous enough to raise any reasonable alarm; that former concessions on our part had been badly interpreted on that side of the Atlantic, and that, though perhaps it was wrong at first to send the forces, it would be degrading and dangerous to recall them before anything was accomplished. The ministerial lords of course opposed the motion upon higher grounds. The chief speakers among them on this occasion were the Earls of Suffolk, Rochford, and Gower, and the Viscounts Townshend and Weymouth. "The ministry," says young Pitt, "were violent beyond expectation, almost to madness. Instead of recalling the troops now there, they talked of sending more."* They could not agree with Chatham's eulogium of the general congress, but declared that the proceedings and resolutions which had emanated from Philadelphia breathed the spirit of absolute independence, and that, notwithstanding the lit[illegible] glosses thrown over them they meant insurrection, rebellion, total disseverance. They urged that the British parliament had an indubitable legislative supremacy over her colonies—a supremacy which was acknowledged by the lords in opposition; that this supremacy must be established in action and in fact, or it would soon cease to exist; that an inactive sleeping right—a right only upon paper and parchment—was an absurdity; that, if we had the supremacy, it was now time to assert it, or relinquish it for ever. They said that all conciliating means had proved ineffectual, or had only tended to increase the stir and tumult; that, if we gave way on the present occasion, from notions of present advantages in trade and commerce, such a yielding would infallibly defeat its own object, it being plain that our navigation act, and all other acts regulating trade, would fall victims to the interested and ambitious views of the Americans. Chatham rose a second time to speak to this last and cogent argument. "If," said he, "the noble lord should prove correct in suggesting that the views of the Americans are ultimately directed to abrogate the act of navigation and the other regulating acts, so wisely calculated to promote a reciprocity of interests, and to advance the grandeur and prosperity of the whole empire, no person present, however zealous, would be readier than myself *to resist and crush their endeavours;* but to arrive at any certain knowledge of the real sentiments of the Americans, it would first be proper to do them justice—to treat them like subjects before we condemn them as

* W. Pitt to the Countess of Chatham, in Chatham Corres.
† Id. Id.

* W. Pitt to the Countess of Chatham, in Chatham Corres.

aliens and traitors." He said this was not a subject adapted to minute metaphysical discussion and logical subtleties; and then he repeated what to our apprehension is an unintelligible metaphysical abstraction, namely, that the right of taxing was not included in legislation, and that sovereignty and supremacy did not imply that we could in any way touch the money of the Americans except by measures of trade, &c. But the colonists would soon have complained that our regulations of trade, our navigation act, and all those regulatory acts which Chatham so energetically upheld, were nothing but so many means of getting at their purse-strings. This speech lasted half an hour; and the debate was considered a pretty long one for that House. Upon a division only 18 were found to support Chatham's motion, while no fewer than 68 voted against it. This division was rendered remarkable by having a prince of the blood, his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, for the first time in the minority; but this prince was probably thinking more of Mrs. Horton, the royal marriage bill, and his exclusion from court, than of the Americans, their rights, claims, or quarrels; and he was certainly too frivolous a person to give any moral weight or real honour to the side he adopted.

Dr. Franklin made haste to express the admiration with which he was filled for that truly great man, the Earl of Chatham, declaring that he had seen, in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; but in the present instance he had seen both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible.* This was soon followed by two or three interviews between the orator and the philosopher. As Chatham had mentioned in the House of Lords that he had prepared a plan for healing all differences, Franklin was very desirous to know what this plan was, and was meditating a visit when Lord Mahon called upon him, and told him Lord Chatham was very desirous of seeing him. On Friday, the 27th of January, the philosopher took a post-chaise and got down to Hayes. A long conversation ensued, during which Chatham communicated the outlines of his plan, and read parts of it. Chatham said he had communicated the plan only to Lord Camden; that he would get it transcribed and put into Franklin's hands for his opinion and advice; and that he must request him to keep it secret, as otherwise it might be blown upon beforehand, and perhaps *give ministers the opportunity of producing a plan of their own.* Franklin promised the closest secrecy, and after dinner, at which no one was present but the family, he returned to town. On the following Sunday, the 29th of January, Chatham called upon the philosopher at his lodgings in Craven-street, in his own carriage, and put into his hands a fair copy of his plan, requesting him to consider it carefully, and communicate such remarks as should occur to him. The whole circumstance was dramatic. He told Franklin that, though he had considered the American business thoroughly, in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment but that he came to set it right by his, "as men set their watches by a regulator." He had not determined when he should produce the plan in the House of Lords; but, as his health seemed precarious, and the opportunity might be missed, Franklin advised him to offer it the Wednesday following. To this Chatham consented, requesting to see the American at Hayes on the following Tuesday. The philosopher was more excited by the visit and the equipage waiting at his door, than might have been expected; but philosophers are but men, and republicans of the most democratic turn have not been universally found insensible to aristocratic distinctions and the trappings and blasonments of rank. Every word of the following passage, extracted from Franklin's account of the visit, is deserving of attention from those who would study human nature and the character of that extraordinary man:—"He (Chatham) staid with me near two hours, his equipage waiting at the door; and, being there while people were coming from church, it was much taken notice of and talked of, as at that time was every little circumstance that men thought might possibly any way affect American affairs. Such a visit from so great a man, on so important a business, flattered not a little my vanity; and the honour of it gave me the more pleasure as it happened on the very day twelvemonth that the ministry had taken so much pains to disgrace me before the privy council." We have thus, as it were, under his own hand, a confession that the sting of Wedderburn's tongue was rankling at his heart, notwithstanding his appearance, at the time of the infliction, of equanimity and indifference. On Friday morning, as appointed, Franklin was at Hayes; but, though he staid near four hours, he had not time to go through half the memorandums he had made for Chatham's guidance. According to his account, the great orator kept the talk to himself. "His lordship," says he, "in the manner of, I think, all eloquent persons, was so full and diffuse in supporting every particular I questioned! . . . . He is not easily interrupted, and I had such pleasure in hearing him that I found little inclination to interrupt him." He therefore ceased his querying; and the only alteration that Chatham made, at *his* suggestion, was of a single word. He says that there was not time to make changes and another fair copy; that neither of them expected that the plan would be adopted; and that it might be amended afterwards: but, in our humble opinion, Chatham and Franklin could never have agreed upon any plan of accommodation whatsoever; and all that the American really wanted from the proud Englishman, who shuddered at the idea of the dismemberment of the empire, was another brilliant speech, which would be sure to increase the embarrassment of government and to contain passages proper to flatter the pride and to stimulate the re-

* Letter to Earl Stanhope, in Chat. Cor.

sistance of the colonies. If the great orator could possibly have foreseen that Franklin, even under any circumstances of provocation, would dissever the two countries, and then seek the alliance of France and Spain, and every country in enmity with Great Britain, we believe he would have spurned him from his door, or brained him with his gout-crutch. But Franklin took especial care to flatter the great political dogma of Chatham, and to assure him that neither he nor any of his countrymen wished to break the ties which bound the colonies to the mother country. Some time before this Chatham had mentioned an opinion prevailing in England, that America aimed at setting up for herself as an independent state; and Franklin had assured him "that he never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."*

On Wednesday, the 1st of February, Chatham, having previously secured the attendance and support of the Duke of Richmond, Earl Stanhope, and others,† rose in the House of Lords with his plan, which he called "a provisional bill for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." He offered it, he said, as a basis of measures for averting the dangers which threatened the British empire; and he hoped that it would meet with the approbation of every side of the House. He stated the urgent necessity of such a measure; he represented Great Britain and America as drawn up in martial array, waiting for the signal to engage in a contest, in which it was little matter for whom victory declared, as ruin and destruction must be the inevitable consequence to both parties: he wished, from a principle of duty and affection, to act the part of a mediator; he said that "no regard for popularity, no predilection for his country, not the high esteem he entertained for America on the one hand, nor the unalterable steady regard he entertained for the dignity of Great Britain on the other, should at all influence his conduct; for, though he loved the Americans, as men prizing and setting the just value on that inestimable blessing, liberty, yet, if he could once bring himself *to be persuaded that they entertained the most distant intentions of throwing off the legislative supremacy and great constitutional superintending power and control of the British legislature, he should be the very person himself who would be the first and most zealous mover for securing and enforcing that power, by every possible exertion this country was capable of making.*" He entreated the House to revise the bill, to correct what was crude and indigested, and to reduce it to that form which was suited to the dignity and importance of the subject; he called upon them to exercise their candour without party feelings or prejudices; and he declared that, as for himself, he was actuated by no narrow principle or personal consideration whatever; for though his bill might be looked upon as a bill of concession, it was impossible but to confess at the same time that it was a bill of assertion.

The proposed bill was to the following effect:—1. That the parliament of Great Britain had full power to bind America in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the imperial crown of Great Britain, and beyond the competency of the local representatives of distant colonies; and most especially an indubitable and indispensable right to make laws for regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated system of British commerce; that the colonies of America have ever been, are, and of right ought to be dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and subordinate unto the British parliament; and that all subjects in the colonies are bound in duty and allegiance to recognise and obey the supreme legislative authority of parliament, &c. 2. That, to quiet and dispel *groundless* jealousies and fears, it should be declared that no military force could ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the best rights of the people; but that it should also be declared at the same time that the authority of sending troops to the colonies, or to any part of the British dominions, rested with the parliament and the king, and not with the provincial assemblies in the colonies; and that the legal, constitutional, and hitherto unquestioned prerogative of the crown to send any part of the army to any of the British dominions and possessions, whether in America or elsewhere, could never be rendered dependent upon the will of the colonists or their assemblies. 3. That no tallage, tax, or other charge for his majesty's revenue should be commanded or levied from British freemen in America, without common consent, by act of provincial assembly there, duly convened for that purpose. 4. That the king and parliament now assembled should declare it lawful for delegates from the provinces, lately assembled at Philadelphia, to meet again in general congress at the said city of Philadelphia, on the 9th of May next ensuing, in order to take into consideration the making due recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; as also to consider the making a free grant to the crown of a certain perpetual revenue, subject to the disposi-

* Letter from Franklin to his son.

† His brother-in-law, Earl Temple, declined supporting the plan. "I cannot," wrote his lordship, "see the propriety, at this moment, of the step you have determined to take; though I am always desirous of considering what you determine as founded on the most consummate wisdom and policy. That we differ, in one great fundamental, is most unhappily but too certain: and from that, perhaps, many other differences in American matters must necessarily and very unhappily flow. I wish to pay the regard due to every proposition, especially of infinite importance, which falls from you, and in that light, and in discharge of my own honour, I am inclined to attend: but, when I reflect on the expressions which I must probably be compelled to hear, my present opinion with regard to timing the motion, &c., I fear I shall be necessitated to differ with the only person with whom I ardently wish to agree, and from whom alone I think *possibly* conciliation might have been derived to both countries. In all events, your lordship will feel, as I do, that interests of this magnitude are of too much importance for any honest man to reconcile to his conscience the sacrifice of his opinion."—*Letter to Chatham, dated February the 1st (the day of the debate), in Chat. Cor.*

tion of the British parliament, to be by them appropriated to the alleviation of the national debt, "no doubt being had but this just free aid would be in such honourable proportion as might seem meet and becoming from great and flourishing colonies towards a parent country labouring under the heaviest burthens, which, in no inconsiderable part, had been willingly taken upon ourselves and posterity, for the defence, extension, and prosperity of the colonies:" but that this free grant was not to be understood as a condition of redress, but simply as a testimony of affection; nor was congress to exercise any right of taxation, without first recognising the supreme legislative and superintending power of parliament, &c. 5. That the prayer of the petition of congress should then be granted; that the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts in America should be restrained within their ancient limits, and the trial by jury in all civil cases, where the same had been abolished, should be restored; and that no subject in America should, in capital cases, be liable to be indicted and tried for the same in any place out of the province wherein such offence should be alleged to have been committed, nor be deprived of a trial by his peers of the vicinage; nor should it be lawful to send persons indicted for murder in any province of America to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial. 6. That all and every such acts, or so much of them, as had been represented to have been found grievous, namely, the several acts of the 4th Geo. III. c. 15 and c. 34; 5th Geo. III. c. 25; 6th Geo. III. c. 52; 7th Geo. III. c. 41 and c. 46; 8th Geo. III. c. 22; 12th Geo. III. c. 24; with the three acts for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that entitled, "An Act for the better administration of Justice," &c.; also the act for regulating the government of Quebec, and the act passed in the same session relating to the quarters of soldiers, should be and are hereby suspended, and not to have effect or execution, from the date of this act: and that all the said acts, or the parts of them complained of, should be finally repealed and annulled, from the day that the new recognition of the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament should have been made on the part of the colonies. 7. And that, for the better securing due and impartial administration of justice in the colonies, his majesty's judges in the courts of law in the colonies of America, *to be appointed with salaries, by the crown*, should hold their offices and salaries, as his majesty's judges in England, *quamdiu se benè gesserint*. In conclusion Chatham's bill said:—"And it is hereby further declared that the colonies in America are justly entitled to the privileges, franchises, and immunities granted by their several charters or constitutions; and that the said charters or constitutions ought not to be invaded or resumed, unless for misuser, or some legal ground of forfeiture. So shall a true reconcilement avert impending calamities, and this most solemn national accord between Great Britain and her colonies stand an everlasting monument of clemency and magnanimity in the benignant father of his people; of wisdom and moderation in this great nation, famed for humanity as for valour; and of fidelity and grateful affection from brave and loyal colonies to their parent kingdom, which will ever protect and cherish them." The Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state for America, proposed that the bill should lie on the table, till the papers referred to the House by his majesty should have been first taken into consideration: the Earl of Sandwich moved the rejection of the bill at once and for ever, and he was supported by Lord Hillsborough, formerly secretary of state for the colonies, and by Lord Gower. The Duke of Grafton strongly condemned, as irregular and unparliamentary, the way in which the bill had been hurried into the House, without notice given, &c. His grace said he had had the honour of sitting in *that* House longer than the noble earl, the framer of the bill, and yet he could remember no similar instance of precipitation. Lord Sandwich's speech, though apparently intemperate, contained some facts and reasonings not to be easily answered. He declared that to make any concession at this moment would be an abandoning the whole cause of government; that the Americans had been guilty of actual rebellion in seizing the king's forts and ammunition; that the Americans were not disputing about words and nice distinctions, but realities; that they were aiming at independence for the future, and for the immediate throwing off all the commercial restrictions we had put upon them. He stated that they were at that moment courting the trade of other nations, and that he had letters in his pocket which would prove that ships were then lading at L'Orient, Havre de Grace, and Amsterdam, with East India produce and European commodities for our American colonies. The chief arguments used by the other lords who spoke against the bill were—that, while it would give too much to the Americans, it offered no security for any concession on their part; that the Americans would only agree to those parts of it that suited their own views, and would totally disclaim those parts of it that enjoined submission or concession; that the bill was most condemnable, as it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but also legalised another such meeting by act of parliament; that the suspension of the former American acts would, to every substantial purpose, amount to an actual repeal, and this before we could know how the American congress and people would act; and that, if the laws establishing the admiralty courts were repealed, our navigation laws would become, as far as those colonies were concerned, a dead letter. Chatham rose to defend himself and his bill from the numerous attacks which were made on both. The indignity that had been offered in moving its instant rejection

seemed to renew all the fire of his youth; and he retorted the ministerial sarcasms with the most pointed severity. Looking full at Grafton, his quondam colleague in office, he said—"The noble duke is extremely angry with me that I did not previously consult him on the bringing in of the present bill. I would ask the noble duke, does he consult me?—or do I desire to be previously told of any motion he thinks fit to propose to this House? His grace seems to be much offended at the manner this bill has been hurried. I am certain he could not be serious, if he gave himself a minute to consider how the case really stands. Here we are told that America is in a state of actual rebellion, and we are now got to the 1st of February, and no one step is taken to crush this supposed rebellion; yet, such being the case, I am charged with hurrying matters; but whether my conduct may be more justly charged with hurrying this business into, or his grace with hurrying it out of, the House, I believe requires no great depth of penetration to discover. As to the other general objections, I presume it will be recollected, that, the last day I submitted the proposition about withdrawing the troops, I then gave notice that I would present, in a few days, a plan of general reconciliation. Eleven days have since elapsed, and nothing has been offered by the king's servants. Under such circumstances of emergency on one side, when, perhaps, a single day may determine the fate of this great empire, and such a shameful negligence, total inattention, and want of ability on the other, what was to be done? No other alternative, in my opinion, remained, but

MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF LORD NORTH. From the Private Collection of Mr. Hawkins, British Museum.

either to abandon the interests of my country, and relinquish my duty, or to propose some plan, when ministers, by their inaction and silence, owned themselves incapable of proposing any. But even now let them speak out and tell me that they have a plan to lay before us, and I will give them an example of candour they are by no means deserving of, by instantly withdrawing the present bill. The indecent attempt to stifle this measure in embryo may promise consequences the very reverse of what I am certain will be the case. The friends of the present motion may flatter themselves that the contents of the bill will sink into silence, and be forgotten, but I believe they will find the contrary. This bill, though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America; it will, in such a course, undergo a deal of cool observation and investigation; and, whatever its merits or demerits may be, it will rise or fall by them alone; it will, I trust, remain a monument of my poor endeavours to serve my country; and, however faulty or defective, will at least manifest how zealous I have been to avert the impending storms which seem ready to burst on it, and for ever overwhelm it in ruin. Yet, when I consider the whole case as it lies before me, I am not much astonished, I am not surprised, that men who hate liberty should detest those who prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves should endeavour to persecute those who possess it. Were I disposed to pursue this theme to the extent that truth would fully bear me out in, I could demonstrate that the whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness, temerity, despotism, ignorance, futility, negligence, and the most notorious servility, incapacity, and corruption. On reconsideration I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests: in that view you appear sound statesmen and able politicians. You well know, if the present measure should prevail, that you must instantly relinquish your places. I doubt much whether you will be able to keep them on any terms; but sure I am, such are your well-known characters and abilities, that any plan of reconciliation, however moderate, wise, and feasible, must fail in your hands. Such, then, being your precarious situation, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must annihilate your power, deprive you of your emoluments, and at once reduce you to that state of insignificance for which God and nature designed you?" The Duke of Richmond supported the bill, and was almost as violent and as personal as Chatham, directing his attack chiefly against Lord Gower. Lord Shelburne predicted nothing less than a ruined commerce, increased taxes and poors' rates, falling rents and a falling revenue, the stoppage of our manufactures, and starvation in the land, if the bill were rejected and ministers left to their own imbecility. Lord

Temple, who was joined in the course he took by the Duke of Manchester and Lord Lyttelton, did not recommend Chatham's bill as it stood, but strongly condemned the disrespectful mode of treating it recommended by Sandwich. With, perhaps, an excess of fraternal reverence for his deceased brother, Temple attributed all the evils in America to the repeal of the Stamp act; and declared that he thought the Boston Port bill, and the other acts passed last session, were more exceptionable in manner than in matter or in intention. Lyttelton ventured to differ in many respects with Chatham, and particularly opposed any alteration or repeal of the Canada or Quebec act. Upon a division the great orator's pacifying scheme was rejected by a majority of 61 against 32. The bill was as much talked of out of doors, and as much applauded by one party, as he could well have desired. The corporation of the city of London passed him a vote of thanks for his plan, and a similar compliment to all those who had supported him in his humane design; and Franklin, who could never have been satisfied with the bill if it had been passed, represented to his countrymen, and to all England, the monstrous wickedness of ministers in rejecting it.

In the mean time debates had taken place in the House of Commons upon various petitions,* and, among them, upon one presented from Franklin, Bollan, and Lee, who prayed to be examined at the bar in support of the demands of the general congress. It was insisted by and for ministers that this would look like sanctioning congress, which had met in an irregular and illegal manner; and the motion that the petition should be brought up was negatived by an immense majority. On the 2nd of February, the day after Chatham's proposals in the Lords, Lord North, in the Commons, in a committee of the whole House on the American papers, moved for an address of thanks to the king for the communication of the said papers; affirming that the province of Massachusetts Bay had been and was in rebellion; declaring that the House was resolved never to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority; and professing their constant readiness to pay attention to the grievances of the colonists, as of all other subjects, when their petitions were presented in a dutiful and constitutional manner. The king was further to be requested to take effectual measures for enforcing obedience to the laws; and then followed the usual resolution of the House to support him with their lives and properties. North, in introducing this motion, intimated, as a part of his plan, that a larger military force was to be sent to America, and that the foreign commerce of the New Englanders, and their fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, were to be effectually stopped until they should return to their duty. Fox moved an amendment, censuring the ministry, and praying for their removal. Dunning denied the existence of rebellion, but was ably answered by Thurlow. If the Americans required any such suggestions, they might have learnt what course they were to pursue, in resisting the mother country by force of arms, from almost every debate that now took place in the British parliament. On the present occasion it was shown on the side of opposition how very easy it would be for the colonies to obtain foreign assistance, warlike stores, foreign troops, and foreign officers. Fox's amendment was negatived by a majority of 304 against 105; and, on a second division, North's original motion was carried by a majority of 296 against 106.*

On the 6th of February, when the address was reported, there was another warm debate, in the course of which John Wilkes, whose conduct was steady and consistent on this subject, made an effective speech. He said that a fit and proper resistance was a revolution, not a rebellion; and that, if success crowned their efforts, the Americans might celebrate the glorious era of the revolution of 1775 as we do that of 1688. "Who can tell," said he, "whether, in consequence of this very day's violent and mad address, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us?" Lord John Cavendish moved to recommit the address: "My heart and hand," said his lordship, "join in deprecating the horrors of a civil war, which will be rendered still more dreadful by its involving in its certain consequences a foreign one with the combined forces of great and powerful nations." Other members of opposition continued to recommend mildness and moderation; but the motion was negatived by the usual high majority of nearly three to one. A conference between the two Houses had been held on the address, when, on the 7th of February, the Marquess of Rockingham rose in the Lords to present petitions from some of our West India planters, and from some American merchants in London. The chancellor called upon the marquess to speak; but Lord Dartmouth, secretary for American affairs, presently afterwards rose to move for the concurrence of the Lords to the address sent up, with a blank left in it, by the House of Commons; "and *the partiality* of administration was so great" that Lord Dartmouth was called upon by a vast majority of the Lords to speak first.† Another turbulent debate followed. Lord Mansfield, in a long and argumentative speech, showed that the colonists were contending for far greater objects than a mere exemption from taxation; and he held in contempt Chatham's declaration that they

* Writing on the 31st of January, Gibbon says—"Hitherto we have been chiefly employed in reading papers, and *rejecting petitions*. Petitions were brought from London, Bristol, Norwich, &c., framed by party, and designed to delay..... Our general divisions are about 250 to 80 or 90. .... I have hitherto been a zealous, though silent, friend to the cause of government, which, *in this instance*, I think the cause of England."—*Letters to Sheffield and to Mrs. Gibbon.*

* "We voted an address," says Gibbon, "304 against 105, of life and fortunes, declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of 10,000 men at Boston; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton! In a few days we stop the ports of New England. *I cannot* write volumes; but I am more and more convinced that, with firmness, all may go well: *yet I sometimes doubt.*"—*Letter to Sheffield.*

† Earl Stanhope to the Countess of Chatham, in Chat. Corres.

would readily admit the supreme legislative controuling power of parliament in every case except that of imposing taxes: he remarked that all the late congress promised to do was to submit to the Navigation act, contending in the same breath for the repeal of every law that gave that act force and effect. He insisted that to annul any laws, except the acts of taxation, would be a renunciation of sovereignty. He would not answer for the fickle fortune of war—the British might be defeated, the Americans might prevail, and Great Britain lose her supremacy for ever; but the question now was, whether the right of the mother country should be resolutely asserted or relinquished at once without a struggle. He declared, as a lawyer, from the evidence of the documents which had been laid before their lordships, that the colonies were indisputably in a state of rebellion. At the same time he doubted the expediency of our taxing the colonies, and condemned the taxes imposed in the year 1767, which he said had thrown the colonies into a ferment, had injured British trade, and had given the Americans a strong temptation to smuggle. Lord Camden, speaking also as a lawyer, denied that the colonies were in rebellion, and drew sundry nice distinctions between actual treason and constructive treason. He also declared that he was not to bear any part of the blame for taxing America in 1767, as he had never been consulted on the subject. The Duke of Grafton complained very bitterly of the conduct of both these lords, accusing Camden of meanness and shuffling in endeavouring to screen himself by accusing others. He reminded his lordship that at the time the taxing act was passed he was a member of the cabinet, Lord Chancellor, and had signified the royal approbation of the act in his official capacity. Lord Lyttelton also fell upon Camden and accused him of professional subtlety, low cunning, and quibbling about treasons and constructive treasons. Lord Shelburne declared of his own knowledge that neither Lord Camden nor the Duke of Grafton approved the cabinet scheme for taxing America; and expressed a hope that public retribution would soon fall upon the author of the present dangerous and despotic measures. The Duke of Richmond told several official anecdotes, which went to criminate Lord Mansfield as the foster parent of the coercive, despotic system. Mansfield retorted, telling other stories of cabinet ministers who had made use of low arts and treacherous tricks to obtain popularity as the best means of forwarding their ambition or interested views. "I am ready," exclaimed the old lawyer, "to meet their charges, and prepared for the event, either to cover my adversaries with shame and disgrace, or, in the fall, risk the remnant of a life nearly drawing to a conclusion, and consequently not worth much solicitude." Shelburne, returning to the charge with more heat than before, hinted that Mansfield had not spoken the truth. Mansfield rejoined and accused Shelburne of behaving unlike a gentleman and uttering gross falsehoods. Shelburne threw back the charge in the Lord Chief Justice's teeth. Lord Coventry, Lord Pomfret, the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Sandwich, and other peers took part in the stormy altercation; but the court carried the question by a majority of nearly four to one.* The king's answer to the joint address thus carried, contained, besides the usual thanks, an assurance that he would take the most speedy and effectual means for enforcing obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature; as also a declaration that, whenever any of the colonies should make a proper application, he would be ready to concur in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and it concluded with his majesty's earnest wish, that this disposition might have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of the Americans. This answer was accompanied with a message to the Commons, acquainting them that some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary, in order to enable the government to act up to the spirit of the address. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply. After much violent debate 2000 additional seamen and 4400 additional soldiers were voted—an increase altogether inadequate. And yet the house was informed that the conduct of France was even at that moment very suspicious—that she was increasing her fleets and getting many line-of-battle ships ready for sea.

On the 10th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in his bill for cutting off the entire trade of New England and their profitable fishery, with an exception in favour of such individuals as should procure from their governors certificates of good or loyal behaviour, and should take a test acknowledging the rights of the British Parliament, &c. In supporting the bill it was urged that, as the Americans had bound themselves not to trade with us, it was fair to prevent their trading with other countries; that, as they had entered into the most unlawful and daring associations to ruin our merchants, impoverish our manufactures, and starve our West India Islands, which had been in the habit of deriving their provisions from them, it was but fair to retaliate upon them part of these mischiefs; that, if any foreign power had offered us only a small part of the insult and injury we had received from our colonies, the whole nation would have been in a flame to demand satisfaction, and the minister would have been ruined who had been slack in obtaining it. The charge of cruelty was denied. The bill was asserted to be a measure of humanity and mercy as well as of coercion. The colonies had incurred the penalties of rebellion,

* There were two divisions in the course of this very stormy night. Shocked at what Earl Stanhope terms the monstrous irregularity of calling upon Dartmouth before Rockingham, the opposition moved the previous question, which was carried against them by the court, by a majority of 104 (including 14 proxies) to 29. This part of the debate occupied several hours. *The second division was on the* main question of inserting the words, "the lords spiritual and temporal," to fill up the blank in the address voted by the other House; and upon this the numbers were nearly the same. Their lordships did not finish till two o'clock in the morning.—*Earl Stanhope to the Countess of Chatham, in Chat. Cor.*

and were liable to the severest military execution; but, instead of these dreadful punishments, it was proposed to bring them to their senses only by a restriction on their trade, which would last no longer than their contumacy. They had too long imposed upon and deluded us with their threats of depriving us of their trade, hoping, through the terrors of our merchants and manufacturers, to bend the legislature to a compliance with all their demands, until they had brought their designs to maturity, so as to be able to throw off that mask and openly proclaim their independence. The opposition asked whether the acts of rigour of the last session had produced any of the effects which ministers had expected from them? The question being called for late at night, the motion for bringing in the bill was carried, upon a division, by a majority of 261 against 85 only. In the further progress of the bill, petitions were presented against it from the merchants and traders of London who were interested, and who represented that our own fisheries would be put in danger by such a prohibition. A motion was made and carried that the petitioners should be heard by themselves or their counsel; and in consequence a long train of witnesses, consisting of merchants and captains of ships, were examined at the bar of the house. It appears to us that some of these witnesses must have talked very great nonsense, for they represented that neither the whale fishery nor the cod fishery could be carried on with success either from Newfoundland or from Great Britain, and that, in short, those fisheries must die away and absolutely perish unless carried on by the New Englanders. A few important facts were, however, brought to light by this examination. It appeared, for example, that the New Englanders owed nearly a million of money to the city of London alone. A petition of a very different character was presented from the merchants, traders, and principal inhabitants of the maritime town of Poole in Dorsetshire. The petitioners concurred with the plan of ministers, and prayed that the principles of the Fishery bill might be carried out, as the foreign markets might be amply supplied by Newfoundland and English ships; as the value of the said English Newfoundland fishery already exceeded half a million annually; as the fishery from the mother country was a constant nursery for seamen for the navy, whereas the American seamen who had been engaged in that trade were not compellable to serve this country in time of war; and they earnestly solicited, no less for their own immediate advantage, than for the general good of this country, that parliament would give such encouragement to the British fishery in Newfoundland as it should think proper. A merchant of Poole, who was examined in support of the bill, deposed that about 400 ships, 2000 fishing shallops, and 20,000 men were actually employed in the British Newfoundland fishery; and that, of these 20,000 men from Great Britain and Ireland, about 8000 necessarily remained at Newfoundland all the winter. A petition was delivered in from the Quakers in behalf of their brethren of Nantucket, a barren island belonging to the province of Massachusetts. The population of the place was said to amount to about 5000, of whom nine-tenths were Quakers, who from that barren spot carried on with astonishing industry a most extensive whale fishery, extending from the Polar circles to the coast of Africa, the Brazils, the Falkland islands, and keeping about 130 vessels in constant employment. It is the curse of war and national contentions that the innocent should suffer with the guilty, and that those who abhor the horrid game should frequently have the largest stakes in it. The Quakers, for their brethren of Nantucket, represented their innocence of all offence or provocation, their tranquillity, their industry, the usefulness of their exertions, and the great hazards and dangers that attended their labours; and they showed that, if the bill were allowed to pass into a law, they must soon be reduced to poverty, want, and absolute famine. This petition was treated with respect, and excited so much commiseration that a member on the side of administration said, that on a principle of humanity he would move that a clause should be added to the bill, to prevent its operation upon any whale ships which should have sailed before the 1st of March, and which were at that time the property of the people of Nantucket. The second reading of the bill was carried by the immense majority of 215 to 61. On the third reading, which took place on the 8th of March, Mr. Hartley proposed inserting a clause—that nothing in the act should extend to prohibiting the importation into any of the New England provinces of fuel, corn, meal, flour, or other necessary victuals, brought coastwise from any part of America. In supporting this clause the members in opposition spoke as if the New Englanders were in danger of being starved by Lord North's bill; and Burke exercised his poetical fancy in drawing a picture of the horrors of famine. But Governor Pownall drew the broad brush of reality over this fanciful sketch; he reminded the house that the New England provinces were in fact great provision countries, were great grazing settlements, and, though they did not apply so much to agriculture as other provinces, they produced, besides Indian corn, great plenty of rye and barley; that, though they indeed imported wheat, flour, and biscuit from Philadelphia and New York, the wheat and flour were to be considered as articles of luxury for the rich, which the poor might well do without, as indeed they had generally done, and the biscuit was only provided for their shipping, and, as that business would be at an end, they could have no farther occasion for such supply. The proposed clause was rejected by a majority of 180 against 58; and the bill was then carried. In the Upper House it was opposed with equal warmth, and more petitions were presented against it.

On the third reading, an amendment was made for including, as equally guilty with the New Englanders, the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. It was urged, that, by the late accounts and letters upon their lordships' table, it appeared that these provinces had been pursuing a course which merited and called for the same penalties; that in the month of February, when the bill originated in the Commons, this information was not received; but that now (on the 21st of March) they were in possession of evidence fully sufficient to authorise this amendment, without which the bill would be imperfect, and the punishment partial. The question being put, the amendment was carried by 52 against 21; and then the bill was carried by 73 against 21, and returned to the Commons. The introduction of the amendment caused a disagreement between the title and the body of the bill; and on that ground the Commons agreed in rejecting the additions made by the Lords. A few days after, a conference took place between the two Houses, when their lordships consented to withdraw the amendment, which was in fact rendered unnecessary by another bill introduced by Lord North, for restraining the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina; and on the 30th of March the bill, without the amendment, received the royal assent.

In order to gratify the Irish, and to keep up, by their means, a part of the trade which had been in the hands of the New Englanders, bounties were allowed to Irish ships engaged in the Newfoundland and Greenland fisheries, several restraints upon Irish commerce were removed, and a bounty was also granted on the importation of their flaxseed.*

In the mean while, Lord North had astonished all parties, "and seemed for a time almost to dissolve his own," by bringing forward, on the 20th of February, in a committee of the whole House, his famous conciliatory motion, which was, for passing the following resolution:—"That, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies, shall propose to make provision for contributing their proportion to the common defence, to be raised under the authorities of the general court, or general assembly, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and administration of justice; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which shall be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation." Lord North endeavoured to show that this resolution agreed with, and rose naturally out of, the late address to the throne, particularly from the following passage in that address:—"And, whenever any of the colonies shall make a proper application to us, we shall be ready to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence." He said that it was his sense, and, as he believed, the sense of the House, that parliament, in passing that address, not only meant to show the Americans its firm determination to support its just rights, but also its tenderness and conciliatory disposition, upon their making proper concessions; and that, particularly, although parliament could never give up its right of taxation, and must always maintain the doctrine that every part of the empire was bound to bear its portion of service and taxes for the common defence, yet, as to the *mode* of contribution, if that, and not the question of right, was the bone of contention, if the Americans would propose such other means as were most agreeable to themselves, parliament would not hesitate a moment to suspend the exercise of the right, and would concede to the Americans the authority of raising their quotas by themselves and in their own way. He said that this resolution would mark the ground on which negociations might take place—would specify the parties from whom the proposals must come, and those to whom they must be addressed; it would point out the end and purpose for which the American contributions were to be granted, and take away every ground of suspicion as to the application of the revenue; it would be an infallible touchstone to try the sincerity of the Americans; for, if their professions were sincere, and their opposition to government founded only upon the principles they pretended, they must agree with this proposition; but if they were actuated by sinister motives, and had deeper designs in contemplation, their refusal of these terms would expose them to the world. "If they reject them," said he, "we shall be justified in taking the most coercive measures, and they must be answerable to God and man for the consequences." His speech was very long, and the House very full. At first, the court party looked at each other with amazement, and seemed at a loss in what light to consider the motion and the prime minister who made it. "That numerous high prerogative party, who always loved a strong government, in whatever hands it might be lodged, and accordingly had, upon principle, ever opposed any relaxation in favour of the colonies, heard the propositions with horror, and considered themselves as abandoned and betrayed. Even some of the old stanch friends of government, who had always gone with every administration, and uniformly pursued the same line of conduct in all changes of men and measures, began now more than to waver. In a word, the treasury benches seemed to totter, and that ministerial phalanx, which had been so long irresistible, to be ready to break, and to fall into irretrievable disorder. The opposition to the minister's motion, accordingly, originated on his own

* "I am grieved," writes Lord Camden, "to observe that the landed interest here is almost altogether anti-American."—*Letter to Chatham.*

side." * At the very head of it stood Mr. Welbore Ellis, who had supported the minister on so many occasions, and Mr. Rigby, who seemed by nature made to approve and applaud everything that proceeded from men in power. This party, commonly called "the king's friends," contended that Lord North's propositions, so far from being founded upon, were in direct opposition to every principle and idea of the address; that the scheme was contradictory to all the preceding acts and declarations of parliament, and was intended as a means of paying court to the gentlemen in opposition; and that the proposal was, in effect, an acknowledgment that there was something really unjust and grievous in the idea of taxing the Americans by parliament. They denounced the whole thing as a shameful prevarication, and a mean departure from principle; and they concluded with proclaiming that they would make no concession to rebels with arms in their hands, and would enter into no measure for a settlement with the Americans, in which an express and definitive acknowledgment of the supremacy of parliament was not a preliminary article. North had never before encountered such a storm, even from the regular opposition benches, who had been trained for many years to act on the offensive. Welbore Ellis was supported by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Ackland, and many others; and Mr. Ackland moved that the chairman should leave the chair—in other words, that the committee should be dissolved, and the House resumed, without the resolution being even put to the vote. The minister, who had been repeatedly upon his legs before, now seemed on the point of yielding to the storm; but Sir Gilbert Elliot and Wedderburn rose to his rescue, and endeavoured to reconcile his proposed resolution with the address.† Wedderburn declared that nothing was further from the intention of the noble mover than a dereliction of the rights of parliament, or a yielding, in any degree, to the insolence of the Americans; and that what Lord North really proposed was, to enforce the one and repress the other. There was, indeed, indulgence to be offered to such of the colonists as would promptly return to their duty, but the contumacious were to be proceeded against with an increased army and an increased navy, with gallant officers, who were going abroad to enforce the spirited proposition. "We have at length," said Wedderburn, "put the dispute upon its proper footing—Revenue, or no Revenue." This, with the declaration from Lord North, that he never expected his propositions would be generally received by the Americans, but that he intended by them to separate the grain from the chaff, and to disunite the colonies, had a very tranquillising effect on the court party; but it conjured up a fresh storm from the ordinary opposition benches. Colonel Barré, after indulging in some bitter sarcasms upon his lordship's recent embarrassment and danger from his friends, declared that his whole scheme was founded upon that wretched, low, shameful, abominable maxim, *divide et impera*. "This was to divide the Americans; this was to break their associations, to dissolve that generous union, in which, as one man, they had stood up in defence of their rights and liberties. The minister meant only to propose something specious, which he knew beforehand the Americans would refuse; and thus afford a pretext for calling down tenfold vengeance on their devoted heads. But he could tell the minister that the Americans were not such gudgeons as to be caught with so foolish a bait." Lord North rose once more, and defended himself with spirit and great neatness of elocution. "Is it foolish," said he, "is it low, is it abominable, when a people, heated and misled by evil councils, are running into unlawful combinations, to hold out those terms which will sift the reasonable from the unreasonable, distinguish those who act upon principle from those who wish only to profit by the general confusion and ruin? If propositions that the conscientious and the prudent will accept will, at the same time, recover them from the influence and fascination of the wicked, I avow the use of that principle which will thus divide the good from the bad, and give aid and support to the friends of peace and good government." He was next assailed by the more reasoned vehemence of Burke, who repeated that the proposition was contradictory to all former acts and declarations of parliament, and a mean departure from principle—mean without being conciliatory. It proposed, he said, to hold the colonies in durance by troops and fleets, until singly and separately they should offer to contribute to a service they could not know, in a proportion they could not guess. He said that ministers themselves had not ventured to hint at the extent of their expectations; and he compared them to that capricious tyrant Nebuchadnezzar, who ordered his wise men, on pain of death, not only to interpret, but also to tell him the subject of a dream which he had himself forgotten. Dunning followed on the same side, and showered more sarcasms, more odious comparisons and denunciations on the head of North, who kept his temper, but could hardly keep off his sleepiness, as the hour was late and his exertions had been unusually great. In the end, he saw his resolution adopted by a majority of 274 against 18! "It was thought," says Burke, "that, the resolution being susceptible of a variety of interpretations, as

* Burke, in Ann. Reg.

† "A conciliatory motion," says Gibbon, "of allowing the colonies to tax themselves, was introduced by Lord North, in the midst of lives and fortunes, war and famine. We went into the House in confusion, every moment expecting that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion against those measures. Lord North rose *six times* to appease the storm, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert declared for administration, and the troops all rallied under their proper standard."—*Letter to Sheffield.*

Chatham also has left us *his* account of this ministerial embarrassment:—"Lord North was, in the beginning of the day, like a man *exploded*, and the judgment of the House, during about two hours, was, that his lordship was going to be in a considerable minority; Mr. Ellis and others, young Ackland in particular, having declared highly and roughly against his desertion of the cause of cruelty. Sir Gilbert Elliot arose, and spake "very brafe and wise worts," in the "imminent and deadly breach," and turned the fortune of the day. The warlike Rigby only took notes, and put them *generously* in his pocket."—*Letter to the Countess of Chatham.*

had appeared in the debates, such an interpretation might be hereafter adopted as should be most suitable to circumstances. Accordingly, though some of those who in the beginning had openly declared themselves, and could not recede, voted (on grounds totally adverse to them) with opposition, the rest of the members went as usual, and the question was carried."*

In the course of these discussions ministers had been rather frequently accused of imparting garbled intelligence, and suppressing many documents which they received. On one occasion they were called upon for a copy of a letter written in the preceding month of December by the minister at the head of American affairs, Lord Dartmouth, to the lieutenant-governor of New York, and said to contain matters deserving the attention of parliament. This demand was rejected by government, who said that *they* were the proper judges of what ought and what ought not to be laid before the House; that a spirit of curiosity might prompt people to require the seeing of many papers which could not be shown; and that, from the nature of executive government, many matters must necessarily be kept secret. If ever they abused this trust they remained responsible to the nation. This, however, did not prevent other demands of the same kind, and ministers found themselves compelled to lay before the House a petition and memorial from the assembly of the island of Jamaica, addressed to the king in council, and stating in strong terms that the destruction of the small sugar colonies in the West Indies must be involved in a continuance of the present unnatural contest with the Americans. The petitioners professed the most perfect duty and allegiance to the throne, and the strongest attachment to, and reliance upon, their fellow subjects in Great Britain; but they inferred and maintained from charters, rights natural and political, and from other premises, that the colonies in America were not subject to the people of England, but had their own rights of legislation; and they afterwards said that they beheld with grief and amazement a plan almost carried into execution for reducing the colonies to the most abject state of slavery. A long series of important evidence in behalf of the West Indian merchants and planters was laid before the House; and Glover, the author of Leonidas, was heard as their agent and manager. The poet is said to have acquitted himself like a good man of business, and to have displayed a vast extent of commercial knowledge. He showed the House the danger there was of losing all our valuable colonies in the West Indies—colonies which contributed directly to the national revenue above 700,000*l.* a-year, which exported to us annually 40,000 hogsheads of sugar, and consumed annually an immense quantity of our manufactures.

On the 22nd of March, Burke, who had so eloquently opposed Lord North's conciliatory scheme, produced a plan of his own, comprised in thirteen resolutions, and prefaced by one of the most admired of his speeches. "The proposition," said he, "is peace. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negociations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the periodical determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace; sought in its natural course, and in its ordinary haunts. It is peace sought in the spirit of peace; and laid in principles purely pacific. I propose, by removing the ground of the difference, and by restoring the *former unsuspecting confidence of the colonies in the mother country*, to give permanent satisfaction to your people; and (far from a scheme of ruling by discord) to reconcile them to each other in the same act, and by the bond of the very same interest, which reconciles them to British government. My idea is nothing more. Refined policy ever has been the parent of confusion; and ever will be so, as long as the world endures. Plain good intention, which is as easily discovered at the first view as fraud is surely detected at last, is, let me say, of no mean force in the government of mankind. Genuine simplicity of heart is an healing and cementing principle. My plan, therefore, being formed upon the most simple grounds imaginable, may disappoint some people when they hear it. It has nothing to recommend it to the pruriency of curious ears. There is nothing at all new and captivating in it. It has nothing of the splendour of the project which has been lately laid upon your table by the noble lord in the blue riband.* It does not propose to fill your lobby with squabbling colony agents, who will require the interposition of your mace, at every instant, to keep the peace amongst them. It does not institute a magnificent auction of finance, where captivated provinces come to general ransom by bidding against each other, until you knock down the hammer, and determine a proportion of payments beyond all the powers of algebra to equalise and settle." He said, that, by their British descent, by the very popular form of most of their governments, and by the religious spirit of most of the colonies, the Americans were disposed to entertain more extreme notions of liberty than any other people upon earth. "All Protestantism," said he, "even the most cold and passive, is a sort of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement on the principle of resistance; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion. This religion, under a variety of denominations, agreeing in nothing but in the communion of the spirit of liberty, is predominant in most of the northern provinces; where the church of England, notwithstanding its legal rights, is in reality no more than a sort of private sect, not comprising, most pro-

* Ann. Reg.

* Lord North.

bably, the tenth of the people. The colonists left England when this spirit was high; and in the emigrants was the highest of all; and even that stream of foreigners, which has been constantly flowing into these colonies, has, for the greatest part, been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and they have brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed." Law, as well as religion, had fostered this high spirit of liberty, and contributed towards the growth and effect of the intractable spirit. "In no country perhaps in the world," said he, "is law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful; and in most provinces it takes the lead. *The greater number of the deputies sent to the general congress are lawyers.* But all who read, and in America most do read, endeavour to obtain some smattering in that science. I have been told by an eminent bookseller, that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations. The colonists have now fallen into the way of printing them for their own use. I hear that they have sold nearly as many of Blackstone's Commentaries in America as in England. General Gage marks out this disposition very particularly in a letter on your table. He states, that all the people in his government are lawyers, or smatterers in law; and that in Boston they have been enabled, by successful chicane, wholly to evade many parts of one of your capital penal constitutions. . . . . This study renders men acute, inquisitive, dexterous, prompt in attack, ready in defence, full of resources. In other countries, the people, more simple, and of a less mercurial cast, judge of an ill principle in government only by an actual grievance; but there, they anticipate the evil, and judge of the presence of the grievance by the badness of the principle. They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze." Black slavery too, according to Burke, gave additional growth and vivacity to American liberty. The possession of slaves was more than a counterpoise to the prevalence of the established church in some of the provinces. "I can perceive," said he, "by their manner, that some gentlemen object to the latitude of my description, because in the southern colonies the church of England forms a large body, and has a regular establishment. It is certainly true. There is, however, a circumstance attending these southern colonies, which, in my opinion, fully counterbalances this difference, and makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. *It is, that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves.* Where this is the case, in any part of the world, those who are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those to the northward." The last cause of the disobedient spirit in the colonies was their distance from the mother country. "Three thousand miles of ocean," exclaimed the orator, "lie between you and them. No contrivance can prevent the effect of this distance in weakening our government. Seas roll, and months pass, between the order and the execution; and the want of a speedy explanation of a single point is enough to defeat a whole system. You have, indeed, winged ministers of vengeance, who carry your bolts in their pounces, to the remotest verge of the sea. But there a power steps in, that limits the arrogance of raging passions and furious elements, and says, So far shalt thou go, and no farther. Who are you, that should fret, and rage, and bite the chains of nature? Nothing worse happens to you than does to all nations, who have extensive empire; and it happens in all the forms into which empire can be thrown. In large bodies the circulation of power *must* be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt, and Arabia, and Kurdistan, as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers, which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can. He governs with a loose rein, that he may govern at all; and the whole of the force and vigour of his authority in his centre is derived from a prudent relaxation in all his borders. Spain, in her provinces, is, perhaps, not so well obeyed as you are in yours. She complies too; she submits; she watches times. This is the immutable condition, the eternal law, of extensive and detached empire." This argument carried out, in relation to a people like the Anglo-Americans, led to inevitable independence; but, so far from announcing that great idea, Burke, like Chatham, contended for the general supremacy of parliament and the imperial rights of the crown.* He exhibited with eloquence,

* We find Chatham at this moment, repeating in the strongest manner his old opinions upon American affairs. Notwithstanding his expressed disapprobation of everything that was doing by government in that part of the world, and his recent and eloquent denunciation of the Quebec Act, as tending to exterminate Protestantism and freedom, the great orator had just sent out to Canada his eldest son, Lord Pitt—afterwards Earl of Chatham and an unlucky general—to serve with Carleton and learn the art of war under that officer. And to Carleton, after expressing his gratitude for his great goodness to his son, and his hope that that son would "not prove an unprofitable scholar in the best of schools," he writes:—"I will not say a word on the unhappy state of America, as the provisional plan I offered to the House of Lords will probably have reached you; and that contains my whole system for America—which is, to secure to the colonies property and liberty, and to insure to the mother country a due acknowledgment, on the part of the colonies, of their subordination to the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of the

and without any of the exaggeration that eloquence is liable to, the marvellous growth and gigantic importance of our trade with the American colonies; a trade which, by itself alone, very nearly equalled what had been our trade with all the world at the beginning of the century. By this time few, even of the worst informed and least reading of the country gentlemen, were ignorant of the importance of our American trade; and it was the sense of the enormous value of that trade which induced a large part of the nation to encourage government in putting down by force the prevailing discontents; it being considered that, if the colonies should throw off the English government, they could also throw off and put an end to the trade of England. This was the settled opinion of men who had more wit and knowledge than the country gentlemen:—this was the conviction of Gibbon, who, in a private letter to a friend, candidly expressed his feeling on the matter. "For my own part," says he, "I am more and more convinced that we are now arrived at the decisive moment of preserving or of losing for ever both our *trade* and empire."* It would have been worthy of the highest political philosophy to have demonstrated that our commerce rested upon a basis of its own, and would require something more than an American revolution to overthrow it; that, when the political connexion between the two countries should be dissevered, their mutual wants and supplies, the paramount object of each, as of all trading people, to have the best and most extensive market to buy in, and the best and most extensive market to sell in, would keep up commerce when empire was gone, and would continue to link the Americans with the English. It would have been worthy of a far-seeing prophet to have predicted that our trade with America would take deeper root, throw out new shoots, and require a less expensive culture from the very moment when American independence should be ratified: but it does not appear that Burke, with all his sagacity and imagination, had any foresight of this consummation. According to the pacificatory scheme he was now opening, our supremacy was indispensable, and was to remain, though it was to be a sovereignty without power, or with a power most rarely and timidly exercised. Without waiting for any advances or concessions on the part of the Americans, we were to allow all the claims they had set forth in their petitions and declarations, and our parliament was to undo all that it had done in their regard ever since the year 1765:—it was to agree in Burke's thirteen resolutions, that the colonies, not being represented in parliament, could in no way be taxed by parliament—that the said colonies had been made liable to several subsidies, payments, rates, and taxes, given and granted by parliament, &c.—that, from the distance of the colonies and from other circumstances, no means had ever been devised for procuring for them a representation in parliament—that each of the colonies had a general assembly of its own, that ought to tax and assess them—that these assemblies, when left to themselves, had often freely granted the crown subsidies, public aids, &c. —that it had been found by experience that such grants made by the assemblies were more beneficial and conducive to the public service than the mode of giving and granting aids and subsidies in parliament, to be paid in the colonies—that the act passed in the seventh year of this reign for granting certain duties in the colonies, for allowing a drawback upon the exportation from this kingdom of coffee and cocoa-nuts of the produce of the said colonies, for discontinuing the drawback payable on china earthenware exported to America, and for more effectually preventing smuggling in the said colonies, should be repealed—that the Boston Port bill should be repealed—that the bill altering the course of trials in the province of Massachusetts should be repealed—that the bill altering the constitution of that province should be repealed—that it would be proper to explain and amend the act of King Henry VIII. in regard to the trial of treasons committed out of the king's dominions—that the new regulations for appointing and paying the judges should be altered so as to satisfy the colonies —and that it would be proper to regulate the American courts of admiralty or vice-admiralty in such a manner as to make them more commodious to those who sued or were sued in them, and to provide for the more decent maintenance of the judges of those courts. The first four resolutions and the last were met by ministers with the previous question; and the other eight were negatived.*

Five days after Mr. Hartley brought in another conciliatory scheme, very closely resembling Lord Chatham's. It was negatived without a division. Mr. Hartley then moved, with similar success, for the suspension for a limited period (of three years) of the operation of the three sharp acts against Massachusetts Bay. During the progress of the second restraining bill, an additional clause was moved for by the minister, and carried without a division, to include in the bill the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware. Towards the close of the session—on the 15th of May—Burke, as agent for the colony of New York, presented a remonstrance from the general assembly of that province. In introducing it, he said that the people of New York were zealous for the prosperity and unity of the empire, and averse to revolution. Lord North admitted that the conduct of the people of New York had hitherto been moderate and highly commendable, yet he opposed the bringing up of the paper, upon the grounds that parliament could not hear anything which called in question its right to legislate for the colonies; and a majority of 186 voted with him against 67. In the House of Lords the Duke of

parliament of Great Britain. *I beg to say so much, in order to stand clear in your opinion of any imputation of countenancing a wild independency in the colonies."—Chatham Cor.*

* Letter to Sheffield.

* The first proposition of all had the previous question carried against it, by a majority of considerably more than 4 to 1, the numbers being 270 against 78.

Manchester introduced a memorial and petition, conceived much in the same terms, from the assembly of New York, and moved for its being read. It was immediately objected that the title of the paper rendered it inadmissible, as the term *memorial* was only given to the representations which passed between sovereigns. It was also urged that, as the noble mover had not explained the nature of the paper, it might be found to contain things not proper to be heard in that House. It was replied, that the lowest commissioned officer in the army or navy had an unquestionable right to present a *memorial* to the sovereign; and that the noble mover had sufficiently explained the matter, by reading the prayer of the memorial for the redress of grievances in general. The debate grew hot. In the course of it, Lord Howard of Effingham, whose head was full of dreams of military glory, and whose fondness for war had led him even to serve under a foreign flag in the Mediterranean, delivered a very remarkable speech, declaring the reason which had induced him, notwithstanding his narrow fortune, to resign his commission in a regiment ordered to America. "Ever since I was at an age to have ambition at all," said his lordship, "my highest ambition has been to serve my country in a military capacity. If there was on earth an event I dreaded, it was to see this country so situated as to make that profession incompatible with my duty as a citizen. That period is, in my opinion, arrived; and I have thought myself bound to relinquish the hopes I had formed, by a resignation, which appeared to me the only method of avoiding the guilt of enslaving my country, and embruing my hands in the blood of her sons. When the duties of a soldier and a citizen become inconsistent, I shall always think myself obliged to sink the character of a soldier in that of a citizen, till those duties shall again, by the malice of our real enemies, become united. It is no small sacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profession; but it is much greater, when a predilection, strengthened by habit, has given him so strong an attachment to his profession as I feel. I have, however, this one consolation, that, by making that sacrifice, I at least give to my country an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my principles."* The Duke of Manchester declined rendering himself responsible for the petition by giving explanations, but he said he would read them the *original*. This irregular proposition was rejected with indignation; there was a loud call of "Question, question!" and upon a division the motion for reading the memorial was negatived by 45 against 25. Other petitions or remonstrances were in like manner stifled on the threshold of parliament, or were read without having their prayer attended to. On the 17th of May Lord Camden presented a petition from a part of that very small body, the British inhabitants of Canada, against the Quebec act of last year.* The petition was much the same as one which had been recently presented to the king:—it enumerated sundry grievances suffered in consequence of the late law, and implored their lordships, as the hereditary guardians of the rights of the people, to use their interposition in order to procure the repeal or amendment of the said act, so that the petitioners might again enjoy, as Englishmen, their constitutional rights, privileges, and franchises. Camden spoke with unmeasured severity against the whole of the Canada or Quebec bill. He said he had examined it thoroughly, and found it so impolitic, pernicious, and incompatible with the Protestant religion and the constitution of England, as to be incapable of amendment. Nothing would do, he said, short of a total repeal: and he then proposed a repealing bill, which was not to take effect until the 1st of May next year (1776), in order to afford time for providing a constitutional form of government for Canada. The bill having been read, Lord Dartmouth, secretary for American affairs, instantly moved that it should be rejected. He and his party contended that the mass of the inhabitants—the French Canadians — were rendered exceedingly happy by the Quebec act; and they produced an address to General Carleton, the governor, upon his recent return to that province, and another address to the king, wherein these French Canadians expressed their thanks and gratitude for being restored to their ancient laws, usages, rights, and privileges. Ministers also represented that, even supposing the British settlers in Canada to have been unanimous—which was far from being the case—they would still be only a handful of people. As Camden had made the religious part of the bill the chief theme of his declamation, and as the bench of bishops had been most severely reflected upon for their votes, as if they were in league with government to give up the Anglican church and establish Popery, the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up to justify himself and brethren, upon the principles of toleration, the faith of the capitulation, and the terms granted by the definitive treaty of peace. After a long and warm debate, the motion for the rejection of Camden's bill was carried, at 10 o'clock at night, by a majority of 88 against 28. This time, both the king's brothers, Gloucester and Cumberland, divided with the minority. Nearly at the same time another petition, from the same British inhabitants of Canada, was presented to the House of Commons by Sir George Saville. This paper declared that a petition to his majesty, in the name of all the French inhabitants of that province, in favour of the principles of the Quebec act, had not been fairly obtained; and that, the priests, the advocates, and the noblesse apart, the inhabitants in general, the French freeholders, merchants, and

* History of Lord North's Administration. The cities of London and Dublin passed votes of thanks to Lord Howard for his conduct on this occasion.

* This petition was put into the hands of Lord Camden by Mr. Maseres, the former attorney-general of Quebec, whose opinions and examination before parliament have been already given at some length. It professed to be a petition from the *Protestant* settlers, to repeal or amend the Quebec bill.

traders, were in reality as much averse as themselves to the re-introduction of the old Canadian laws, &c. No proof was offered in support of these assertions, the incorrectness of which seems to be proved by the whole tenor of the conduct of the French Canadians, in moments of excitement, temptation, and danger. In the course of the debate Lord North let fall, that, if it became absolutely necessary, he should not hesitate to put arms in the hands of these Canadians:—but then, with his usual easiness of temper and of belief, he added a declaration of his firm persuasion that all the troubles in America would be settled speedily, happily, and without bloodshed. Sir George Saville, by way of following up the petition he had presented, moved for the repeal of the Quebec act *in toto;* but the motion was rejected by 174 against 86. In presenting the money bills, when parliament came to be prorogued, the speaker stated to his majesty the heavy amount of the grants voted, which nothing but the serious exigencies of the times could justify at a season when we were in profound peace with all the powers of Europe: but this gentle hint was accompanied with the assurance, that, if the Americans should persist in rebellion, and the sword must be drawn, the faithful Commons would do everything in their power to support his majesty, and maintain the supremacy of the legislature.* In putting an end to the session—on the 26th of May—his majesty expressed his most perfect satisfaction with the conduct of parliament at this important crisis.

But, while the Houses of Parliament in England had been echoing with the sonorous periods of oratory, the hill sides and river banks of America had been ringing with sharp and dissonant peals of musketry. The colonists had fired their first shot, and blood had been flowing in no diminutive stream. They had passed the winter in making preparations for holding the general congress which was to meet at Philadelphia in the month of May; in fabricating and repairing arms, in drilling the militia, and in keeping their spirits up by the production and interchange of invitations, manifestoes, and proclamations. General Gage, on the 26th of February, ordered a small detachment of troops to proceed to Salem, and take possession of some brass cannon and field-pieces which had been collected at that point. The detachment proceeded by water to Marble Head, whence they marched to Salem; but, before they could arrive at that town, the Americans had removed their artillery. The field officer in command of the detachment, hoping to come up with them, marched on, up the country, until he was stopped by a small river. There was a draw-bridge over this river; but upon his approach it was hauled up by a number of people on the opposite bank, who peremptorily refused to let it down, alleging, in New England fashion, that the road was not a public one, and that the bridge was private property, over which even the king's troops had no right to pass without the owner's consent. Perceiving a boat in the river, the officer was about to make use of it for transporting his men; but some country people, who were nearer to it, jumped into the boat, and began to cut holes in her bottom with axes. Some of the soldiers, however, leaped into the boat, and a scuffle ensued, which would have ended in loss of life if a neighbouring clergyman had not interfered and prevailed upon the Americans to let down the draw-bridge. The officer and his detachment then crossed over; but the day was now far spent; the artillery had been carried too great a distance, and, as the best thing to be done, the officer marched back his men to Marble Head, and re-embarked them for Boston Neck. They were not molested on their retreat; but the country people considered this little circumstance as a victory and triumph obtained over the king's troops. The next attempt to raise and remove American property was attended with more serious consequences. Having received certain information that a considerable quantity of military stores was deposited at Concord, a town about twenty miles from Boston, Gage, in the night between the 18th and 19th of April, detached the grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn of the marines, with orders to proceed with all dispatch to destroy that depôt. The detachment, having embarked in boats, was conveyed up Charles River, as far as a place called Phipp's Farm: there they landed, at the dead of night, and thence they proceeded in silence and in haste towards Concord, seizing every person they met, in the hope of stopping any intelligence of their march. But the New Englanders were a people not likely to be caught sleeping; they had active agents and spies, who watched the governor and every movement of the troops, and they were fully prepared for any thing that might happen. The detachment had not marched many miles, when their ears were saluted with the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, the signals of alarm. At these, by him, unexpected sounds, Colonel Smith threw forward six companies of light infantry, with orders to advance as fast as they could run and secure the bridges. These companies reached Lexington, a town about fifteen miles from Boston, and five miles from Concord, at five o'clock in the morning, having, as they advanced, seen a body of men under arms drawn up on a green near the high road. When questioned by the officer and ordered to retire, the Americans quitted the green in some confusion; but as they went off several guns were fired upon the king's troops from behind a wall and from some adjoining houses. By this, their first fire, the Americans wounded one man, and shot Major Pitcairn's horse in two places. Though highly exasperated, the British troops were steady to their orders and did not return the fire till the word was

* The speaker also praised the late law for perpetuating the Grenville act for the trial of contested elections.

given:—when they fired, they killed several and wounded others. During this check and delay the grenadiers came up with the light infantry, and then the whole detachment pushed on to Concord—a place ill named for the scenes it was about to witness. As they drew near that place, a large body of American militia was seen drawn up under arms on a gentle eminence; and the light infantry were ordered to make a flank movement and disperse them, while the grenadiers marched on, by the direct road, into Concord. As the light infantry ascended the hill on one side the militia descended it on the other, retreating towards the back of the town and crossing one of the bridges which was on

American Militia and Minute Men at Lexington. From an Original Drawing by Jarvis.

the other side of the town. The light infantry pressed close on their heels and took possession of the bridge. Meanwhile the grenadiers entered the town, and, setting diligently to work, destroyed the military stores.* The militia, who were reinforced from the country behind, now came forward, as if with the intention of forcing the bridge over which they had retreated, and engaging the king's troops in the town. The light infantry on the bridge fired upon them. The militia returned the fire briskly, and several men were killed and wounded on each side. But, as the grenadiers had now accomplished the purpose of the expedition, Colonel Smith withdrew the light infantry from the bridge, put his whole detachment in marching order, and began to retire deliberately towards Boston. Their backs were scarcely turned, when the Americans set up a shout that the "lobsters" were afraid of them!

* According to Dr. Gordon they did not find much to destroy.—"They disabled two twenty-four pounders, and destroyed their carriages and seven wheels for the same, with their timbers, besides sixteen wheels for brass three-pounders, and two carriages with timber and wheels for two four-pounders. They threw 500lbs. of ball into the river, wells, and other places, and broke in pieces about 60 barrels of flour, half of which was saved. These were all the stores that they could discover and destroy."—*Hist. of American Revolution.* A report was spread among the Americans that one object of the expedition was to seize the persons of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, who were the leaders in the provincial congress, and who had exerted themselves above all others in driving matters to extremity and in preparing the means of war.

They were also by this time greatly reinforced, for militia-men, minute-men—dead shots at the rifle—and volunteers of every description had run in from all quarters to post themselves behind trees, in houses, and behind walls, flanking the roads through which the British troops were to pass. Presently an incessant though irregular fire began in front and on both flanks, and the main body of the militia, having recrossed the bridge, pressed upon the rear of the English soldiers, who were too much fatigued with their long night-march and want of rest to move with any great speed. Another discouraging circumstance was, that the most destructive part of the fire proceeded from fellows they could not reach, and who were only seen by the smoke of their rifles. This continued all the way back to Lexington, into which place, according to an English officer present, they were driven before the Americans like a flock of sheep. Worse would have followed—the annihilation of the detachment would have been inevitable—if General Gage had not had the forethought of sending from Boston a second detachment to sustain the first. This second detachment, consisting of sixteen companies of foot and some marines, with two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lord Percy, met Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn at Lexing-

ton, and presented a front which made the militiamen halt and fall back. The two united detachments then rested on their arms, and received, for the first time, some slight refreshment. Lord Percy formed his detachment into a hollow square, in which he enclosed Colonel Smith's party, who by this time were so exhausted with fatigue, that for the most part they threw themselves on the ground, "with their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase." When they were somewhat refreshed Lord Percy slowly moved the whole body towards Boston. The militia, who had been treading on their rear, were no longer to be seen in a compact body; but every house, every wall, every tree the English had to pass sent forth upon them bullets and rifle-shots, the Americans running from front to flank and from flank to rear, loading their pieces at one place and discharging them at another, and keeping their own persons so well covered and concealed that it was useless to attempt firing at them. Indeed, for miles of that tedious, dismal journey, the English soldiers scarcely pulled a trigger. When the two detachments arrived at Boston river, they were at a loss to know which was the safest place to ford it at. Lord Percy sought information from some country people, who artfully directed him towards an ambuscade, where his troops must have been cut to pieces; but fortunately his lordship had some little knowledge of the river and the country, and no great reliance on the smooth tongues of the New Englanders, and he struck aside to a different ford, and crossed the river in safety. But the left bank as well as the right was swarming with riflemen, who annoyed the troops all the way to Boston, which they reached about sunset quite spent with fatigue. They had left behind them more than 60 killed and 49 missing, in addition to which they had 136 wounded. They accused the Americans of barbarously scalping several of Colonel Smith's party, and the fact is not denied on authority so respectable as that on which it is asserted. The provincials owned to a loss of 60, of whom two-thirds were killed. "Such," says the candid, sensible officer whose account we have been following, "were the events of the day on which blood was first shed in the field between Great Britain and her colonies: events which served to show that, if the Americans were as yet unacquainted with military discipline, they were not destitute of either courage or conduct, but knew well, and dared to avail themselves of, such advantages as they possessed. The people of the colonies were accustomed to the use of fire-arms from their earliest youth, and were, in general, good marksmen. Such men, placed in a house, behind a wall, or amongst trees, are capable of doing as much execution as regular soldiers."* Wonderfully elated with this affair, which they termed "the glorious victory of Lexington," the Americans talked of nothing less than driving the *king*'s troops from Boston, and restoring to that much suffering town its liberty and its trade. But the works which Gage had erected on Boston Neck, and the vessels of war lying nearly all round the town, discouraged any immediate attempt of the kind; and, instead of an assault, they prepared themselves for a blockade. Twenty thousand men—so rapidly did reinforcements pour in from distant parts of the province—put themselves in cantonments, and formed a line nearly twenty miles in extent, with their left leaning on the river Mystic, and their right on the town of Roxburgh, thus enclosing Boston in the centre. They were under the command of Ward, Pribble,* Heath, Prescot, and Thomas, officers who had all served in the provincial regiments during the last war, and who now were all acting as generals. They fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge; and they were soon joined by a strong detachment of troops from Connecticut under the command of General Putnam, an old experienced officer who had served

GENERAL PUTMAN. From a Sketch by Colonel J. Trumbull.

in the two last wars, and who had obtained, like the others, the rank of colonel. Since the conclusion of the war, in 1763, he had been living on a small farm, to which he had annexed a tavern—"an economy," says Stedman, "not uncommon in America, particularly in the province of New England." Putnam took up such a position with his detachment as to be able readily to support any part of the line that might be attacked from Boston Neck. But General Gage remained perfectly

* Stedman, History of the American War. He says—"An officer (meaning himself), on the march of the second detachment to Concord, observed to the commandant, Lord Percy, that, in his opinion, the opposition to the king's troops would be very little, for all the windows were shut, and the houses seemingly deserted. So much the worse, replied Lord Percy, for we shall be fired at from these very houses." He praises the conduct of Percy on this unlucky day as that of an active, brave, and intelligent officer; but he says that the conduct of Colonel Smith was generally censured.

* According to Gordon, Jedediah Pribble, who now, like the rest, had '*honourable*' written before his name, declined attending, on the plea of bad health; and Ward, who afterwards directed the operations at Bunker's Hill, and Putman were the real generals of the blockading army.

inactive, neither attacking this line, which was at first loose and irregular, without any military consistency, nor erecting outworks to prevent any sudden advance upon his main position on the Neck.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, being adjourned from Concord to Water Town, a place about ten miles from Boston, immediately resolved, that an army of 30,000 men should be raised and established, whereof 13,600 should be of that province; and that a letter and delegates should be sent to the several colonies of Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, for further assistance and co-operation. They dispatched Captain John Derby of Salem to England with dispatches for Franklin, containing an account of the Lexington fight, and enclosing another address to the people of Great Britain, stating that they would never submit to the tyranny of a cruel ministry, and that they were determined to die or be free. In the same address, however, they renewed their professions of loyalty to the king, and of esteem for the honour, wisdom, and valour of the English people. The provincial congress then proceeded to issue a large sum in paper currency, to fix the pay of the officers and soldiers, and to make rules and orders for the government of the army. The faith of the whole province was pledged to redeem or realise, at some future day, the paper notes; and terrible threats were held out against all who refused to take them in payment for commodities. They had already pronounced sentence upon Hutchinson and Oliver; and now, on the 5th of May, they formally declared that General Gage, by the late transactions, had utterly disqualified himself from acting as governor, or in any other capacity, and that no obedience was due to him; but, on the contrary, that he was to be considered as "an inveterate enemy." They continued to exert themselves in procuring ammunition and artillery; and, in a very short time, their lines were strengthened with sixteen field-pieces, four brass guns of a small size, a few large iron cannon, taken out of merchant-vessels, and two or three mortars and howitzers. Powder, however, continued to be scarce. Matters were in this condition when Lord North's conciliatory propositions arrived from England, to be scorned and laughed at. This indeed was the general feeling, not merely in New England but nearly everywhere else, with the exception of New York; and even there a timid majority of loyally, or peaceably, disposed persons was over-ruled and ridden over by a bold and indefatigable minority. The provincial congresses that were sitting agreed that the propositions ought to be referred to the general congress, as the question was a national one, and could only be decided by the representatives of the whole people. In Virginia, where the storm was headed by the fiery Jefferson and the still more impetuous Patrick Henry, who had nearly come to blows during the winter with Lord Dunmore the governor, the general assembly being convened, Lord North's conciliatory scheme was laid before them. A committee was appointed to prepare an answer, and, at the instance of Peyton Randolph, who thought that Mr. Nicholas, the chairman, "*was not bold enough for the times*," the task of drawing up the paper was assigned to Jefferson. This young lawyer's paper was so exceedingly hot that it was found necessary to adopt "a few softening touches from some of the *senior* members."* But, as the paper was left, it was warm enough. It declared that the burgesses of Virginia, though anxious for a reconciliation with the mother country, could never accept the proffered terms:—because the support of their civil list belonged exclusively to themselves; because all the colonies had the right of giving their money, as the parliament did theirs, without coercion or prescription; because, though the colony should grant the money through its assembly, all grievances were left unredressed; because at this very time the government was preparing to invade the country by sea and land; because the colonists *would not be allowed to share in the benefits of a free trade, Great Britain insisting on a monopoly of their commerce, &c.*; and, lastly, because, the propositions involving the interest of all the colonies, they were bound, by a regard to their honour, as well as safety, not to treat separately with the British Government. With political insincerity they alluded to Lord Chatham's conciliatory bill, and, though that bill insisted on the right of the British parliament to regulate their trade, and upon other rights which were now equally unpalatable to them, they affected to say that it afforded a proper basis for negociation. They then, like the rest, referred the whole matter to the general congress; and ended by declaring that they had done all that men could do to avert the war, and that nothing remained for them but to commit their injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong. This over, Jefferson instantly set out for Philadelphia to take his place as a leader in the general, or, as it was termed, the Continental Congress.†

At the end of May, General Howe, the brother of Lord Howe, and Generals Burgoyne and Clinton arrived at Boston from England, with a considerable number of marines and drafts from other regiments. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, which raised the force to nearly 10,000 men. As the gauntlet had been fairly thrown down by the Americans, and war to extremities had been decided upon by the English government, it might have been expected that this respectable force would have been actively employed at once, instead of being left to waste their spirits in idleness or routine duty. The Americans were in a condition that tempted an attack, and promised almost certain success. Twenty thousand militia men and raw troops, scattered over twenty or more miles of country, ought to have been routed by five thousand veterans, headed by a general that knew his duty, and was determined to perform it. A sudden concentrated movement from Boston

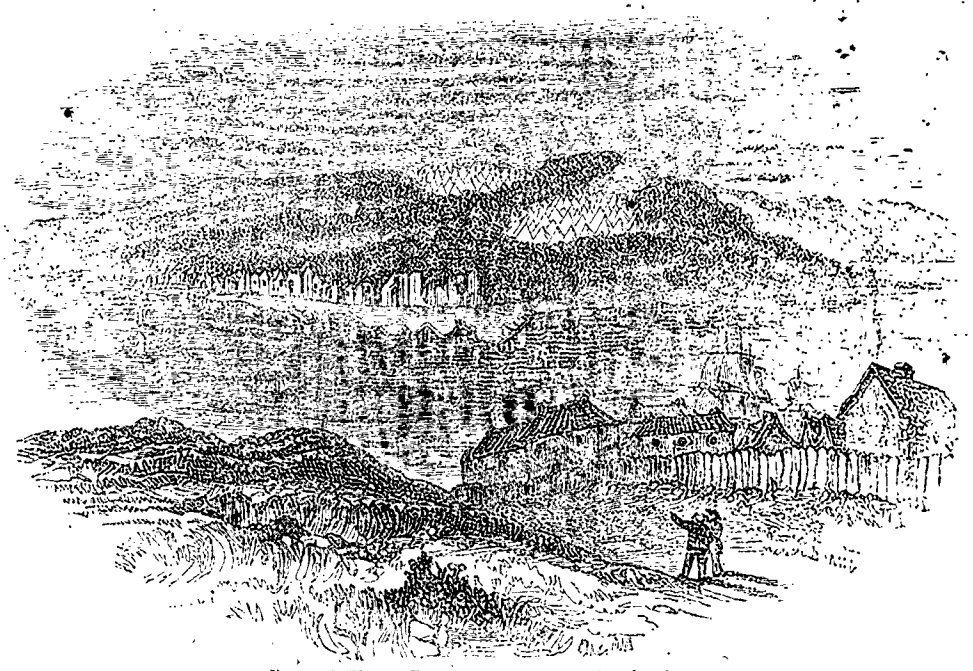
* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.
† Id.—Almon, State Papers.

Neck would have done the business; the Americans nearest to that position, at and about Roxburgh, must have been utterly routed, before their ill-trained companions could have made the movements and the long marches necessary to get to their assistance. Except at Cambridge, their headquarters, five hundred brave men might have broken their line at any one point; but Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton seemed to agree to be as inactive and passive as Gage, with his inferior force, had been before their arrival; and the Americans made excellent use of the time allowed them in teaching their people military evolutions, and in gathering more and more force from all parts to give consistency to their loose line, and to render their blockades by land effective. "We could not well understand," says an English soldier, "what our generals meant; for we were kept on the Neck, twisting our tails and powdering our heads, while the Yankees were gathering in our front and in our flanks like clouds." This dreamy inactivity on our side was only broken by some petty skirmishing among the numerous islands that dot the surface of Boston Bay; and these encounters were so badly managed, that they generally ended to our disadvantage. On two occasions, our generals sent out small parties to carry off the stock of those islands. The few islanders* made no resistance, but the provincial army, their countrymen from the mainland, put off in whale-boats to contest the prize of sheep and oxen; and a fierce contest ensued, with boats, ships, and troops, by land and by water. In the latter of these affairs, which happened at Noodle's Island, not only were our people defeated, but an armed schooner, left aground by the retiring tide, was burnt by the provincials.

On the 8th of June, the provincial congress of Massachusetts resolved that the compact between the crown of Great Britain and that colony was dissolved by the violation of their charter; and they therefore recommended the people to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing themselves a governor and assistants, and a house of assembly; and they proceeded in other matters to assume all the powers of an independent and supreme government. On the 12th of June General Gage issued a proclamation, offering a full pardon, in the king's name, to all who would forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their peaceable occupations, excepting only Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. But all those who should not accept the proffered mercy, or who should protect, assist, supply, conceal, or correspond with such, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. The proclamation also imported that, as a stop was put to the due course of justice, martial law should take place till the laws could be restored to their usual efficacy.* The only effect of this proclamation appears to have been an increase of defiance and determination on the part of the Americans, who, strange to say, were allowed to act on the offensive. To the north of the peninsula of Boston, and separated from it only by Charles River (about the breadth of the Thames at London) and now, though not then, united to it by a bridge, is the somewhat similar peninsula of Charlestown, entirely surrounded by navigable water, except where it is joined to the mainland by an isthmus, somewhat wider and more accessible than Boston Neck. The town which gives its name to the peninsula stands immediately over against Boston, like a suburb to it, or as Southwark to London. In the centre of the peninsula rises the memorable eminence of Bunker's Hill, which has an easy ascent from the isthmus, but is steep and rugged on every other side. Charlestown stands at the foot of this eminence, which is high enough to overlook every part of Boston, and near enough to cannonade and command that city. It should seem almost incredible, that the merest tyro in the art of war—the veriest blunderer ever confided in to lead his flag into disgrace and his troops to destruction—could possibly neglect this vital position: but Gage, deaf to advice, had neglected it; and, though Howe, and Burgoyne, and Clinton had been more than twenty days at Boston, with Bunker's Hill constantly staring them in the face, they had done absolutely nothing to secure it, nor had they even thrown out piquets beyond their works at Boston Neck, to watch the proceedings of the Americans, and guard against any sudden movement. According to Stedman, Gage was beginning to talk of doing something with Bunker's Hill, and his talk was reported to the enemy, like nearly everything else that was discussed at headquarters. On the night of the 16th of June, between nine and ten o'clock, a strong detachment of the blockading army moved from Cambridge, passed unchallenged and unobserved over Charlestown Neck, and reached the summit of Bunker's Hill without being detected. Setting to work, they presently threw up intrenchments and a formidable redoubt, and placed their guns in battery. Although Boston and Boston Neck were so near, although the peninsula of Charlestown was almost surrounded by men of war and transports, nothing was discovered, or, at least, no intimation given, till break of day, when the "Lively," ship of war, began a cannonade on Bunker's Hill. This gave the alarm to Boston and the army; and the officers, rubbing their eyes, saw the important and formidable height covered with works which seemed

* It appears that these few islanders, either from sentiment, or—which is far more probable—from a sense of their weakness and exposed situation, were inclined to pass for royalists, or, at least, to remain quiet. But the provincial army would not allow of this backsliding, and took vengeance on them by burning down their houses, &c. &c. According to Gordon, who can rarely bring himself to condemn anything done by the insurgents, on the 30th of May the provincials from the blockading army went again to Noodle's Island, and burnt the mansion-house there, which answered no good purpose whatever. "But," says he, "there are too many who destroy property merely because of its belonging, or being supposed to belong, to those Americans who have taken the opposite side of the question in the present controversy."—*Hist. Amer. Rev.*

* Almon.—Stedman.



Bunker's Hill. From an Anonymous Print, dated 1790.

to have risen by magic in the night, and with troops that were shouting and beginning to fire on Boston Neck and the shipping. As it was now indispensable to do something, General Gage opened upon them, from Copp's Hill in Boston, a battery of six guns, which fired a long time without doing the Americans any discernible mischief. About the hour of noon a more decisive step was taken, and a detachment from the English army was carried across the river, and landed upon the peninsula of Charlestown, under the command of General Howe and Brigadier Pigott, who had orders, at all costs, to drive the provincials from their works, and occupy Bunker's Hill. The troops, being landed, were formed without opposition; but Howe, perceiving that the works on the crown of the hill were more important than had been imagined, and that fresh columns of Americans were arriving every minute, thought it necessary to halt, and apply to Gage for a reinforcement. New troops were sent across the river, until the column of attack exceeded 2000 men. There were several modes of attacking the Americans. The first and best, and the easiest of execution, as we had the *entire* command of the water, was to have landed the British troops in the rear of the intrenchment, where there was not a cannon to bear upon them, and where the ascent was exceedingly easy. The second way was to have sent some transports drawing little water, and some gun-boats, up Mystic channel, where they could have got within musket-shot of the left flank of the Americans, which was quite uncovered and naked. The third way, and the *worst*, was to mount the hill right in front, where it was steep and rough, and where the American artillery would meet our men in the teeth—and this was the way chosen by our inconceivable generals! Our men were formed in two lines, with the light infantry on the right wing, led by Howe, and the grenadiers on the left, led by Pigott; they had in their front a few small field-pieces and howitzers, which began to fire at intervals, during which the two lines halted. The left wing, in advancing, were fired upon by a body of provincials, who had posted themselves in the houses of Charlestown, where, as at Lexington, they were covered and safe from our musketry; but fire was set to the houses, and in a brief space of time the whole of that town was burnt to the ground. The right wing halted while this work was doing; and, when it was done, the whole detachment moved up the hill. The Americans, secure behind their entrenchments, reserved their fire till the British troops were almost up to the muzzles of their guns; but then they opened a terrible discharge of cannon and musketry—the latter being unremitting, as the men in front, as soon as they had fired their pieces, were supplied with others ready loaded by the men in the rear. The effect was tremendous; the British line gave way in several parts; and General Howe was for a few seconds left standing almost alone; for most of his staff, and the men and officers near him, were either killed or wounded. Some few of the newer troops ran fairly down the side of the hill, and never stopped till they reached the boats which had conveyed them over from Boston. But at this critical moment General Clinton crossed

Charles river, with a number of resolute officers; and he not only succeeded in rallying the fugitives, but made them reascend the hill, and join in a general charge made on the Americans and their works, with fixed bayonets. The fire from the intrenchments and redoubt then waxed faint—the loudest noise heard was an English hurrah; and

GENERAL CLINTON. From a Picture by J. Smart.

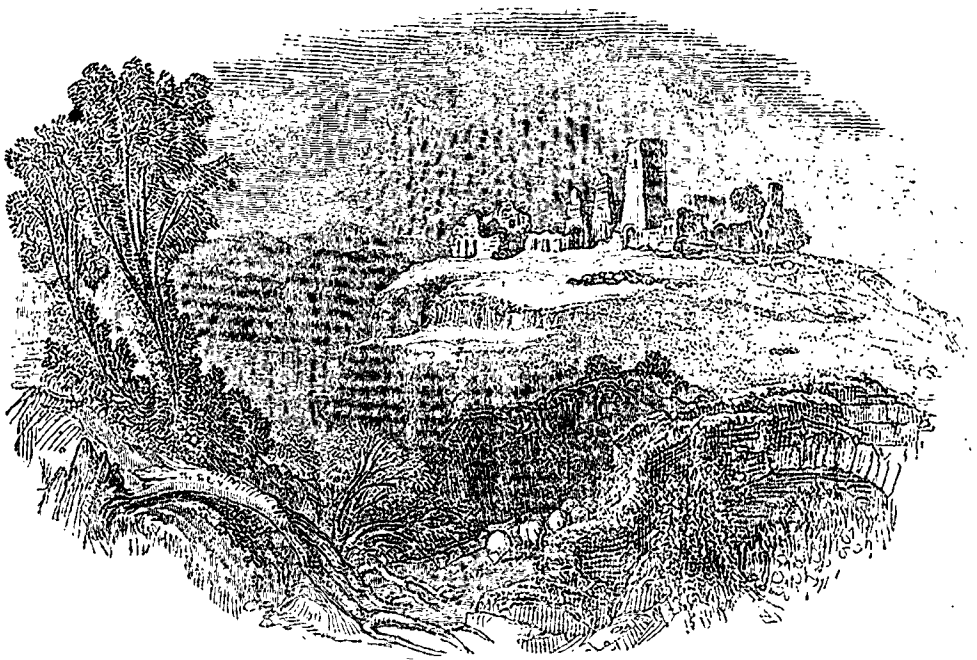
in a very few seconds more the Americans were running for their lives down the easy side of the hill to Charlestown Neck. As they crossed that low-lying and narrow isthmus, they were enfiladed by the guns of the "Glasgow" sloop of war, and one or two floating batteries, which did them far more mischief than they had waited to receive from the soldiery on the hill-top. But if a proper force had been brought up to bear upon that isthmus, and if the troops had pursued them with the bayonet in their loins, few of the Americans could have escaped death or captivity. But the negligence of months could not be repaired in a morning; the stupidity, or something worse, of our commanders was incurable; and the provincials were let go with the loss of some 450 men in killed and wounded; while we had 1050 killed and wounded, inclusive of 89 commissioned officers.* There had been an accumulation of nearly all possible blunders and *mismanagements* on our part. During the heat of the engagement, when the fire of every cannon was of importance, a supply of ball sent over from the ordnance department was found to be of larger dimensions than fitted the calibre of the guns; and this prevented any farther use of the artillery. But a still greater disadvantage was the enormous and unnecessary load under which the troops were marched to the attack, and by which, on that hot day, and on that steep ascent, they were nearly exhausted before they reached the real scene of action. "This circumstance," says Stedman, "was universally censured as unmilitary and absurd: and another error certainly was, that, instead of confining our attack to the enemy's left wing only, the assault was made on the whole front; for their left was covered with nothing more than a breast-work of rails and hay, easy to be scrambled over; and behind it was an open hill, which commanded their redoubt and lines."*

Some weeks before these occurrences in the neighbourhood of Boston, a bold attempt had been made by the provincials upon Canada. The congress sitting at Philadelphia conceived that it would be as easy as it must prove important to subdue the whole of that far-stretching country, which backed all their own territories from the confines of Nova Scotia to the southern extremity of Pennsylvania, and which was left at the moment almost bare of troops. But, even before congress had fixed any plan of operations, a presbyterian volunteer, named Ethan Allen, assembled, of his own accord, a small body of volunteers, partly from Connecticut, partly from Massachusetts, but chiefly from the settlements in the New Hampshire grants, and repaired to Ticonderoga, an important fort at the north end of Lake George, which, with Crown Point, another fort at the southern end of Lake Champlain, was considered as the key to that quarter of Canada.† The officer in command at Ticonderoga was a Captain La Place, an old friend of Ethan Allen. Ethan waited upon him alone, having left his volunteers in a wood hard by; and he induced the captain to lend him twenty of his soldiers, for the pretended purpose of assisting him in transporting some goods across the lake—a commercial operation usual in those parts. These soldiers the presbyterian filled with liquor, till they were drunk or stupid, and then, on the approach of night, he drew his own people from their ambuscade, and hastened to the fort. Besides the twenty drunk outside, there were about forty soldiers, with the captain, inside; but, expecting no mischief, the garrison had adopted no precautions; there was only a single sentry on duty when the Americans rushed into the place, and bade them lay down their arms. The duped and astonished

* Among the officers of distinction who were killed on the ground were Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, Major Pitcairn, and Major Williams. Major Spendlove was mortally wounded, and died a few days after. The most distinguished of the Americans that fell was Dr. Warren, who was killed in the redoubt where he had been commanding.

* Stedman pays a proper tribute to the bravery, steadiness, and discipline of the soldiers, though thus vilely misled and encumbered. He says:—"Twice they were stopped, and twice they returned to the charge, in the middle of a hot summer's day, encumbered with three days' provisions, their knapsacks on their backs, which, together with cartouche box, ammunition, and firelock, may be estimated at 125 lbs. weight. With a steep hill to climb, covered with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected with walls and fences of various enclosures, and in the face of a hot and well-directed fire, they gained a complete victory over three times their own number o. provincials, strongly posted behind a breast-work, and defended by a redoubt."

† Ethan's enterprise was facilitated by one Noah Phelps, who had commissioned himself a captain of the volunteers. This Noah, the day before Ethan's arrival, had disguised himself, and entered the fort of Ticonderoga, in the character of a countryman wanting to be shaved; and, in hunting for the garrison barber, he observed every thing critically, discovering that the walls, in parts, were in a ruinous state, and that guard was kept in a most negligent manner.



Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga. From an Original Drawing.

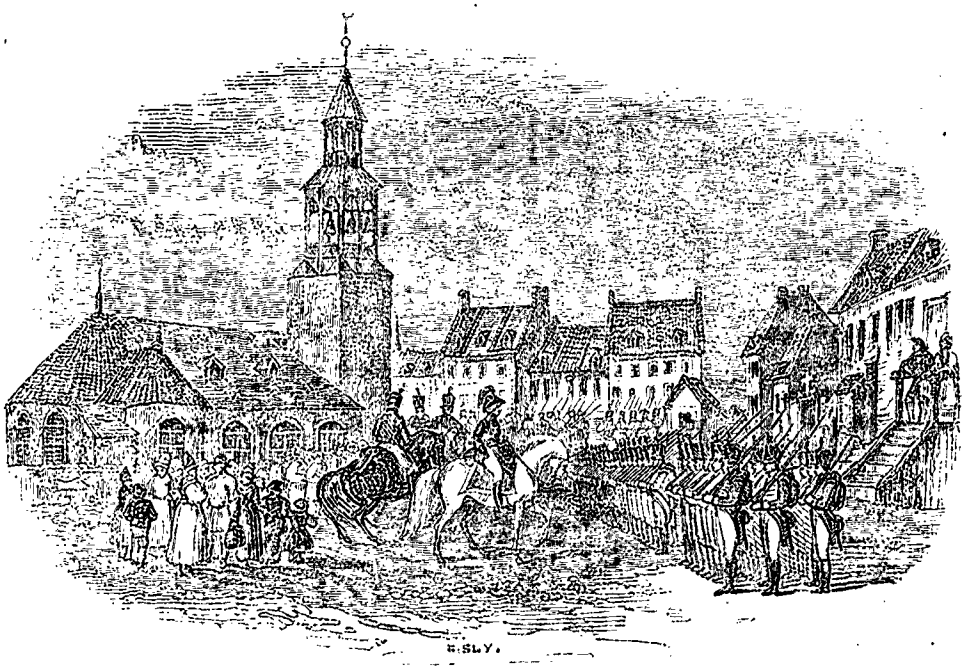
captain asked by what authority they required him to surrender the king's fort. Ethan Allen replied, like a puritan of the old times, "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah and the continental congress." He got possession of the fort, of upwards of one hundred iron cannon, fifty swivels, two mortars, ten tons of musket-balls, three cart-loads of flints, one hundred stand of small arms, and various other materials of war. Ethan Allen next reduced the fort of Crown Point, which he actually found without guard or garrison; and he then surprised Skenesborough, a place occupied by Major Skene, with his son, and a few negroes, who were all made prisoners. Benedict Arnold, whose name will so often figure in the narrative of this unhappy war, came to Lake Champlain, to co-operate with Allen, and to push still bolder plans of his own.* This Arnold was a native of Newhaven, and had been till lately a horse-dealer; but, being fond of war and adventure, he had been one of the first to take up arms, and was now colonel of a little regiment called The Green Mountain Boys. Seeing a small sloop of war, the only armed vessel the English government then had in that water, lying at anchor at St. John's, at the north end of Lake Champlain, and knowing the importance of getting possession of her, which would give him the absolute command of the lake, Arnold armed a little schooner, put some of the guns which had been captured upon batteaux, or large flat-bottomed boats, embarked his men, and surprised and captured the sloop. The horse-dealer had a native genius for the stratagems of war, and a happy confidence in his own good fortune. He and Ethan Allen had got into their hands the keys of Canada.* General Carleton, the governor of

* As Arnold proved a traitor to their cause, American writers unwillingly allow him any military genius or originality of enterprise. It appears, however, that Arnold, who had a regular colonel's commission from the Massachusetts committee of safety, assisted Ethan Allen in capturing Crown Point, and in planning the Canada expedition. But the presbyterian and the horse-dealer soon quarrelled, and for a few days they held a sort of divided reign on the lake, Arnold commanding the sloop and schooner, as high admiral of those waters, and Allen remaining a self-constituted general in chief of the land forces. The horse-dealer soon grew tired of this new kind of life, and returned to the head-quarters of the provincial army at Cambridge; but Ethan Allen remained at Ticonderoga till the middle of June.

* In a letter written on the 2nd of June from Crown Point to the New York congress, Ethan Allen says—"I expect you already have, or soon will, lay before the grand continental congress the great disadvantage it must inevitably be to the colonies ever to evacuate Lake Champlain, and give up to the enemies of our country those invaluable acquisitions, the key either of Canada, or of our country, according to which party holds the same in possession, and makes a proper improvement of it. The key is ours as yet, and, provided the colonies would suddenly push an army of two or three thousand men in Canada, they might make a conquest of all that would oppose them in the extensive province of Quebec, unless reinforcements from England should prevent it. Such a division would weaken General Gage, or insure us Canada. I would lay my life on it that with 1500 men I could take Montreal. Provided I could be thus furnished, and an army could take the field, it would be no insuperable difficulty to take Quebec. This object should be pursued, though it should take 10,000 men, for England cannot spare but a certain number of her troops; nay, she has but a small number that are disciplined, and it is as long as it is broad—the more that are sent to Quebec; the less they can send to Boston, or any other part of the continent. And there will be this unspeakable advantage, in directing the war into Canada, that, instead of turning the Canadians and Indians against us, as is wrongly suggested by many, it would unavoidably attach and connect them to our interest. Our friends in Canada can never help us until we first help them, except in a passive or inactive manner. There are now about 700 regular troops in Canada. It may be thought that to push an army into Canada would be too premature and imprudent. If so, I propose to make a stand at the Isle Aux Noix, which the French fortified by entrenchments the last war, and greatly fatigued our large army to take it. It is about fifteen miles on this side of St. John's, and is an island in the river, on which a small artillery placed would command it. An establishment on a frontier so far north would not only better secure our own frontier, but put it in our power better to work our policy with Canadians and Indians, or, if need be, to make incur-

that province, had only two regiments, of about 400 men each, at his disposal; and these he ordered to Fort St. John, about twelve miles in advance of Montreal. But, as soon as General Gage was informed of Arnold's successes, he sent brigadier Prescot, with a few other officers, by water, from Boston to Montreal. Prescot arrived at that Canadian city in the month of July; and about the same time Colonel Guy Johnstone arrived at the same place, with 700 Indians of the Five Nations, bold fellows, accustomed to the musket as well as to the tomahawk, old enemies to the frontier Americans, who now proposed to General Carleton an immediate attack on Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Some of the Indians had examined those two forts, and had discovered that the American garrisons in them were very weak; yet Carleton thought proper neither to employ these savages nor adopt their project for retaking the forts. Thus, as the Americans were not molested in those important places, they were allowed time to gather in force, and to make them starting points for more extensive and daring movements.

As the chief operations of the war lay, this



PLACE D'ARMES, MONTREAL. From a Print by Lambert.

year, in the direction of Canada, we shall continue on this side. A regular plan for occupying or revolutionising all Canada was submitted to the general or continental congress, who dispatched 3,000 men, under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, to Crown Point and Lake Champlain.* This force embarked in the flat-bottomed boats, to cross the broad lake, and descend the river Sorel; but when they landed they were attacked by a strong party of Indians, who obliged them to retreat to their boats, and return to the Isle Aux Noix. Schuyler falling sick, the sole command of the detachment fell to Richard Montgomery, a man full of courage and enterprise, and fertile in military resources. The Americans compared him to our gallant Wolf, the conqueror of Quebec; and in many respects Montgomery merited the comparison, which was soon made the completer by a premature death under the walls of the Canadian capital. Montgomery, after being foiled by one party of Indians, was joined by another—by the very 700 warriors of the Five Nations whose services General Carleton had rejected. It was now the middle of September, yet he resolved to advance immediately, and lay siege to Fort St. John, the only places of arms that covered Montreal. But at the same time Ethan Allen, the captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, fancied he could take Montreal, by a *coup de main*, in an easier direction; and, cross-

tions into the territory of Canada, the same as they could into our country, provided they had the sovereignty of Lake Champlain, and had erected head-quarters at or near Skenesborough. Our only having it in our power thus to make incursions into Canada might probably be the very reason why it would be unnecessary so to do, even if the Canadians should prove more refractory than I think for."—*Jared Spark's Life of Gouverneur Morris. Boston.* 1832.

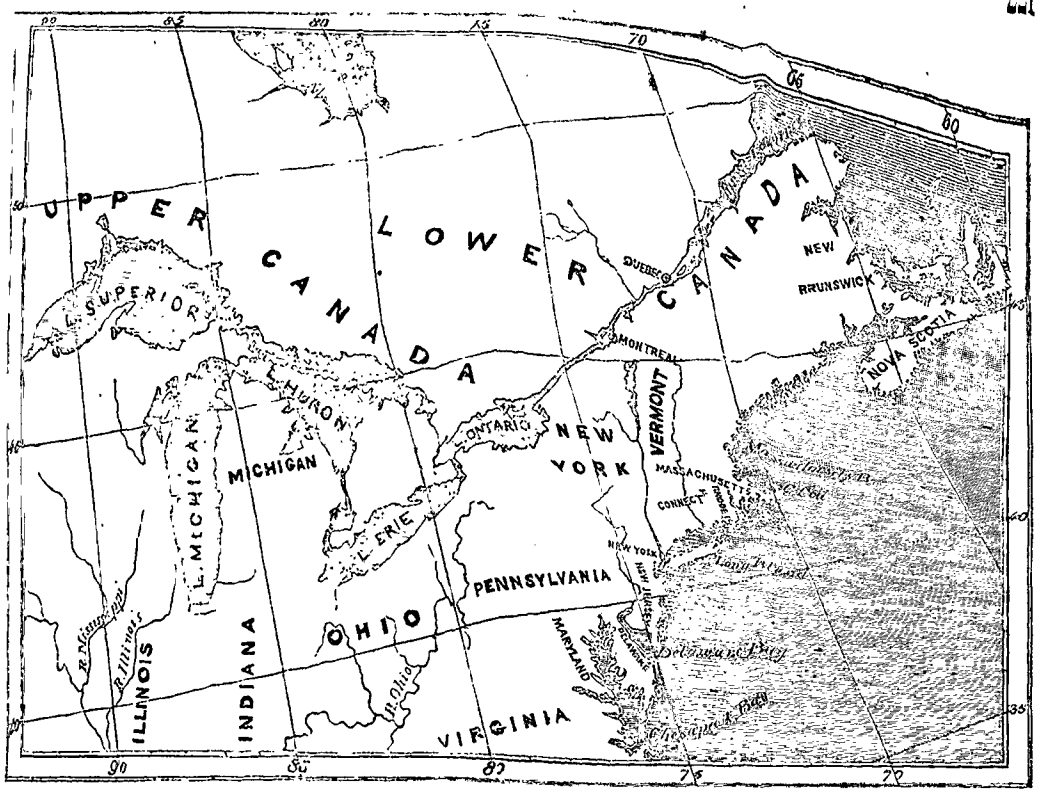
* Schuyler's force consisted almost entirely of Connecticut men, with a few volunteers from the back part of Massachusetts. The revolutionary party in the colony of New York engaged to furnish provisions and other supplies for the expedition; but it appears that they did not fulfil their engagements. When Schuyler pressed them to send him reinforcements, they replied—"Our troops can be of no service to you; they have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition, the officers no commissions, our treasury no money, and ourselves in debt." The truth was this party could scarcely keep down the royalists, or tories, as they were called, and British troops were expected to land in New York.

ing the river St. Lawrence by night, about three miles below that town, with a party of about 150 men, he was making sure of his prize, when he was suddenly attacked by Major Campbell, beaten, and taken prisoner. All the regular force that Campbell had with him consisted of about thirty-six men, of the 26th Regiment; but the town's people of Montreal, and other French Canadians in the neighbourhood, had joined him with heart and hand, and had enabled him to take captive the adventurous presbyterian.* In the mean time General Montgomery had reached the St. Lawrence at another point, and had detached 300 men, with two six-pounders, to reduce Fort Chamblée, situated on the tributary river Sorel, or Iroquois, or Richelieu, about five miles above Fort St. John. While Montgomery lay on the right bank of the river, General Carleton made a very injudicious and very unsuccessful attempt to dislodge him, trying to effect a landing at the only place where resistance was to be expected. Fort Chamblée was occupied by about 160 men and some artillery, under the command of Major Stopford, who made a shameful defence, and surrendered on the 3rd of November, when the Americans are said to have been reduced almost to their last round of shot. But they found plenty of ball and powder, cartridges, and stands of arms in the fort, which would have been destroyed before the surrender, if Stopford had done his duty. These timely supplies were forwarded with all speed to Montgomery, who pressed the siege of St. John's with great vigour. Colonel Maclean, with part of a regiment, hastily formed out of Highland emigrants, had advanced to the relief of the place; but, as General Carleton could not form a junction with him, and as he received information that Arnold, with another American army, was approaching Point Levy, he embarked his men, and retreated down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, to stop Arnold's progress. Montgomery then occupied the post Maclean had abandoned, and erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence. He also made rafts and booms, in order to prevent Carleton from sending down armed vessels from Montreal. Upon this Major Preston, who commanded in St. John's, seeing all hopes of relief cut off, and his provisions and ammunition almost consumed, surrendered unconditionally to the Americans, with upwards of 500 regulars, and about 100 Canadian volunteers, who had behaved loyally and gallantly. The fall of St. John's, and the loss of the command of the river, left Montreal incapable of defence. Carleton, with a fragment of his little army,—the merest handful of men,—made a forced march along the right bank of the St. Lawrence,† to succour Quebec, which had been left in a miserably weak condition; and on the 13th of November Montgomery dashed across the river, and entered Montreal without opposition. Months before this Ethan Allen had sent a proclamation, in the name of the colonists, "to their worthy and respectable friends and countrymen, the French people of Canada," telling them that, as war had actually commenced between England and the colonies, the latter could not avoid fighting the king's troops, but that it was quite unnecessary for the Canadians and the inhabitants of the English colonies to butcher one another, there being no controversies subsisting between them. "Nay," said Ethan's proclamation, "let Old England and the colonies fight it out, and you, Canadians, stand by, and see what an arm of flesh can do." This paper had been sent by a trusty messenger to Montreal, with orders to get it circulated as widely as possible. And now Montgomery, wisely overlooking the complaints of the bigotted New Englanders, engaged to allow the Canadians the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and of their old laws, customs, and privileges. We do not believe, however, that these things would have opened the gates of the second city of Canada, if Montreal had had gates to shut; but the place then lay open and helpless; and even the little flotilla stationed above the town was compelled to surrender. It was now Montgomery's object to get to Quebec as quickly as possible, in order to join Arnold, under the walls of that place; but many of his volunteers had had enough of this hazardous and most laborious campaign, and they quitted his ranks by hundreds, to get back to their own fire-sides in Connecticut. He had been obliged to leave garrisons at Forts Chamblée and St. John, in order to keep open the communication with the united provinces, to keep down the Canadians and Indians, and hold in check the British garrisons at Detroit and Niagara; he was now compelled to leave another garrison at Montreal; and, when he put the remainder of his force in marching order, he found it did not exceed 400 men.

While Montgomery is descending the St. Lawrence we may call attention to the far more remarkable movements of Arnold, who now held a colonel's commission from the continental congress, and who had been entrusted with the execution of a brilliant and daring plan of his own forming. Starting from Cambridge, the head-quarters of the army blockading Boston, the bold horse-dealer marched 130 miles to the northward of Boston, and embarked with 1200 men, consisting chiefly of New Englanders, about a thousand pounds in money, and a whole cargo of manifestoes, to be distributed among the Canadians, on the rough and tortuous river Kennebec, which takes its rise from Lake St. Pierre, or Moose-head Lake, on the eastern declivity of the bleak mountain range which separates Maine from Canada and the St. Lawrence. To *ascend* this river against the current, and among rocks and shoals, was tedious and most laborious work; the stream in a great part of its course had never been surveyed; and Arnold found that there were numerous falls and

* According to Gordon Ethan was directly put in irons, as a felon and traitor. Fifteen of his people were killed and seven wounded.

† Carleton began his own retreat by water, being conveyed in a whale boat, with muffled oars, down the river, and through Montgomery's rafts, on a dark night.



THE RIVER ST. LAWRENCE AND THE GREAT NORTH AMERICAN LAKES.

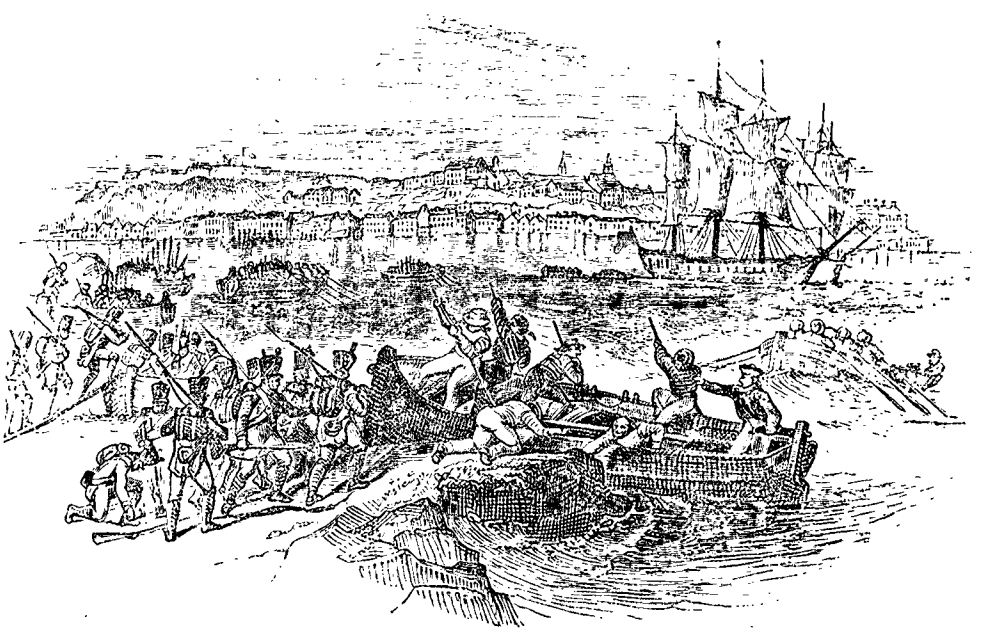
rapids, and that the river was not navigable up to the lake. Colonel Enos, his second in command, after getting embarrassed in the windings of the Dead River, a branch of the Kennebec, gave up the enterprise in despair, and returned with one-third of the detachment to head-quarters at Cambridge.* Quitting the river, Arnold forced his way through swamps, forests, and savannahs—across a dismal wilderness as yet untrodden by the foot of the white man, and where for two-and-thirty long days he neither saw habitation, wigwam, nor any other sign of human life.† Owing to all these obstacles he did not reach the first Canadian settlements on the river Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence nearly opposite to Quebec, until the 3rd of November, when he had divided among his men the last fragments of the provisions they brought with them. He then divided his half-famished troops into separate companies, each of which ran on as fast as it could to obtain food, shelter, and rest, in the thinly inhabited part of the country near the mouth of the Chaudière. Arnold rested for two or three days at a little village, in order to circulate his manifestoes, promises, and friendly assurances among the Canadians, and to allow his rear and stragglers to come up; and it was not until the 9th of November that he reached Point Levi, on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, and immediately opposite to the town of Quebec. It has been conjectured that, if he could have crossed the broad deep river at once, he might have obtained easy possession of the panic-stricken capital of Canada; but it blew a gale of wind; he could procure no proper boats, and he was detained on the right bank, within sight of the walls and towers of Quebec, during five anxious days. This check, owing to the elements rather than to any mortal agency, allowed time to Colonel Maclean and his brave Highlanders, who had been falling back from the Sorel, to get into the menaced city. Some small armed vessels were also brought to anchor in front of the town, and row boats filled with armed men were employed to ply about the river and watch the Americans on the opposite bank. Yet on the 14th, at the dead of night, the hurricane having abated, Arnold embarked his men in canoes, which had been col-

* For this conduct Enos was put under arrest and brought to trial before Washington and a court-martial. But he was honourably acquitted, on the evidence given that he had found it absolutely impracticable to obtain provisions to keep his troops from perishing of hunger.—*Marshall's Life of Washington.*

† Montgomery had none of these physical difficulties to contend with: instead of *ascending* an unknown river, he *descended* a comparatively small stream, the perfectly known Sorel, or Richelieu. The wild and immense country through which Arnold forced his way—a country very nearly as large as the whole of Ireland—has since been claimed by the Americans, and forms the state of Maine, the most northern of the United States. Thriving towns—Portland, Arundel, Wells, York, Brunswick, Kennebec, Lubec, Paris, Berwick, and several others—have risen up in the desert with wonderful rapidity; but a large part of the country is still overrun with dense forests and wilds which can scarcely be said to have ever been explored or surveyed. The whole of the cultivated land does not occupy a twentieth part of the surface.—*Penny Cyclopædia, Art. Maine.*

lected, and, ascending the stream, and eluding the vigilance of the English ships and boats, he crossed the St. Lawrence, and landed without being discovered about a mile and a half above the spot where the gallant Wolfe had disembarked in circumstances equally desperate. It is quite clear that he must have been greatly indebted either to the negligence or to the stupidity of his opponents. Finding the rugged cliffs above his landing-place inaccessible, Arnold marched down the shore to Wolfe's Cove, and with his followers climbed the very same precipice which the English hero had ascended. Like Wolfe, too, Arnold formed his men on the Heights of Abraham. They were nearly all armed with rifles, but artillery they had none. It is said, however, that Arnold, counting on friendly assistance within the walls of Quebec, proposed making a rush to the gates before the dawn of day; and that this plan was overruled by his followers. Before the sun rose he marched his men to a greater distance from the town, and paraded them along the heights so as to make their number appear greater than it really was. When the Highlanders discovered them, they proposed to march out with some Canadians and English veterans, and attack them; but Colonel Maclean wisely kept his little force within the town. Arnold then sent two flags, to use bold language with the colonel in summoning him to surrender the place, and gentle language with the townspeople, in order to induce them to open the gates; but old Maclean refused to receive his flags, and fired on those who bore them. At the same time the veteran Scot armed a considerable number of the respectable townspeople, who seemed determined to fight for their houses and their property; and he brought up some sailors and placed them on the batteries. There were thus as many men under arms within Quebec as Arnold could count in his whole army. Siege and assault were therefore hopeless, and he retired to Point Aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, to await there the arrival of Montgomery. He had spent the thousand pounds, and his people now helped themselves to what they could get without paying the Canadians for it—a little fact which went to destroy the last hope of any sympathy or co-operation from the country people. At Point Aux Trembles Arnold was very near taking prisoner General Carleton and his staff, who had only quitted that place a few hours before the arrival of the Americans.* But Carleton, having escaped this danger, got into Quebec before Montgomery reached Point Aux Trembles from Montreal, and set instantly about making every possible preparation for a vigorous defence. When the two American corps joined, their united numbers did not exceed eleven, or at the most twelve, hundred men; but Montgomery had brought a little artillery with him from Montreal; and now he and Arnold marched together to lay immediate siege to Quebec. On or about the 20th of December they opened a six-gun battery within seven hundred yards of the walls; but their artillery was too light to make a breach—their heaviest guns were only twelve-pounders; and all the six were soon dismounted by the town-guns fired by the seamen under the direction of Colonel Maclean,

* Some three months before this General Carleton and his aide-de-camp, Lord Pitt, were within a quarter of an hour of falling into the hands of one *Jeremiah Duggan*, formerly a barber, but now a major in the provincials!



Quebec. From an Original Drawing.

who continued to behave with indefatigable diligence, ability, and intrepidity. He was, in fact, the good genius of our arms in Canada. The Americans removed their guns to a safer distance, and continued their ineffectual fire, with the hope of amusing the garrison and concealing their design of making an assault in another direction. Montgomery and Arnold were obliged not only to consult their officers individually, but also to reason with their men, in order to make them consent to this very desperate enterprise. Many of the New Englanders thought the scheme too dangerous, and were against taking any part in it, until their imaginations were captivated and heated by the prospect held out to them of plundering Quebec, in which they knew a very large amount of property was collected.* The men then agreed to do what their officers wished; and without their consent there would have been no doing anything, for these early American armies paid little respect to the will of their commanders. On the last day of the year, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and in the midst of a violent storm of wind and snow, they divided themselves into four small columns, and, while two of them, under Major Livingston and Major Brown, were to make two feigned attacks upon the upper town, at St. John's and Cape Diamond, the other two, led by Montgomery and Arnold, were to make real attacks on opposite sides of the lower town, in which all the wealth of Quebec was deposited. Montgomery, descending to the bed of the St. Lawrence, advanced by the way of Anse de Mer, along a strip of beach, under Cape Diamond. Here he had to encounter a block-house and piquet, and a little farther on, at a place called the Pot Ash, a small battery; but the Canadians at the block-house, after giving a random fire, fled back to the battery; and for some minutes the battery itself was abandoned. But Montgomery's march was impeded by enormous and rugged masses of ice which had been piled on each other, and, while his people were slipping and sliding, crawling and falling among the ice, some Highlanders and English sailors came down to the battery, and stood firm and ready to receive the Americans, who, after falling over the ice-heaps, had to advance in a long thin line. Captain Bairnsfeather, the master of a British transport, took a slow match and stood by a well charged gun until the American front was within thirty or forty paces of the battery;—he then gave fire—and one fire was enough! The gallant Montgomery, Captain Macpherson his aide-de-camp, Captain Cheeseman, an orderly serjeant, and a private, fell dead upon the spot, and all the rest of the column instantly ran back over the ice along the beach and up the cliffs. In the mean time Arnold was proceeding along the narrow street of the Faubourg St. Roque towards the Saut de Matelot, where there was a strong barrier with a battery of two twelve-pounders. As brave as Montgomery, Arnold led the van, and was followed by Captain Lamb, with his company of artillery and a field piece mounted on a sledge. Morgan's riflemen came next, and then the main body—all moving rapidly and silently through the thick still snow that fell upon them and hung upon them like a winding-sheet. They had not gone far when they were saluted by a smart flank fire of musketry. Arnold was hit in the leg, had the bone shattered, and was carried off the field to the rear in anguish. Morgan rushed forward to the battery. The Canadians posted there fled after firing the two cannons, and a handful of English seamen staid to be all either killed or wounded. Morgan and his men thus carried the first barrier, but there was a second barrier only forty paces from them, though concealed from their immediate view by an angle of the street. Waiting until the whole of the very small main body came up, Morgan then pushed forward for this second barrier, which the Americans attempted to scale by means of some ladders they had brought with them; but two or three guns in battery and loaded with grape-shot met them in the teeth, and a fire of musketry was opened on both their flanks;—they reeled back, marking their path with blood, and threw themselves into some stone houses in the suburb of St. Roque. They had not been there long when day dawned, and discovered a force so placed as to render their retreat to the rest of the American army as impracticable as their advance into the town.* It is said that Morgan talked of the probability of Montgomery's success, and then of cutting his way through the forces gathering in his rear; but the certain end of all was, that he and his people, to the number of 340, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Between sixty and seventy Americans fell in this daring attempt; but the loss most generally deplored was that of the handsome, gallant Montgomery. The day after the fatal attack his body was found torn by three mortal wounds. By the order of General Carleton, it was interred with the honours due to an officer of rank, and congress afterwards ordered a monument to be erected to his memory.† The remainder of the American army retired three or four miles from Quebec, and encamped in the best manner

* As if unwilling to accuse virtuous and devout citizens, who took lots in the name of the Great Jehovah, of such profane soldier vices as sacking and plundering, the American writers generally make use of a little circumlocution to colour the fact. The following specimen is amusing:—"The proposition was at first received coldly by a part of Arnold's corps, who were, by some means, disgusted with their commanding officer; but the influence of Morgan, who was particularly zealous for an assault, and who *held up, as a powerful inducement, the rights conferred by the usages of war on those who storm a fortified town*, at length prevailed; and the measure was almost unanimously approved."—*Marshall, Life of Washington.* It does not appear to be proved that either officers or men were *disgusted* with Arnold. His keeping the army together for months, after their failure and the death of Montgomery, seems to be a proof to the contrary.

* It is to be understood that the most the Americans expected in these night assaults was to carry the lower town, where the wealth lay: the *upper* town was defended by works they could not venture to attack with the means at their disposal.

† Richard Montgomery was not, by birth, an American. He was born of a good family, in the north of Ireland, had borne the king's commission in the last war, and had served with some distinction against the French in Canada. After the peace he purchased an estate in the colony of New York, and married an American lady, the daughter of Livingstone, who became one of the leaders of the revolution.

they could behind the Heights of Abraham, with the intention of distressing the garrison by cutting off supplies and ingratiating themselves with the Canadians. Carleton and Maclean were soon strong enough to have driven them beyond the St. Lawrence; but they preferred waiting until spring should open the navigation of that river, and bring such a force as would enable them to act continuously and extensively on the offensive. Arnold, though suffering severely from his wound, and though abandoned by many of his men, who deserted to their homes, retained his courage and activity, and must have exercised considerable genius or address to maintain himself in that isolated position, as he did for four long wintry months. This remarkable campaign in the great basin of the St. Lawrence had cost the British, after all, but few men, and had given them the comfortable assurance, that, if the Canadians could not be universally depended upon in the field, they were little disposed to fraternise with the New Englanders and Connecticut men, and not at all prepared to risk life and property by making common cause with the colonies. Nor was it to any purpose that congress, during the winter, sent Franklin's son, two other commissioners, and a newspaper press, to inflame the minds of the Canadians against the British government.*

In the great southern state of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, had made a determined but ineffectual struggle in support of the authority of the mother country. Knowing that it was about to be employed against him, his lordship seized all the gunpowder in the magazine at Williamsburgh, and put it on board an armed schooner, then lying in James's River. The corporation of Williamsburgh demanded the powder back, which was about as reasonable as asking the governor to shoot himself. Patrick Henry, the orator, encouraged by the news of the first affair at Lexington, excited the young Virginians to fly to arms, and he put himself at the head of some volunteers, and was on his march to recover the powder by force, when he was stopped by some of the delegates to the general congress, who advised him to be satisfied with a sum of money which was offered in lieu of the powder by the king's receiver general.† In spite of this arrangement, some young men on the night of the 5th of June attempted to break open a magazine of arms and powder, and two of them were wounded—according to a Virginian writer, by a concealed spring gun, placed there by order of the governor. A few days after his lordship was compelled to deliver up all the arms and powder that had been left on shore, and to retreat in the middle of the night, with his family, to the Fowey man-of-war then lying at York. A series of irritating messages and letters then passed between his lordship, who declared that his life was not safe among them, and the burgesses, who declared that he had nothing to fear. But the animosities of the Virginia planters had long been carried to the height of a frenzy against Dunmore on two especial accounts, besides the affair of the gunpowder. In letters which had been laid before the English parliament, and published to the whole world, he had represented the planters as ambitious, selfish men, pursuing their own interests and advancement at the expense of their poorer countrymen, and as being ready to make every sacrifice of honesty and principle;* and he had said more privately that, since they were so anxious for liberty—for more freedom than was consistent with the free institutions of the mother country and the charter of the colony—that since they were so eager to abolish a fanciful slavery in a dependence on Great Britain, he would try how they liked an abolition of real slavery by setting free all their negroes and indentured servants, who were in fact little better than *white* slaves. This, to the Virginians, was like passing a rasp over a gangrened place; it was probing a wound that was incurable, or which has not yet been healed. Later in the year, when the battle of Bunker's Hill had been fought, when our forts on Lake Champlain had been taken from us, and when Montgomery and Arnold were pressing on our possessions in Canada, Lord Dunmore carried his threat into execution. Having established his head-quarters at Norfolk, he proclaimed freedom to all the slaves who would repair to his standard and bear arms for the king. The summons was readily obeyed by most of the negroes who had the

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ann. Reg.—Letters and Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.—Marshal's Life of Washington.—Carlo Botta, Storia della Guerra Americana.

† According to the American orator's very enthusiastic biographer, "this powder was a minor object in his esteem. What he deemed of much higher importance was, that *that blow which must be struck sooner or later should be struck at once*, before an overwhelming force should enter the colony; that that habitual deference and subjection to the governor as the representative of *royalty*, which bound the people's spirits in a kind of torpid spell, should be dissolved and dissipated; that the military resources of the country should be developed; that the people might see and feel their strength by being brought out together; *that the revolution should be set in actual motion in the colony*; that the martial prowess of the country should be awakened, and the soldiery animated by that proud and resolute confidence which a successful enterprise in the commencement of a contest never fails to inspire. These sentiments were then avowed by him to confidential friends; to whom he further declared that he considered the outrage on the powder-magazine as a most fortunate circumstance, and as one which would rouse the people from north to south. 'You may in vain talk to them,' said he, 'about *the duties on tea, &c.* These things will *not* affect them. *They depend on principles too abstracted for their apprehension and feeling!* But tell them of the robbery of the magazine, and that the next step will be to disarm them, you bring the subject home to their bosoms, and they will be ready to fly to arms to defend themselves.'"—*Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry; by William Wirt, of Richmond, Virginia. Philadelphia*, 1818. And yet this Patrick Henry, who was so eager that "*the revolution should be set in actual motion*," was a member of the provincial assembly which declared immediately after that they did and would bear faith and true allegiance to their most gracious sovereign George III., their only lawful and rightful king; was a member of the general congress, and set his name to their second petition to the king, in which they solemnly denied all revolutionary intentions!

* The following *passages in Lord Dunmore's letters* stung the Virginians to the quick:—"The true cause of so many persons joining in the opprobrious measures was to engage their English creditors, who are numerous, to join in the clamours of this country; and *not a few to avoid paying the debts in which many of the principal people here are much involved*. . . . . As to manufacturing for themselves, the people of Virginia are very far from being naturally industrious; and it is not by taking away the principal, if not the sole, encouragement to industry, that it can be excited; nor is it in times of anarchy and confusion that the foundation *of such improvements* can be laid. The *lower class* of people too well discover that they have been duped by the *richer sort*, who, for their part, elude the whole effects of the (non-trading) association, by which their poor neighbours perish."—*Parliamentary Register.—Almon, Remembrancer.*

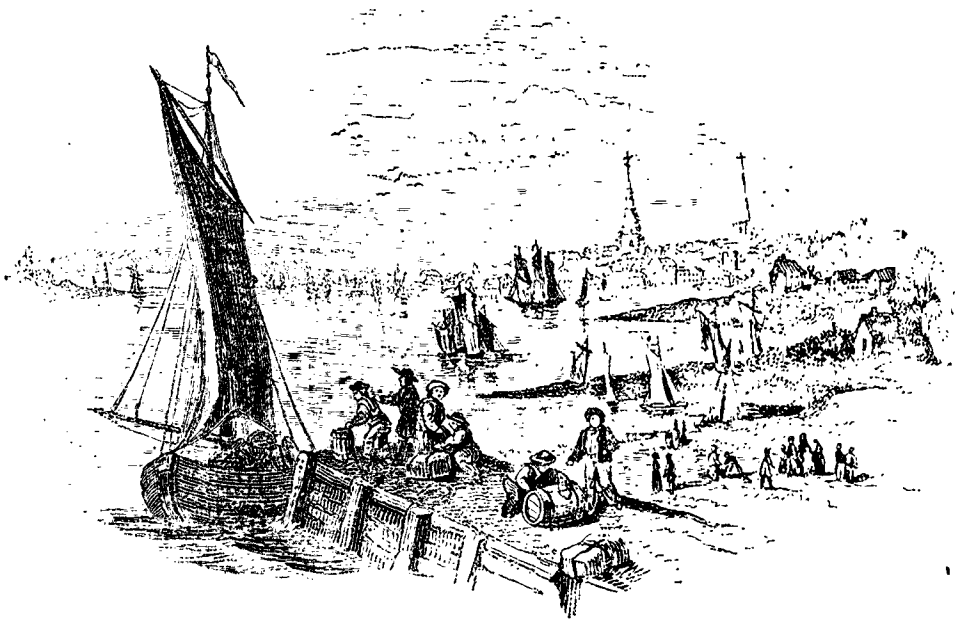
means of escaping to him. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation,* declaring martial law throughout the colony of Virginia; and he collected a number of armed vessels, which cut off the coasting-trade, made many prizes, and greatly distressed an important part of that province. If he could have opened a road to the slaves in the interior of the province, his measures would have been very fatal to the planters. In order to stop the alarming desertion of the negroes, and to arrest his lordship in his career, the provincial assembly detached against him a strong force of more than a thousand men, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Norfolk in the month of December. Having made a circuit they came to a village called Great Bridge, where the river Elizabeth was traversed by a bridge. But before their arrival the bridge had been made impassable, and some works, defended chiefly by negroes, had been thrown up. The Virginians, therefore, entrenched themselves on the opposite side of the river, in the expectation that their opponents would soon be obliged to retire. Lord Dunmore rather rashly attempted to dislodge them from their entrenchments, and he detached from Norfolk, at midnight, Captain Fordyce of the 14th regiment, with about 120 men, black and white. That brave officer arrived at Great Bridge before daybreak, caused the planks of the bridge to be replaced as speedily and silently as possible, and as day dawned he crossed the bridge and pushed along the causeway, which extended across a swamp to a gentle eminence on which were the enemy's entrenchments; but the secret of his coming had been betrayed, the Virginians were on the alert, and when he got near the works he was saluted by a triple fire in front, and on both his flanks. Fordyce fell dead within a few feet of the breastwork, thirty more fell killed or wounded, and the rest of the detachment ran back along the causeway and across the bridge. On the night following this encounter, the English —scarcely a handful of men—abandoned all their posts between the Elizabeth and the town of Norfolk; and on the next day, when the Americans crossed the river and advanced, Lord Dunmore, with such of the inhabitants as were attached to the king's cause, and with some of the negroes who had committed themselves by obeying the proclamation, retired on board ship. The Virginians then took possession of the town; but Lord Dunmore set fire to the wharfs, and the flames spreading, the prosperous town of Norfolk, one of the most flourishing places on the Chesapeake, was soon reduced to ashes. Lord Dunmore lingered in the river or on the coast till the following summer, when, unable any longer to obtain provisions, he set sail with his flotilla and joined the main body of the English army.† As long as his flag remained in sight, many of the Virginians, averse to the revolution, or to its leaders, indulged the hope that the cause of government might prevail; and, when he departed by water, many others prepared to follow him by land, conscious that there was no safety for men of their political principles. As the mournful story is generally told by historians, there were only two parties contending—the king's troops and officers on one side, and *all* the Americans on the other; but the truth is, that in every one of the colonies there was a third class, consisting of men, as a body at least as respectable as the revolutionists, who wished to preserve at all hazards the connexion with the mother country; and there was also a fourth class, for a long time as numerous as any in America, who wished, above all things, for peace and tranquillity, and who, for the most part, were fully determined to side neither with king nor congress till they should see which proved the stronger. The men of movement, energy, and passion had of course the advantage of this latter class, as a body in motion has always more force than one at rest; and bitterly did the waiters upon events pay for their neutrality. In many places their houses, like those of the professed royalists, were burnt to the ground, their estates destroyed, and their persons kept in constant jeopardy.

In the mean while Dr. Franklin had arrived at Philadelphia from England,* and congress, though still delaying their proclamation of absolute independence, had been pursuing a course which no longer left their intentions doubtful to any man. They had been in session from the 10th of May, with John Hancock, the owner of the "Liberty" sloop, for their president; they had formed the plan of a confederation and perpetual union, the chief articles of which were:—1. That the name of the confederacy should henceforth be, the UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA. 2. That they bound themselves and their posterity for their common defence against their enemies, the security of their liberties, their mutual and general welfare, &c. 3. That each colony should enjoy and retain as much as it might think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and peculiar jurisdiction, within its own limits; and might amend its own constitution as should seem best to its own assembly or convention. 4. That, for the management of general interests, delegates should be elected annually in each colony, to meet in general congress; and that, where particular circumstances should not make a deviation necessary, it was to be understood as a rule that each succeeding congress should be held in a different colony, till the whole number should be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation; and that, accordingly, the next congress after the present should be held at Annapolis in Maryland. 5. That the power of the congress should extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great Britain, the

* For some time the Virginians had been issuing counter-proclamations, putting—instead of the concluding formula, "God save the king"—"GOD SAVE THE LIBERTIES OF AMERICA."

† Stedman.—Gordon.—Ann. Reg.—Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

* The doctor, after putting into the hands of Lord Dartmouth his protest against all the measures adopted by ministry and the British parliament, left England towards the end of April. During his voyage his active mind employed itself in making experiments and observations on the waters of the ocean, in order to ascertain the limits of the Gulf-stream—a great desideratum to mariners.



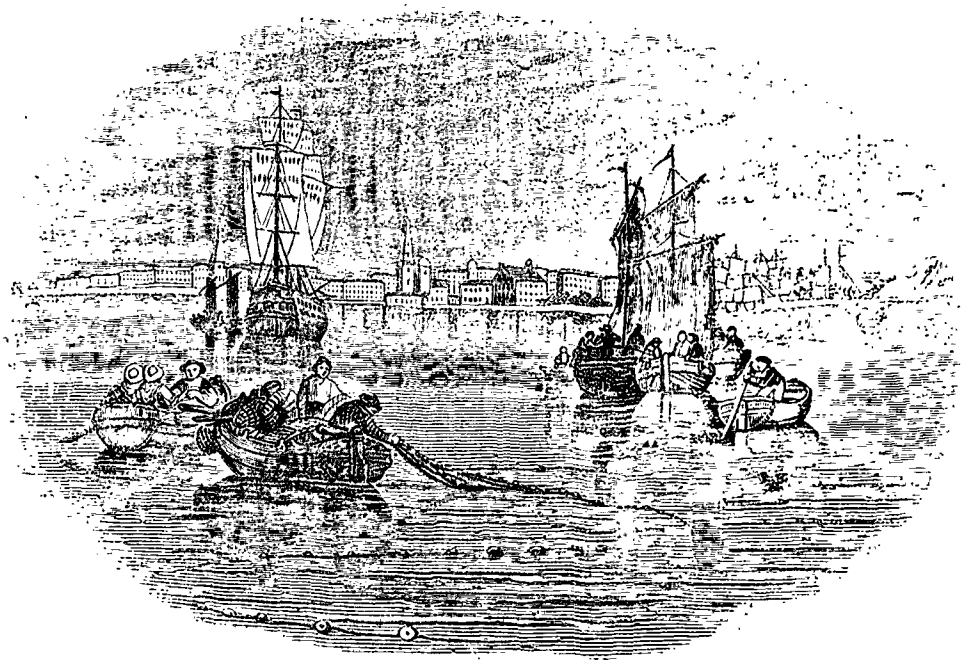
Philadelphia. From an American Print.

settling all disputes between colony and colony, and the planting of new colonies where judged proper; and that the congress should also make such general ordinances, thought necessary to the general welfare, to which particular assemblies could not be competent—viz. those relating to general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, and the regulation of the common forces of the colonies;—and that the congress should also have the appointment of all officers, civil and military. 6. That all the charges of the war, &c., should be defrayed out of a common treasury, which should be supplied by each colony in proportion to its population. 7. That the number of delegates sent to the congress should be one for every 5000 males. 8. That at every meeting of the congress one half of the members or the delegates returned, exclusive of proxies, should be necessary to make a quorum. 9. That an executive council should be appointed by the congress out of their own body, consisting of twelve persons, of whom, in the first appointment, one third, viz. four, should be for one year, four for two years, and four for three years; and, as the same terms expired, the vacancies should be filled up by appointment for three years, whereby one third of the members of council should be chosen annually, and each person, having served the term of three years, should have a respite of three years before he could be elected again: that two thirds of the council should be a quorum, and that the council, in the recess of congress, should execute what had been enjoined thereby, managing the general business of the confederacy, receiving applications from foreign countries, preparing matters for the consideration of congress, filling up, *pro tempore*, such offices as should become vacant, and drawing on the general treasury for such moneys as should be necessary for the general service, and appropriated to such service by congress. 10. That no colony should engage in an offensive war with any nation, or tribe of Indians, without the consent of congress. 11. That a perpetual alliance, *offensive and defensive*, should be entered into, as soon as might be, with the Six Nations; that the limits of these Indian nations should be ascertained and secured to them; that these lands should not be encroached on; and that no private individual or colony should be allowed to purchase lands of the Indians, such purchases and contracts being only to be managed between the great council of the Indians at Onondaga and the general congress; that the boundaries of other Indian tribes should all be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner; that persons should be appointed to reside among the Indians, &c. 12. That, as all new institutions must be liable to imperfections which only time and experience can discover, the general congress should, from time to time, propose such amendments as might be found necessary; and that these amendments, being approved by a majority of the colonial assemblies, should be equally binding upon the rest. 13. And that every colony of Great Britain in America, not at present engaged in the association, might, upon application, be received into the confederacy, viz., Quebec, St. John's, Nova Scotia, Bermuda, and the East and West Floridas, and should thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of the union, with mutual assistance and commerce. These articles were to be submitted to the several provincial assemblies or con-

ventions, and, if approved by them, the conventions were to empower their delegates to ratify the same in the ensuing congress; after which they were to remain in force till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last congress to the king should all be agreed to, till all the acts restraining the American trade and fisheries were repealed, till reparation should be made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port, for the burning Charlestown, and for the expense of this unjust war, and till all the British troops should be withdrawn from America. On the fulfilment of all these events the colonies were to return to their former connexion and friendship with Great Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation was to be perpetual.—After drawing up this plan of confederacy, the general congress created a paper currency, to have course throughout the united colonies. They next attended to the army, and in a fortunate moment for themselves, looking over the heads of those who were commanding in the lines round Boston, they fixed upon Colonel George Washington to be their commander-in-chief. A committee was then appointed to prepare a declaration of the causes that induced them to take up arms against the mother country. Jefferson was a member of it, and proposed a most violent paper of his own composition; but Mr. Dickinson, another member of the committee, who still hoped for a reconciliation with Great Britain, objected to it, and had interest enough to be allowed to alter it on the side of moderation. It is said, however, that when the declaration, as softened by Dickinson, was reported to congress, many complained of it as mean-spirited and dishonourable. A few weeks after its adoption Jefferson was placed on a committee with Dr. Franklin, Samuel Adams, and Richard Henry Lee, to consider, and report on, Lord North's pacificatory resolutions, which had already been rejected and scouted by the provincial conventions separately, and which were now to be denounced by the general congress representing them all. Jefferson, who had drawn up the answer of the Virginia assembly, was intrusted with the preparing this report, which was considered as the ultimatum of congress. The paper recapitulated the old arguments about taxation, and the right of the colonies to be independent of the power of parliament in all money matters whatsoever; it contended that Lord North's propositions were *insidious*, as tending to detach some of the colonies from the rest, and *unreasonable*, as inviting them to purchase the favour of parliament without telling them the price; it repeated the indignant complaint against the government of Great Britain, for sending fleets and armies to America; it affirmed that parliament had no right to meddle with the provisions which they liked to make for their civil government; and, after hinting that Lord North's great object was to lull into fatal security their fellow-subjects in England, the report concluded with asking whether the world could possibly think the Americans unreasonable, or could hesitate to believe that nothing but their own exertions could defeat the ministerial sentence of death or abject submission? Two days after this, and near the end of the month of July, congress prepared a second address to the inhabitants of Great Britain. It was conceived in a very violent strain; and yet, *on the very same day*, they agreed in a second petition to the king, which was more moderate than that of the preceding year, and even in a supplicating tone. The gentle Mr. Dickinson was the author of it, and those who disliked it *pretend* that it only passed through the high respect of congress for its drawer. Jefferson himself says—"The disgust against its humility was general; and Mr. Dickinson's delight at its passage was the only circumstance which reconciled them to it. The vote being passed, although further observation on it was out of order, he could not refrain from rising and expressing his satisfaction, and concluded by saying, 'There is but one word, Mr. President, in the paper which I disapprove, and that is the word *congress*:' on which Ben Harrison rose and said, 'There is but one word in the paper, Mr. President, of which I approve, and that is the word *congress*.'"*

Notwithstanding the zeal of the movement party in New York, who had sent delegates to congress, and who had been among the very first to attack the British settlements in Canada, great uneasiness continued to be felt with respect to that colony, which was not only defenceless and open to the king's troops by sea, but was also inhabited by many very zealous royalists. A *Committee of Safety*, consisting of some of the most determined of the revolutionists, was appointed to take especial charge of the province, and other Committees of Safety, (the pretypes of *Les Comités du Salut Public* of the French republicans), were appointed in many other parts of the continent, with powers that were not very nicely limited, or with members too ardent to submit to any limitations in working out the great cause of independence. Congress also appointed General

* Memoirs of Jefferson, written by himself.—Congress also addressed, through the friendly channel of John Wilkes, a letter to the lord mayor and livery of the city of London. It was in these terms:—"Permit the delegates of the people of twelve ancient colonies to pay your lordship, and the very respectable body of which you are head, the just tribute of gratitude and thanks for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have shown to the violated rights of a free people. The city of London, my lord, having, in all ages, approved itself the patron of liberty and the support of just government against lawless tyranny and oppression, cannot fail to make us deeply sensible of the powerful aid our cause must receive from such advocates—a cause, my lord, worthy the support of the first city in the world, as it involves the fate of a great continent, and threatens to shake the foundations of a flourishing and, until lately, a happy empire. North America, my lord, wishes most ardently for a lasting connexion with Great Britain, on terms of just and equal liberty; less than which generous minds will not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive. A cruel war has at length been opened against us; and, whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the descendants of Britons, we still hope that the mediation of wise and good citizens will at length prevail over despotism, and restore harmony and peace, on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided empire." The letter was dated Philadelphia, July 8th, and signed "By order of the congress, John Hancock, president." Another paper, of a more inflammable kind, was addressed to the people of Ireland, as if to excite them to insurrection against the English. Another address was voted to the House of Assembly in Jamaica, vindicating the bold proceedings of congress, and demanding their good wishes, as friends to liberty and mankind. A little later agents were employed to urge the people of Jamaica to insurrection.



New York from the Sea. From an Original Drawing.

Wooster, commanding some regiments of Connecticut men, to march into New York, with the double object of keeping down the royalists and preventing, if possible, the landing of any British troops. The Connecticut men, however, did not enter the city, but quartered themselves near Haerlem, five miles off. Their presence did far more harm than good to the cause; it led to some severe quarrels between Connecticut men and New Yorkers; it provoked the naval force in the neighbouring waters; and it might have ended in causing New York to be reduced to a heap of ashes like Norfolk. Tryon, the governor of New York, having received a letter from Lord Dartmouth, notified that orders had been given to the commanders of the king's ships that, in case troops should be raised, or fortifications erected, or the king's stores taken, they must consider the place in a state of rebellion, and act accordingly. At that time the Asia ship of war was lying in the harbour, and a serious affray had recently happened between that ship and a body of New Yorkers who had attempted to remove and carry off the cannon at the battery. The Asia had fired upon them, and three men had been wounded. The captain justified his conduct on the ground that it was his duty to protect the property of the king. The inhabitants, or that party of them that exercised the rights of independent government, affirmed that the guns at the battery belonged to the province and not to the king; and a few days after they seized and destroyed two of the Asia's boats. The provincial congress, however, dreading reprisals, or apprehending that the town might be fired upon, gave orders for rebuilding the boats; but the people—"some unknown persons"—sawed the boats to pieces on the stocks. The provincial congress, which was said to include not a few real Tories and many timid Whigs, continued to allow provisions to be carried to the Asia. This conduct exasperated the general congress and all the friends of revolution; and it was in vain that they represented the danger they were in of having their town burnt about their ears, and their property destroyed, by the English ships. Many of the more ardent New Yorkers retreated into Connecticut to join the partisans of freedom in that colony, and among the number was Captain Sears, a member of the provincial congress, who was disgusted with the moderation or timidity of his brother-members, and who did not "*find the temperament of public feeling in New York rise fast enough for the warmth of his own.*" * This Captain Sears, with many other sons of liberty, thought that the freedom of the press ought all to be on one side, and that any expression of political feeling different from their own ought to be put down by force. Mr. James Rivington, a printer of New York, continued to publish a newspaper on the side of government and the numerous friends of the British government in that colony, and to make his journal the vehicle of sentiments very offensive to the *liberal* party, who expressed their astonishment and indignation at the tameness of the provincial congress in permitting such abominations.† It appears, however, that the provincial congress had really adopted rather strong measures, for so free a country, against the printer,—that Rivington had

* Jared Sparks, Life of Morris. † Id.

been in custody by their order, and had only been allowed to return to his house, and family, and business, on signing the act of association, and publishing a hand-bill declaratory of his intention to adhere steadfastly to the association, and asking pardon of the public who had been offended by his loyal newspaper.* But this punishment seemed far too mild to Captain Sears and his friends in Connecticut, who held that the impudence and insults of a printer were not to be borne, and resolved to take the censorship of the press into their own hands, and stop the newspaper by stealing the types. Accordingly, one day in November, at broad noonday, a company of light horse from Connecticut, seventy-five in number, armed with muskets and bayonets, and with Captain Sears at their head, marched into New York, burst into Rivington's house, broke his presses, carried off the types, and then rode back to the Connecticut border, where they melted the loyal types into bullets. On their road back through West Chester county, Sears seized also the persons of the clergyman of the parish and one of the justices of the peace, as men *suspected* of Tory principles. The provincial congress of New York, timid as they were, made a solemn remonstrance to the province of Connecticut, complaining that they could not but consider Sears's expedition as an invasion of their rights as a distinct colony, and stating that common justice obliged them to request that all the types should be returned to the chairman of the general committee of the city and county of New York. The letter also added, "We beg you will not consider this requisition as an attempt to justify the man (Rivington) from whom the types were taken; we are fully sensible of his demerits, but earnestly wish *that the glory of the present contest may not be sullied by an attempt to restrain the freedom of the press.*" Trumbull, the revolutionary governor of Connecticut and a true chicaning New Englander, told them in reply that the injury complained of was merely of a private nature, and that the proper resort for such injuries must be to the courts of law. Indifferent to the fact that the light horse proceeded from his province, and that Captain Sears was only one of the seventy-five armed men that had invaded the streets of New York, Trumbull added that, if they were determined to view the matter in a public light, they must remember that the head and leader of the whole transaction was a respectable member of their own city and congress, who was the proper person to whom the whole transaction was imputable, and who belonged and was amenable to their jurisdiction alone; and that therefore the affair could not be considered as an intrusion of the Connecticut people into the province of New York, but merely as a violence or disorder happening among the New Yorkers themselves! New York was obliged to submit, and Rivington to return to England until the prevalence of English arms in the colony protected his publishing a loyal newspaper.* At the same time the committee of safety, by command of the general congress, had adopted and were carrying into execution the violent revolutionary measure of breaking open people's houses in search of arms. An order was issued "that all such arms as are fit for the use of the troops raised in the colony of New York, and which shall be found in the hands or custody of any person who has not signed the general association, *shall be impressed* for the use of the said troops." And, to carry this order into effect, a set of active, daring fellows were scattered over the whole colony to seize and collect arms, which were to be paid for out of the treasury of the colony *if* they should not be returned before the controversy with Great Britain was brought to a close. These functionaries of the committee of safety encountered, however, a stern, and in many instances a successful, resistance, though it appears that they were occasionally assisted by a whole battalion of troops. The people of Long Island concealed all their arms that were of any value, declaring that they knew nothing about the orders of congress, that they would sooner lose their lives than give up their arms, and that they would blow any man's brains out who should attempt to take them away. Nay, so bold were they in some parts of the island, that, instead of giving up their own arms, they took the county arms out of the houses of the revolutionary party, and kept them for their own future use. In consequence of this determined spirit the congress at Philadelphia soon rescinded the order of the committee of public safety, and stopped the further hunt after muskets and rifles. Though much more oppressed and kept down by their own countrymen of the revolutionary party than were those of the revolutionary party by the presence of a few English ships of war, many of the citizens of New York continued hearty in their aversion to congress and in their attachment to the mother country. "At the beginning of the revolution," says a thorough American writer, "and perhaps throughout the long contest, the British had more friends in the colony of New York than in any other part of the continent. This may be ascribed to several causes. In the first place, there was a large number of landed proprietors and wealthy families, who naturally felt a greater security for their property under an established order of things than could be expected in the commotions and risks of a change. Again, the Johnsons, father and sons, who had dwelt for many years as Indian agents on the frontier, and were noted for their loyalty, possessed a strong influence over the inhabitants of those regions, and for some time after the troubles commenced the people west of Albany were much infected with Tory principles and tendencies. Long Island, Staten Island, and even the city of New York and the banks of the Hudson below the highlands, were so much ex-

* Jared Sparks, Life of Morris.

* Id.—Jared Sparks does not seem to be sensible of any impropriety, violence, meanness, or pettifogging, either in Sears or Trumbull. He calls the type expedition a piece of Connecticut, knight-errantry!

posed to hostile attacks in case of war, and so little capable of defence, that the common dictates of nature would incline the people to the safer side, and make them tardy in throwing off allegiance to a power whose efforts they could neither resist nor escape."* The disposition of the colony became so alarming to congress that a resolution was moved for seizing and carrying off the governor of New York and several of his friends. Tryon, however, had friends among that potent body, and he was defended so warmly by some of the delegates of New York that the proposition was dropped. But in the month of October, when it was universally reported that defection from the American cause was increasing in the colony, congress recurred to the subject, and adopted a revolutionary measure even stronger than the previous order for seizing the arms; in the gentle form of a recommendation they intimated to the members of the revolutionary government in the several provinces that they were "to arrest and secure every person in the respective colonies whose going at large might, *in their opinion*, endanger the safety of the colony or the liberties of America." † Warned in time, Governor Tryon retired for security on board the Halifax packet; but he did not cease his communications with the royalists on shore, nor did that portion of the New Yorkers at all despair of the final success of their cause. In the other colonies, where the royalists were fewer, and where there were no English ships of war to sustain their hopes, they were more cautious in declaring their sentiments. As there was scarcely a British soldier anywhere except at Boston and in Canada, the Americans found little difficulty in sweeping away the king's governors, of whom not one made so steady an attempt at resistance as Lord Dunmore had done. In North Carolina Governor Martin, after seeing his proclamation burnt by the hands of the common hangman, was forced to fly, and ultimately obliged to seek shelter on board a ship of war that was lying off Cape Fear. In South Carolina Lord William Campbell, after a fruitless attempt to rally the royalists, was compelled to follow the example of Martin. In Georgia Governor Sir James Wright endeavoured to keep up the spirits of the anti-revolutionary party, and he was so far successful as to retard that colony's joining the association and sending delegates to congress till the month of July of this present year. He wrote to Boston for troops; but none were spared him. We turn to the American hero, who was commanding the revolutionary army there and obliging the English generals to keep their force undivided.

George Washington was born near the banks of the Potomac, in Westmoreland county, in the colony of Virginia, on the 22nd of February, 1732. He was great-grandson to John Washington, a gentleman of a respectable family, who had emigrated from the north of England about the middle of the preceding century, and had settled on the place where George Washington was born. George was the third son of his father, Augustine Washington, who died when he was very young. After receiving a very plain education, he learned something of the business of land-surveying, and was in his eighteenth year appointed surveyor of the western part of the territory called the Northern Neck of Virginia, by Lord Fairfax, the proprietor of that country, whose niece had been married to George Washington's eldest brother. Two years later, and through the same patronage, when the provincial militia were to be trained for actual service, he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of the Virginia militia, with the rank of major. Two years after this, in 1753, when the designs of the French in Canada began to create alarm in all our colonies, he was dispatched on a half diplomatic mission to the French commandant on the Ohio, and acquitted himself with great judgment and ability, failing, indeed, in his remonstrances with M. Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, but informing himself fully of the condition of the French force, surveying with a careful eye the vast tract of country —then almost an unexplored wilderness—he had to pass through, and winning over the wild Indian tribes to the interests of the colonies. On his return to Virginia Washington became, in a small and very modest way, an author; for he published the journal of his very interesting expedition. In the course of 1754, when it was determined to dislodge the French, without declaration of war by England, from some forts they were building on the Ohio and at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a provincial regiment, and sent with Colonel Fry towards the scene of action, which he had carefully examined on his former journey. Fry died in the wilds, and then Washington took the sole command. He was joined by some of the Indian tribes, whose friendship he had captivated, and was further reinforced by two independent companies of regulars; but, instead of taking the French and their forts by surprise, he was taken by surprise himself, and was compelled to retreat to a stockade or fort at the Great Meadows, now termed Fort Necessity, where he was soon surrounded by the French, and, after a gallant resistance, compelled to capitulate. It is quite clear that he had been rash and over-hazardous—an inherent defect in his military conduct which he was slow in correcting. Being allowed the honours of war, and suffered to march without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia, he returned home with his little detachment considerably reduced. The legislature of Virginia, in admiration of the courage displayed, passed a vote of thanks to him and the officers under his command. In the winter of 1753 orders had been received from England "for settling the rank of the officers of his majesty's forces when serving with the provincials in North America." These unfortunate and injudicious orders drew a distinction between militia officers and officers serving in the king's re-

* Jared Sparks. † Marshall, Life of Washington.

gular army—a distinction recognised without murmur or discontent at home, but which was very unpalatable to the Americans. It was directed "that all officers commissioned by the king, or by

WASHINGTON. From an early Print by Trumbull.

his general in North America, should take rank over all officers commissioned by the governors of the respective provinces: and, further, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown; but that all captains and other inferior officers of the royal troops should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade having senior commissions." Fond as he was of the service, Washington instantly retired, indignant at what he considered an insult and dishonour put upon him and all his countrymen serving in the provincial militia; and, when pressed to retain his commission, he proudly answered that he would serve with pleasure when he should be enabled to do so without dishonour. His renunciation of the service cost him the less as both his elder brothers were dead, and he had succeeded to the patrimony of Mount Vernon, a considerable estate on the Potomac, beautifully situated and well stocked with negro slaves. If George Washington was so deeply affected by a mere question of rank and precedence, we are justified in suspecting that men of a less noble nature would bitterly feel and resent their exclusion from all the *highest* employments, whether civil or military, and would thus, without other or higher motives, be disposed to look towards a revolution which should leave their course free from court or parliamentary influence, and from English, Scotch, and Irish competitors. This time, however Washington did not long remain in retirement. When the British government declared war, in form, and determined upon extensive operations against the French, which, after years of toil and expense and bloodshed, ended in the conquest of Canada and the total expulsion of the French flag from America, General Braddock, being informed of his merits, his bravery, his activity, his intimate knowledge of the backwood-country, which was to be the first theatre of action, and his acquaintance with the Indians and their modes of warfare, pressed him to join his little army, not as a provincial officer, but as a volunteer aide-de-camp on his own staff. Washington accepted this invitation in March, 1755; and in the month of June he was with Braddock at Will's Creek, on his march to the conflunce of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, the scene of his discomfiture the preceding year. This expedition, though conducted on a larger scale, was still more unfortunate. On the 9th of July the English and Americans were suddenly attacked by the French in the woods near the Monongahela; General Braddock had three horses killed under him, and at last received a mortal wound himself. Washington, the only aide-de-camp left alive and unwounded, had two horses killed under him, and his coat pierced by four balls; and after an action of three hours, and a terrible loss, the troops retreated across the river. Shortly after this affair the legislature of Virginia raised a new regiment, and gave the command of it to Colonel Washington, who was also designated in his commission commander-in-chief of all the forces in the colony of Virginia. In the following year he again took the field against the French and their Indian allies, who were making irruptions into the colony, and committing horrible ravages. Yet so tenacious was he of his military rank, that he remained for some time inactive, because the king's officers claimed the right of precedence. He continued, however, on this harassing service for nearly four years, during which time he had to assist in guarding a frontier 400 miles in extent, and to watch, in the defiles of mountains, in the depths of primeval forests, and in the midst of swamps and rivers, a most active and artful set of foes—adroit and brave Frenchmen, and cunning and fierce Indians. This was excellent training for loose backwood fighting, and it taught Washington the advantages to be derived from the natural features of his country. At last, towards the end of the month of November, 1758, when the British navy had wholly intercepted the reinforcements sending out by France, and when the British army was gathering in Canada for the total expulsion of the French from North America, Washington had the satisfaction of being with the mixed army of regulars and provincials which drove the French from all their positions on the Ohio, and which took undisputed possession of Fort du Quesne, the garrison of which had fled down the river in boats. His native province being thus secured, he quitted the army, and began his political life as a member of the general assembly, to which he had been returned some time before.* Shortly after his retirement from the army he married a young lady who brought him a very large fortune. For

* Marshall.

sixteen years Washington's attention was principally directed to the management and improvement of his estates, and to his duties as a member of the provincial legislature. When the quarrel with the mother country began he did not, for some time, seem to take any very decided part; and when it became serious he was certainly neither among those who first foresaw, nor among those who first wished for, a separation from the mother country, and absolute independence. As late as the 9th of October, 1774, he wrote to a friend serving in the king's army, "You are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency, and what not: give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused.... Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or of any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence."* When these assertions proceed from Jefferson, Jay, Hancock, Samuel Adams, or even Franklin, we have no faith in their sincerity, and can, in many instances, prove them insincere, by contrary declarations proceeding at the same time from the pens or lips of those very men; but we have that confidence in the honour, straightforwardness, and want of political cunning, of George Washington, which compels us to believe that he really spoke his sincere sentiments. We can also believe—what is asserted over and over again, and many times lamented by the revolutionary leaders—that the mass of the American people had for a long time no notion of the grand result in view, but were only brought by degrees, and by force of circumstances, to enter into the scheme which went to destroy all their past, and to leave them without historical connexion or tradition, without a literature they could call their own, without an ancestry—a strange new people on the face of the earth. Washington, moreover, was decidedly a man of aristocratic tastes, habits, and feelings, not likely in many things to sympathize with the democratic leaders; and, being little or nothing of an orator, he was ill fitted to rule "the fierce democracy" in popular assemblies. But when the appeal was made to arms, when he was called upon by his countrymen as the first soldier in America, he shut his eyes to many signs and indications which he disapproved, and took the field, in the belief that, when he should have beaten the English forces, the English king and ministers would forego their claims and redress the grievances complained of, and that thereupon the Americans would rest satisfied and happy. As we have already seen, he loved military rank and the business of war, but to money (of which his countrymen had little to spare) he was nobly indifferent. He declined the pay and emoluments offered him as commander-in-chief, promised to keep an exact account of his expenses while on service, and expressed a confident hope that congress would reimburse them. The special commission was accompanied by the unanimous resolution that "congress would maintain, assist, and adhere to him, as the general and commander-in-chief of the forces raised or to be raised for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty, with their lives and fortunes." At this time George Washington was in the prime and vigour of life—in his forty-third year—and his constitution, hardened by his past campaigns, seemed capable of bearing any fatigue. His other personal advantages were many and striking: he possessed a frank and noble countenance, a tall and most manly figure, a dignified carriage, and a naturally commanding deportment, which imposed respect and obedience even on the rabble part of the revolution, exacting reverence even from the fanatics of New England, who acknowledged no superior save the Lord of Hosts. A braver man, or one more resolute in action, never drew sword in any cause;* and we are, indeed, after an attentive examination of all his campaigns, disposed to agree with several of his contemporaries, who maintained that courage was a feature more predominant in his character than prudence or military skill. As compared with most of the men our ministers sent against him, he may deserve to be called a good general; but we are humbly of opinion that facts about to be narrated will prove that he was absolutely deficient in the highest and most intellectual qualities which constitute a great strategist—that he was not one of those mighty masters in the art of war whom nature produces in the whole world once or twice in a century, and in some centuries not at all.

Taking his leave of congress, Washington travelled from Philadelphia to New York, where he was welcomed by the revolutionary party, and congratulated by the provincial convention. The latter body, however, took care to hint some suspicion of the great powers with which he was intrusted; and in their address they very pointedly expressed their expectation or hope that, "when the contest should be decided by *an accommodation* with the mother country, he would resign the important deposit committed to his hands." He was then escorted on his road by some companies of New York militia and a troop of light horse, which had attended him from Philadelphia.† At Springfield, on the confines of the colony, he was met by a committee from the legislature of Massachusetts, who escorted him to the army collected round Boston.‡

On arriving at head-quarters in Cambridge, at the beginning of July, he found the blockading army considerably discouraged by the defeat sustained at Bunker's Hill, and otherwise in no very good condition. There was little or no discipline,

* In early life, when engaged in the Ohio war, he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie:—"For my own part, I can answer that I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials, and, I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man dares, as shall be proved when it comes to the test."—*Washington's Writings.*

† Jared Sparks, Life of Gouverneur Morris.

‡ Id.

and very little gunpowder. It is said that during a whole fortnight the actual quantity of ammunition was not more than sufficient to furnish each man with nine cartridges. The muskets, moreover, were nearly all without bayonets. If during this time the English had made a general assault, the Americans must inevitably have been beaten from all their positions; but our generals preferred remaining where they were and doing nothing, and Washington was allowed time to procure powder from New Jersey and other places. The blockading army were also without tents, without clothing, without shoes to their feet: but the energy of Washington soon induced congress to supply these wants as far as they could, and to appoint a commissary general, an officer who had hitherto been wanting. When he arrived, in July, it in fact scarcely deserved the name of an army, but he was left unmolested to improve it in all particulars. By degrees a respectable staff of officers was formed, engineers were collected, a few men of better condition were engaged as officers of the line, and a tolerable degree of discipline and military subordination was established. The last operation was the most difficult of all, and perhaps there was not a man in all America who could have succeeded in it to the degree that Washington did. On reconnoitring he discovered that a principal body of the British army, under the immediate command of General Howe, was entrenching itself very strongly on Bunker's Hill; that three floating batteries lay in Mystic River, near the camp, and a twenty-gun ship in Charles River, between Charlestown and Boston; that a strong battery was erected on the Boston side of the water on Copp's Hill, which could cover Bunker's Hill; that the main division of the British army was now deeply entrenched on Boston Neck, with the light horse and a body of infantry in its rear within the town of Boston. This convinced Washington of the madness of attempting an assault, which some confident men in congress had recommended him to do as soon as he should get up his powder and other stores; and, instead of following this dangerous advice, he attended to the better stationing of his own line, and to making entrenchments and works to defend it from attack. He also contracted his line: the centre, including the reserve, and under his own immediate command, was at Cambridge; the right wing, which rested on Roxburgh, was commanded by General Ward; and the left, near the Mystic River, was under General Lee. The British troops were thus completely blockaded by land, and soon made to feel the want of fresh meat, vegetables, and forage for their horses. They, however, remained perfectly inactive, and during the rest of this year little more was done than playing "God save the King" on one side, and "Yankee doodle" on the other.* General Gage was recalled in the month of October, when the chief command devolved upon General Howe. Everything by land wore a bad aspect; but as yet few of the English would believe that they could ever be driven out of Boston by Washington's army. By sea our supremacy was undoubted, though the coasts began to swarm with privateers, and vessels of various kinds with letters of marque from congress, which were frequently successful in picking up our merchant vessels and transports. Captain Mowat, with his majesty's ship Canceaux, was detached to Falmouth, a flourishing little town on the sea-coast of Massachusetts, which had become exceedingly troublesome. He demanded from the inhabitants their arms and ammunition, and four hostages, as a security for their future good behaviour: the inhabitants refused, and set him at defiance; the captain opened a heavy fire, threw bombs into the place, and in a few hours all that was left of Falmouth was a heap of smoking ruins. At Newport, in Rhode Island, the exposed inhabitants sought to secure the place, and their houses and property, by entering into a compromise with Captain Wallace, stipulating that they would remain quiet, and furnish him with provisions, if he would spare the town, and commit no depredations in the country round it. But congress and the leaders of the American army had fully made up their minds to allow of no such partial arrangements; and Washington intimated to the governor of Rhode Island that he must put a stop to a practice which, by interfering with the general plan of distressing the British forces, must prove very mischievous to the common cause. In many parts of the coast the American population were ordered to retire into the interior, and the country, as being accessible to the English shipping, was laid waste. To afford protection to their long line of coast seemed almost hopeless; yet congress voted that the attempt should be made to oppose the formidable navy of Great Britain; that more privateers should be equipped, and that five ships of 32 guns, five of 28, and three of 24 should be built and put to sea with all possible speed. But, if it was difficult to defend, it was also difficult for the English to watch that immense sea-board, abounding with rivers, bays, and inlets: while our ships were blockading one part of the coast swarms of fast sailing privateers issued from other parts, scouring the coast and the great Mexican gulf, and seizing our transports from the West India islands, loaded with provisions, and our store ships with ammunition, arms, and all other materials of war. Some of these adventurous skippers made more extensive and more daring expeditions. They went to the coast of Africa, and bought or seized

* And yet, during a considerable part of this time, the Americans were in a very distressed, insubordinate, and unmilitary condition, and Washington was in perplexities that would have reduced almost any other man to despair. On the 21st of September we find him writing to congress—"It gives me great distress to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honourable congress to the state of this army in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand; the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance."—*Letters.*

gunpowder there from the British forts, before the neglected garrisons were informed of the events passing on the American continent; and they landed on the island of Bermuda, surprised the magazines, and carried off all the powder there.

As the governor of Georgia had been left without troops, he was beaten out of the field by a republican parson, the Reverend Doctor Zubly, who at first proceeded with no small degree of cunning. Having privately convened a meeting at Savannah, the capital of the province, to carry the resolution of subscribing the act of association, and adhering to congress, he waited upon the governor, and requested him to appoint a day of fasting and prayer through the province,* that a happy reconciliation might soon take place between America and the parent state, and that, under the auspicious reign of his majesty and his descendants, both countries might remain united, virtuous, free, and happy, till time should be no more. It was impossible for his excellency the governor to refuse such a request. And thereupon, with great solemnity, the meeting elected the Rev. Dr. Zubly, and four others, as delegates to represent the province in the continental congress at Philadelphia. They also agreed in a series of resolutions similar to those adopted in Virginia and other colonies; and they declared, that, though their province was not included in the late severe acts of the British parliament, they considered that omission rather as an insult than a favour, as being meant to break the union of the united provinces, and as being grounded on the supposition that the Georgians, from being excepted, could be base enough to turn the oppression of America into a mean advantage for themselves. After the eagerly coveted accession of Georgia, congress assumed the style of "The Thirteen United Colonies." They established a post-office to reach from Falmouth in Massachusetts to Savannah in Georgia, and unanimously elected to be their postmaster-general Benjamin Franklin, whose return to America had given vigour and consistency to their schemes, and an unrivalled share of ability to their councils. To meet the royal proclamations, and neutralise their threats of proceeding against the Americans found in arms as rebels and traitors, congress declared, "in the name of the people of these united colonies, and by the authority according to the purest maxims of representation derived from them, that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies for favouring, aiding, or abetting the cause of American liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind, and in the same degree, upon those in their power who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or shall favour, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression."

While these events were passing in America, the city of London was much agitated by Lord Mayor Wilkes and his party. Wilkes presented another violent address and remonstrance of the livery to the king, complaining that they plainly perceived a real design to establish arbitrary power over all America, and to uproot the constitution at home; and calling for the instant dismissal of ministers, &c. The king in his answer expressed his astonishment that any of his subjects should encourage the Americans in rebellion, and his firm determination to rely on the wisdom of parliament, and steadily pursue such measures as they recommended. Wilkes would have imitated Beckford in haranguing his majesty, but this was prevented by the lord in waiting. A few days after this, the Earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain, wrote to the lord mayor to inform him that his majesty would not receive on the throne any address, remonstrance, or petition of the lord mayor and aldermen but in their corporate capacity. Wilkes converted this message into a fresh wrong, and raised another storm by writing and publishing a long and violent letter, insisting on the right of the city to petition the throne in their own way—a right which he said had been respected "even by the accursed race of Stuart." At the very next common hall, another address, remonstrance, and petition, more violent than its predecessor, was approved; and the correspondence between the lord mayor and chamberlain was ordered to be entered upon the city records. The sheriffs were then instructed to inquire when the king would receive *on the throne* this address, to be presented by the lord mayor, the city members, the court of aldermen, the sheriffs, and the livery. The king said he would receive the paper at the next levee, but not on the throne. Plomer, one of the sheriffs, said that they would not present it unless his majesty consented to receive it *sitting on the throne*. The king rejoined that he was ever ready to receive addresses and petitions, but that he was the proper judge *where*. Here the conference ended. When his majesty's answer was reported to the livery, they resolved

* Among the New Englanders there had been several celebrations of the kind, and there had also been a "continental fast," ordered by congress, for the 20th day of July. This day, it is said, was kept at Philadelphia as the most solemn fast ever known in that city. Congress, though including many members, besides Franklin and Jefferson, that had no belief in revealed religion, attended divine service both morning and afternoon. The united synod of New York and Philadelphia had published a pastoral letter some time before, and on this day it was read in all the presbyterian churches under their care. With a very imperfect regard to truth in some particulars, the synod said in this letter—"As the whole continent, with hardly any exception, seems determined to defend their rights by force of arms, it becomes the peculiar duty of those who profess a willingness to hazard their lives in the cause of liberty to be prepared for death, which to many must be a certain, and to every one is a possible or probable event. It is well known to you that *we* have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people, or urging them to acts of violence and disorder. Perhaps no instance can be given on so interesting a subject, in which political sentiments have been so long and so fully kept from the pulpit, and even malice itself has not charged us with labouring from the press; but things have now come to such a height, that we do not wish to conceal our opinions as men. Suffer us, therefore, to exhort you by assuring you that there is no army so formidable as those who are superior to the fear of death. Let therefore every one who, from generosity of spirit, or benevolence of heart, offers himself as a champion in his country's cause, be persuaded to reverence the Lord of Hosts, and walk in the fear of the Prince of the kings of the earth, and then he may, with the most unshaken firmness, expect the issue either in death or victory." In unison with the tone still maintained by congress, that the Americans were only struggling for a redress of grievances, and were in arms, not against the sovereign, but only against a set of wicked and tyrannical ministers, the synodical paper recommended that every opportunity should be taken to express their attachment to King George, and the revolutionary principles of 1688—thus identifying themselves, as Chatham had done it for them, with the whigs of the mother country.

that it was a direct denial of their rights, that the remonstrance should be printed in the newspapers, and that the city members should be instructed to move for an impeachment of the evil counsellors who had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and were the advisers of a measure so dangerous to his majesty and his people as that of refusing to hear petitions. After all this tempest, the common council agreed in a more moderate remonstrance; and his majesty received it—though whether sitting on his throne or not we have not been able to discover. His answer was, that, while the constitutional authority of this kingdom was openly resisted by a part of his American subjects, he owed it to the rest of his people to continue to enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests could be asserted and maintained.

Alarmed more than occasion called for by these American addresses, movements of popular bodies, and other circumstances, government, on the 23d of August, issued a proclamation for suppressing rebellion, preventing seditious correspondence, &c. Wilkes, as lord mayor, received orders to have this proclamation read in the usual manner at the Royal Exchange; but the patriot caused it to be read by one of the inferior city officers, attended only by the common crier, and he would not permit the officers to have horses, as usual on such occasions, nor suffer the city mace to be carried before them. When the reading was over, a mob responded with a terrible hiss.* A few days later the petition of congress itself was laid before the king by Richard Penn, who had come over from America with it, and by Arthur Lee, a resident agent for the colonies. Nothing could be so notorious as the fact that this petition, which contained several most loyal expressions, did not speak the real sense of the body it proceeded from; —nothing was better known than that, before signing the petition, the Americans had fought his majesty's troops at Lexington and Bunker's hill, and had seized three of our forts on the lakes; and that, since signing the petition, they had organised their army, and prepared for the invasion of Canada. Thus the whole thing seemed to the king an insulting mockery, and, as neither he nor the parliament had recognised the existence of congress, he resolved to give it no answer. The Earl of Dartmouth therefore informed Penn and Lee that no answer would be given. This was interpreted into harshness and obstinacy, and the effect desired by those who sent the address was produced in a loud outcry against the government by a part of the nation, including more particularly the whig portion of the city of London. On the 11th of October, a body purporting to be "the gentlemen merchants and traders of London" presented another address, memorial, and petition to his majesty on the very alarming state of public affairs. This paper attributed everything that had happened in America to the acts of the British parliament, and predicted the most lasting and deadly consequences from the quarrel. It bade his majesty reflect on what must be the fate of England deprived of her American trade; it expressed the greatest horror at the prospect of a war which must be uncertain in the event and destructive in its consequences; while the object contended for was sure to be lost in the contest; it attributed the measures that had been adopted to the wilful ignorance of ministers, by whom parliament had been designedly misled or partially informed; and it concluded that, as this unfortunate dispute had commenced without policy, so it must be prosecuted by means which the natural and constitutional strength of Great Britain could not supply. A new ministerial plan had already got wind, and in alluding to it the petitioners did not fail to appeal to the old religious antipathies of the people. The paper said—"In your majesty's justice we confide for a fair construction of an apprehension we have conceived, that your majesty hath been advised *to take foreign troops into British pay*, and to raise and discipline *papists*, both in *Ireland* and Canada, for the purpose of enforcing submission to laws which your majesty's protestant subjects in America conceive to be destructive of their liberties, and against which they have repeatedly petitioned in vain." The Americans had employed and were actually employing the wild Indians in the field, and hitherto our officers had declined the services of those savage allies; but, as if by way of prelude to the Earl of Chatham's lofty denunciation on this subject, the petitioners expressed their indignation and horror at hearing that barbarous nations were encouraged to take arms against our American brethren; and in the same sentence they spoke of horrible reports of slaves being incited to insurrection. They said that, if their danger and distress and *fears* could admit of any addition, they might expect it from the resentment of France and Spain, who had ever shown a readiness to take advantage of our internal commotions, and who would joyfully embrace the occasion of avenging the disgrace they sustained, during the late glorious war, from the united arms of Great Britain and America. This address, memorial, and petition bore 1171 signatures. But, only three days after, a counter-address was presented by a deputation from another set of the merchants and traders of London. This paper, which served as a model to many others that soon followed from various parts of the united kingdom, expressed the deepest concern of the addressers at the unjustifiable proceedings of some of his majesty's colonies in America, and entire disapprobation and abhorrence of these acts of rebellion, with the most solemn assurances that they would support his majesty with their lives and fortunes in maintaining the authority of the legislature of this country, which, they conceived, ought to extend to every part of the British dominions. It continued—"With regret and indignation we see colonies, which owe their existence and every blessing that attended their

* Annual Register.

late prosperous situation to this their parent country, unnaturally regardless of the fostering hand that raised and supported them, and affecting distinctions in their dependence, not founded in law, or in the constitution of Great Britain. We are convinced by the experienced clemency of your majesty's government, that no endeavours will be wanting to induce our deluded fellow-subjects to return to their obedience to that constitution which our ancestors bled to establish, and which has flourished pure and uninterrupted under the mild government of the house of Hanover. May the Being who governs the universe so direct your majesty's councils and measures, that from the present confusion order may arise, and peace be again restored." This paper bore 941 signatures; and, a few days after, the liverymen of the city of London, among whom John Wilkes had lost his ascendancy, to the number of 1029, signed another ultra loyal address, expressing their deepest concern at observing that their fellow-subjects in America were now in open rebellion. Going farther than the merchants and traders, they said—"A malignant spirit of resistance to law and government has gone forth amongst the Americans, which we firmly believe has been excited and encouraged by selfish men, who hope to derive private emolument from public calamities: from the councils, the persuasions, the influence of such men, may God protect your majesty! The interest, the honor, the sovereignty of your kingdom of Great Britain are now at stake: as the guardian of those, we trust you will ever assert and preserve them." They pledged themselves to use all their exertions in support of those laws which were their protection, and of that government which was their blessing. Anticipating success in the struggle, they implored his majesty's clemency towards those of the Americans whose eyes might be opened, and who hereafter, when reason and reflection should prevail over passion and prejudice, might be restored to the allegiance which they owed to the mother country and their sovereign. For some time it rained addresses of this kind—some procured, no doubt, by ministerial influence, but many most undoubtedly proceeding spontaneously from the hearts of the people, among whom no subject was now so frequently discussed as the bloody affair of Bunker's Hill. The exasperation was of course increased a few months later when intelligence was received of the invasion of Canada, and of the attempts made by the Americans to seize the great and boasted conquest made in Chatham's brilliant war. Not a few Englishmen, indeed, were converted by this attempt, believing that, though the Americans might be justified in defending themselves on their own ground, if attacked, they could scarcely plead any right to invade a province which was at peace, and wished to remain so, or to begin their military career by aiming at conquest and enlargement of territory.*

In this trying time parliament was assembled much earlier than had been common of late years; and when it met, on the 26th of October, the speech from the throne was unusually long and energetic. His Majesty frankly stated to the two Houses that it was the present situation of affairs in America that had induced him to call them so early together. "Those," said he, "who have too long successfully laboured to inflame my people in America by gross misrepresentation, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avow their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They have raised troops, and are collecting a naval force; they have seized the public revenue, and

* On the 23d of October, only three days before the meeting of Parliament, two king's messengers, attended by a constable, repaired to the house of Stephen Sayre, Esq., an American banker, and, pretending other business, they got admitted, and then told him that they had an order signed by Lord Rochford, one of the secretaries of state, to take him into custody on a charge of high treason; and to search for, seize, and carry off such of his papers as they might deem effectual for their purpose. This Stephen Sayre was a warm politician, the friend of John Wilkes, Doctor Franklin, and other men of that side, and the occasional adviser and correspondent of the Earl of Chatham. He had served as one of the sheriffs of London in the preceding year, and retained a wide connexion and very considerable influence in the City. He was probably the author of a violent letter purporting to be written "by a very honest merchant," and which he had transmitted to Chatham on the 12th of August, 1774, with an assurance that the soldiery at Boston were doing all they could to provoke the inhabitants to outrage and violence. Sayre, having heard the charge, quietly permitted the messengers to search his escritoire, boxes, and bureau, in which they found nothing that seemed of any consequence, except a letter from the famed republican, Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, sister to Alderman Sawbridge, then Lord Mayor elect, and another letter addressed to the Livery of London, and signed "Barnard's Ghost." Sayre instantly dispatched a note to his solicitor, a Mr. Reynolds, and then said he was ready to accompany the messengers to Lord Rochford's house. When they arrived there, they found his lordship seated with Sir John Fielding, the active and well-known Westminster magistrate; and, when Sayre asked the grounds of this sudden arrest, an information or deposition from one Richardson, an adjutant in the Guards, was read to him, stating neither more nor less than that he, Stephen Sayre, had expressed to him, Adjutant Richardson, an intention of seizing the king's person, as his majesty should be going on Thursday next down to Parliament; and also an intention of taking possession of the Tower and overturning the present government. Sayre treated the charge with contempt. He said that he was very slightly acquainted with Richardson; that he had expressed himself very freely concerning the unhappy and destructive contest now depending in America; but as to any plan or intention about seizing the person of the king, or any expression which could be construed into such intention, he totally and utterly denied it. He told Lord Rochford that he perceived there was a dangerous disposition to give encouragement to informers. At this moment Mr. Reynolds, his solicitor, arrived, and was admitted. The lawyer told the secretary of state that the whole charge was too ridiculous to be seriously attended to; but Lord Rochford nevertheless sent the banker to the Tower to be kept there in close custody, and debarred the visits of friends, the use of pen, ink, and paper, &c. On the following day Wilkes, as lord mayor, went to the Tower, and was refused admittance. On the 28th, by virtue of a habeas corpus granted by Lord Mansfield, Sayre was conveyed from the Tower to his lordship's house in Bloomsbury-square, and liberated upon bail. On the 13th of December, the banker appeared at the Old Bailey to move the Court to discharge the recognisance entered into before Lord Mansfield, when Baron Burland, who, with Sawbridge, now lord mayor, presided at that Court, discharged the recognisance as required. Sayre then brought his action for an illegal seizure of his papers, and false imprisonment, against William Henry Earl of Rochford, one of his majesty's secretaries of state, &c., &c. The cause was tried on the 27th of June of the following year, 1776, in the Court of Common Pleas, before Lord Chief Justice de Grey and a special jury, who gave a verdict for the plaintiff of 1000*l.* damages, subject, however, to an *after determination* of two questions:—1. Whether an offer of bail and refusal was admissible evidence on the issue joined on the special plea? 2. Whether the evidence was a sufficient proof of an offer of bail by Sayre, and a refusal of it by Lord Rochford, to make the subsequent imprisonment illegal. And, after another delay of many months, both these questions were decided in the negative by the judges, and Sayre, instead of getting the damages, had to bear the heavy expenses of law in addition to his trouble and imprisonment. Adjutant Richardson, the accuser, who had of course sworn solemnly to the truth of the deposition, was, as well as Sayre whom he accused, a native of America. Richardson had been admitted into the Guards by purchase on the 19th of September, 1775, only a few weeks before he lodged the information against his countryman and acquaintance, Sayre.—*Ann. Regis.—Chath. Corres.*

assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercise in the most arbitrary manner over the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects; and, although many of these unhappy people may still retain their loyalty, and may be too wise not to see the fatal consequence of this usurpation, and may wish to resist it, yet the torrent of violence has been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force shall appear to support them. The authors and promoters of this desperate conspiracy have, in the conduct of it, derived great advantage from the difference of our intentions and theirs. They meant only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to me, whilst they were preparing for a general revolt. On our part, though it was declared in your last session that a rebellion existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay, yet even that province we wished rather to reclaim than to subdue. The resolutions of parliament breathed a spirit of moderation and forbearance; conciliatory propositions accompanied the measures to enforce authority; and the coercive acts were adapted to cases of criminal combination among subjects not then in arms. I have acted with the same temper; anxious to prevent, if it had been possible, the effusion of the blood of my subjects and the calamities which are inseparable from a state of war; still hoping that my people in America would have discerned the traitorous views of their leaders, and have been convinced, that to be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the freest member of any civil society in the known world. The rebellious war now levied is become more general, and is manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. I need not dwell upon the fatal effects of the success of such a plan. The object is too important, the spirit of the British nation too high, the resources with which God hath blessed her too numerous, to give up so many colonies which she has planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at such expense of blood and treasure." His majesty added that it was now the part of wisdom, and, in its effects, of clemency, to put an end to those disorders by decisive exertion; and that for this purpose he had increased his naval establishment, and greatly augmented his land forces; yet in such a manner as to be least expensive or burthensome to his kingdoms. This meant that, instead of raising troops at home, he had raised or hired, at a cheaper rate, foreign troops—a lamentable mistake, and one which probably did not proceed wholly from the alleged motive of economy. "I have also," said he, "the satisfaction to inform you that I have received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance; and, if I shall make any treaties in consequence thereof, they shall be laid before you. And I have, in testimony of my affection for my people, who can have no cause in which I am not equally interested, sent to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon a part of my electoral troops, in order that a larger number of the established forces of this kingdom may be applied to the maintenance of its authority, and the national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the rights, safety, and protection of my crown and people, may give a further extent and activity to our military operations." Severity was to be tempered by mercy, and commissioners were to be appointed to exercise, without loss of time, the purest and highest of the functions of sovereignty. But a hard name was applied to the proud insurgents. "When the *unhappy and deluded multitude*," said the king, "against whom my forces will be directed, shall become sensible of their error, I shall be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy; and, in order to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove, as soon as possible, the calamities which they suffer, I shall give authority to certain persons upon the spot to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner and to such persons as they shall think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which shall be disposed to return to its allegiance. It may be also proper to authorise the persons so commissioned to restore such province or colony, so returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if such province or colony had never revolted." With a too credulous hope he concluded the speech by saying, that, as well from the friendly assurances he had received as from the general appearance of affairs in Europe, he saw no probability of those measures being interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.*

There was indisputably more than one thing in this speech which no enlightened Englishman could or ought to approve. An amendment to the address of thanks proposed by ministers, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech, was moved by Lord John Cavendish, recommending that every word should be left out except the *pro forma* introductory paragraph, and that the following words should be substituted:—"That they beheld with the utmost concern the disorders and discontents

* Application had been made to all friendly maritime powers—and at this time every power was professedly in friendship with us—to prevent their subjects from giving any assistance to the North Americans engaged in open war against England, from sending any ammunition or other commodities serving for war, &c. The only court that was prompt in complying with the request was that of Copenhagen, which issued an edict on the 4th of October. A little later the Dutch pretended to comply, but the only punishment held out to those who disobeyed their injunction was a paltry fine of about 90*l.* sterling. "Judge," says Gordon, "whether the profits of the voyage will not be so great as to make it worth the merchant's while to run the risk of that sum. Let the American vessels repair to Holland, and the Dutch will furnish them with gunpowder in large glass bottles of several gallons dimension, under the notion of spirits or liquor of one kind or other." This was afterwards practised, and large quantities of gunpowder, under the name of Scheidam or Dutch gin, were shipped for America. France evaded the application by merely telling her subjects that, if they carried on any trade with the Americans in ammunition and materials of war, they must do it at their own risk, nor look to the French Admiralty Court for redress, if their ships should be seized by the English. Spain, who could never forget the assistance we had given to the United Provinces in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the Dutch were struggling for their independence, and were considered as revolted subjects, flatly refused to issue any interdict

in the colonies rather increased than diminished by the means that had been used to suppress and allay them; a circumstance alone sufficient to give them just reason to fear that those means were not originally well considered, or properly adapted to their ends. That they were satisfied by experience that the misfortune had, in a great measure, arisen from the want of full and perfect information of the true state and condition of the colonies being laid before parliament; by reason of which, measures injurious and inefficacious had been carried into execution, from whence no salutary end could have been reasonably expected; tending to tarnish the lustre of the British arms, to bring discredit on the wisdom of his majesty's councils, and to nourish, without hope of end, a most unhappy civil war. That, deeply impressed with the melancholy state of public concerns, they would, in the fullest information they could obtain, and with the most mature deliberation they could employ, review the whole of the late proceedings, that they might be enabled to discover, as they would be most willing to apply, the most effectual means of restoring order to the distracted affairs of the British empire, confidence to his majesty's government, obedience, by a prudent and temperate use of its powers, to the authority of parliament, and satisfaction and happiness to all his people. That, by these means, they trusted to avoid any occasion of having recourse to the alarming and dangerous expedient of calling in foreign forces to the support of his majesty's authority within his own dominions, and the still more dreadful calamity of shedding British blood by British arms." This motion brought on a series of long, animated, and acrimonious debates, in the course of which the royal speech was taken to pieces, and every part of it severely scrutinised. Ministers were charged with having brought their sovereign into the most disgraceful and unhappy situation of any monarch now living—with having wrested the sceptre of America out of his hands—with having lost one half of the empire, and thrown the other into a state of confusion and anarchy. Colonel Barré said that they had conducted the late campaign in America like fools and madmen. Fox said that not the Earl of Chatham, not Frederick the Great, nay, not even Alexander the Great, had ever gained so much in one campaign as ministers had lost—for they had lost a whole continent. General Conway, though still holding office, expressed his abhorrence of the idea of conquering America by force. Other members denied that the colonists had acted with duplicity or mental reservation; denied that they were collecting a naval force; denied, even now, that they were aiming at independence; denied that they had done anything unjustifiable, considering the provocation they had received from a profligate, corrupt, tyrannical, and ignorant ministry. Lord North was taunted with the uselessness of the severe acts he had carried last session—acts which were said to have sunk into the same nothingness as the terrors of that English army which was to have looked all America into submission. The Americans had boldly faced the one, and they despised the injustice and iniquity of the others. Some gentlemen spoke of them as warriors not to be resisted—as a people excelling in bravery, as in all other virtues, any of the inhabitants of the old world. With more sense and sobriety, the opposition dwelt upon the danger and national impropriety of calling in foreign troops to settle our domestic quarrels, and of employing foreigners to garrison two such important places as Gibraltar and Port Mahon. With a proper jealousy of the crown, they spoke of the danger of intrusting the king with power to bring over hosts of foreign mercenaries to compose a standing army; and some went so far as to declare, that, if we should succeed in our contest with the colonies by means of these foreign hordes, the English constitution would inevitably perish in the same grave with the liberties of America. As the best argument to be addressed to their capacities, country gentlemen were reminded that the land-tax would be raised to four shillings in the pound; that the war would be long, and its expenses enormous, so that the landed proprietors must look for an increase rather than for any diminution of taxation. Lord North, who had been asked repeatedly, in the course of these harangues, how he could dare remain in office after so many failures and such an accumulation of disgrace, stood up to defend the conduct of ministers, and to proclaim again what had been all along the real intention of the Americans, or, at the least, the intention of the leaders of their revolution. The latter part of his task was, perhaps, easier than the former. He asked whether congress, while pretending merely a redress of grievances, had not forcibly seized all the powers of government—whether, while sending pretended petitions (petitions which honourable gentlemen called humble, respectful, *sincere*), they had not raised armies, and taken all measures for keeping them on foot?—whether they were not actually waging war in all its forms against this country at the very instant that they were hypocritically pretending to owe a constitutional obedience to her?—whether these were acts of separate sovereignty and independence, or only the dutiful and loyal applications of citizens and subjects for a redress of grievances? He said that the words of the Americans corresponded with their actions, and their actions with their words; that in their intercepted letters and papers, as well as in their public writings and declarations, they were talking of the success with which they were new-modelling their government, and boasting of their new empire as already established. "Can any one," it was asked, "after all this, pretend to question the tendency of their views?" It was also asked, what was the language they held even in their deceptive applications to this country—in their petitions to the king, which were known to be artfully moderated? Why, even there, though congress had indeed declared, in general terms,

that they did not aim at independence, they set forward such claims as would virtually amount very nearly to a renunciation of the jurisdiction of the British legislature in all cases whatsoever. They denied to Great Britain the right of keeping a single soldier in the whole extent of that continent without consent of their own assemblies. They even expressed themselves with backwardness and caution in admitting the authority of Parliament to regulate their trade; and, in papers that were not petitions meant to deceive the English people, they had proclaimed that our Navigation act, our regulations of trade, were curses not to be borne by a free and powerful people who could help themselves. If that trade and that empire were deemed essential to our prosperity, to our national existence, it was only by arms that we could hope to maintain it. Conciliation had been tried already and had failed. Parliament and government, averse to harsh proceedings, had made various experiments; but this lenity had been construed into weakness and fear, and the time which we had thus sacrificed to forbearance had been sedulously applied by the Americans in making preparations for war. Parliament had last session obviated the objections that were made to the exercise of their right of taxing their colonies, by permitting the Americans to tax themselves in their own assemblies. But what return had they made for this indulgence? They had given fresh proofs of their contempt and disobedience; for, though they knew that any reasonable sum would be accepted, and serve as a peace offering, they would not gratify this country so far as to contribute a single shilling towards the common exigencies of the state.* Lord North insisted, that to repeal every act passed relating to the colonies since the year 1763, as many gentlemen proposed, would indeed terminate the dispute, for from that moment America would be an independent state. But neither the country nor that house—not even the opposition members—were prepared to admit the principle of disseverance and independence. As for the act restraining the trade of the Americans with other countries, it was not passed till the colonies by their non-importation agreements had refused to trade with us, and had aimed a deadly blow at the commerce of England; and therefore, he contended, that act was neither ungenerous nor unjust. One of the ministerial members who had supported the motion for the address, and who had himself been governor of one of the southern slave-holding colonies, hazarded something like a proposal for encouraging the negroes in all that part of America to rise against their masters, and for sending some white regiments to encourage and support the blacks. This was severely reprehended by the other side of the house, and the scheme was let drop, and totally reprobated as being too black, horrid, and wicked. At half-past four in the morning Lord John Cavendish's amendment was rejected by a majority of 278 against 108; and, the original question then being put, the motion for the address was carried without a division.

In the House of Lords the Marquess of Rockingham moved an amendment on the address similar to that of Lord John Cavendish. The debate there was equally warm. Lord Dartmouth, as secretary for American affairs, admitted that the late proceedings had been unsuccessful, but said that this had arisen from causes out of the reach of any ministerial foresight. Lord Gower said that he, with his brethren in office, had been greatly deceived, and thereby misled in their conduct with respect to American affairs; and that hence it proceeded that the measures adopted were not proportionate to the nature and extent of the services required. But what more startled the house was the course pursued by the Duke of Grafton, the lord privy seal. His grace condemned all the proceedings with regard to America during the last twelve months; declaring that he had been deceived and misled upon the whole subject, and that ministers, by withholding information and misrepresenting facts, had induced him to lend his countenance to measures which he never approved. Among these odious measures he mentioned particularly that of coercing America by force of arms—an idea the most distant from his opinion, but which, he said, he was blindly led to support from his total ignorance of the true state and disposition of the colonies, and the firm persuasion held out to him that matters would never come to that extremity—that an *appearance* of coercion was all that was required to bring about a reconciliation—and that, the stronger government appeared, and the better it was supported, the sooner all disputes would be amicably adjusted. Continuing his startling speech, Grafton declared that nothing less than a total repeal of all the American acts which had been passed since the year 1763 could now restore peace and happiness, or prevent the most fatal consequences to this country—consequences which he could not think of without the utmost degree of grief and horror. Then, following the course of his quondam colleague Chatham still more nearly, he spoke of the ill state of his health, declared that nothing could have brought him out of his house but a conviction of his being right, a knowledge of the dangerous state of the country, and a sense of what he owed to it, and to his duty and conscience; but these were motives which operated so strongly upon him, that he would come down, even if he were obliged to come in a litter, to express his utter disapprobation of the measures pursuing or intended to be pursued. Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, described by Burke as a man of great eloquence and ability, and who, in the preceding

* On one occasion Lord North stated that the inhabitants of Great Britain, considered collectively, paid one man with another twenty-five shillings a year in taxes, while the inhabitants of our American colonies, considered collectively, paid each only sixpence a year in taxes: he added—Is this equitable?—*Recollections and reflections, personal and political, as connected with public affairs, during the reign of George III., by John Nicholls, Esq., Member of the House of Commons in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth parliaments of Great Britain.*

session, had spoken and voted for coercive measures, followed the Duke of Grafton, and accounted for the change in his sentiments as his grace had done, by imputing it to misinformation, deception, and a total failure of all the promises which had been held out to him by ministers. "Nobody," says Burke, "could yet tell, or even guess where this defection might end: it was, however, productive of less effect than might have been expected." * Lord Shelburne blamed ministers for all the mischief that had happened, and predicted mischiefs of a far more serious nature. Repeating what was not merely the principle of his political friend and ally Chatham, but still the conviction of all public men of all parties, he said that the disseverance and independence of America must be the ruin of England, and of this disseverance and independence, he thought, no doubt could be entertained if the government of this country persisted in their plan of coercion. The arguments on the side of ministers were much the same as those employed in the Commons; but they spoke with greater freedom of a desperate faction and of incendiaries at home, to whom they attributed the progress of rebellion in America. They insisted that the numerous loyal addresses which had come up from all parts of England and Scotland were the full and free voice of the people, obtained without any manœuvre or exercise of influence, and really expressive of the sense of the nation with regard to the American quarrel, and the necessity of defending the sovereignty, the dignity and rights of the mother country. The opposition declared, on the contrary, that all kinds of shameful tricks and influences had been employed to obtain those loyal addresses, and that the only addresses which had not been surreptitiously obtained, and which spoke the sense of the people, were those calling for the dismissal of ministers and for concessions to the Americans. At 11 o'clock at night the Marquess of Rockingham's amendment was rejected by a majority of 69 to 29; and then the original motion for the address was carried by the majority, including proxies, of 76 to 33. It is noticed that no fewer than *two* bishops voted with the minority on this occasion. Nineteen peers signed a protest.†

On the report of the address in the Commons, the opposition went over nearly the whole ground again, making a main stand on the illegality of sending Hanoverian troops to Gibraltar and Minorca. Upon this ground several of those gentlemen who called themselves *independent*, as not tied to either of the great political parties contending for office and mastery, sided with the opposition, and strongly disapproved of all that clause in the address which thanked his majesty for employing the electoral troops. Some of these gentlemen, though they warmly approved of the other parts of the address, upon this account only went away without voting, and others who continued in the House would not hold their disapproving tongues, until they had received from ministers an assurance that full satisfaction would be afterwards given to them upon that subject. But, as no explanation was given that was at all satisfactory, the latter went off from the clause, and, on that point, again joined the phalanx of opposition. The whole measure of employing foreign forces was denounced by many voices as illegal, and in the highest degree unconstitutional; as directly repugnant to the principle of the Bill of Rights; as establishing a precedent of a most dangerous tendency, inasmuch as it recognised a right in the crown to introduce foreign mercenaries into the British dominions, and to raise armies without the consent of parliament. Thurlow, one of the two main supports of Lord North, reminded the House that the clause in the Bill of Rights embraced no part of the king's dominions beyond the limits of Great Britain; that it did not extend to our colonies, and that not a man had been brought, or was to be brought into the kingdom without consent of parliament. Wedderburne, North's other main stay, spoke in the same sense, and he and others represented the urgent necessity of the case, and the danger of delay; and a precedent was quoted for bringing troops into England at a moment of crisis, inasmuch as Dutch troops had been brought over by George the Second, during the rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1745. When assailed from all quarters, by many of his friends as well as by his foes, Lord North declared that he was the adviser of the paragraph in the royal speech which alluded to the foreign troops, thinking it perfectly justifiable and defensible on every principle both of the law and the constitution.* After this he showed some parliamentary generalship. The mover of the amendment, to please the independent or country gentlemen, withdrew his motion of loud disapprobation; and the following quiet words were proposed instead of it:—"We will immediately take into consideration the measure of introducing foreign troops into any part of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, without the previous consent of parliament." Upon this the country gentlemen rallied again with the opposition—and then it was that North, with great address, availed himself of a hint thrown out on purpose by one of the law officers: he all at once changed his ground, and, quitting the high tone of authority, said that, though he had advised the measure, and still continued to think it right, yet as other gentlemen, for whom he had ever had the greatest deference, seemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection, notwithstanding any votes now given, that the question should be brought again, in a regular and parliamentary manner, before the House, when he would abide by their determination; and, if the measure was found unconstitutional, he would rest a defence on the ground of necessity only, and receive the protection of an act of indemnity, as

* Ann. Regist. † Ann. Regist.

* Some of the opposition had hinted that the clause and the measure had been dictated by the same overruling influence which, they said, had been visible in so many other matters, and which had obliged North to act in a violent manner, contrary to his natural disposition and inward conviction.

usual in the like cases. This had the instant effect of bringing back the country gentlemen to his standard; and, upon a division at one o'clock in the morning, the address was passed as reported by a majority of 176 against 72. In the course of these discussions General Conway continued his attack upon the administration, and condemned the American war as cruel, unnecessary, unnatural, a butchery of his fellow-subjects, to which his conscience would never consent! He even asserted that the declaratory act ought to be repealed, though it had been passed under his own auspices, and though, on abstract legal principles, he thought it perfectly just. As well as several other gentlemen he repeatedly called upon ministers for full information on the state of affairs in America, in order that men might know what ground they stood upon. Even some of the country gentlemen joined in making these demands, representing that they had gone with ministers last session upon a supposition that they had given them authentic information. As all the accounts recently received were of a very unfavourable description, Lord North was anxious to prevent these inquiries. He set his light troops in motion, to distract attention. One gentleman in administration said that there had indeed been mismanagement somewhere, but whether in parliament in not granting a sufficient force at once to put down opposition in America, or in the ministry in not making a proper application of the force granted, or in the generals who commanded at Boston, he would not determine. Another hanger-on of administration thought that the error certainly lay with our commanders; and something was said of instituting a parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of General Gage and the rest. Others of these skirmishers were so candid as to admit that there might possibly have been some little want of vigour in the prime minister; but then they consoled him and themselves with the assurance that it was not yet *too* late; and Lord North pledged himself to be more vigorous and more active for the future. Administration, he said, proceeded upon such information as they received; if other gentlemen were in possession of better information, why did they not communicate it? It was very true that England must suffer by this unfortunate war, but America, he said, would suffer much more; nor was it to be supposed that America, if left to herself, without money, without trade, without resources, would long prefer a ruinous war with the mother-country to the blessings of peace and a happy dependence upon her. It was neither the intention nor the wish of king or ministers to be cruel, vindictive, or oppressive to the Americans; a greater force would be sent out to decide the contest, but it would be accompanied with offers of mercy, and when the contest was decided a mild and equitable government would be established.

On the 1st of November the conflict was renewed in the House of Lords, where the Duke of Mancheaster moved a resolution—"That bringing into any part of the dominion of Great Britain the electoral troops of his majesty, or any other foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, is dangerous and unconstitutional." In support of this motion it was urged that the clause in the Bill of Rights *ought* to extend to our colonies; that the Hanoverians would not be under the control of our military law, &c.; that the putting them in possession of those great barriers of our commerce and maritime power—Gibraltar and Minorca—was every way unadvisable; and, finally, that the king had no right to maintain even in a colony, or conquest, or in any part whatsoever of the dominions of the British crown, any troops other than were consented to by parliament, both as to number and as to nation. The majority of the Lords, however, argued that the clause in the Bill of Rights specified "*within* the kingdom," and also "*in time of peace;*" that the foreign troops in question were *not* within the kingdom, and that nobody would say we were at present *in a time of peace and tranquillity;* that it would be absurd to suppose that the expression "*within* the kingdom" meant to include all our colonies—all our distant dependencies; and that, even giving the words that latitude, still the rebellion and state of war in America would justify the employing of foreign troops upon the very principles of the Bill of Rights. They further urged that the king had been at all times competent to raise and keep up an army, in time of actual war or rebellion, in any part of his dominions; that in this case the Bill of Rights made no distinction between an army of natives and an army of foreigners; and that foreigners, even since the Revolution of 1688, had not only been hired, but even brought into the kingdom, without the previous consent of parliament, which there was no time to obtain. They again dwelt upon the urgency of the necessity for troops, and contended that the Duke of Manchester's resolution would betoken a shameful and unreasonable distrust of the crown. The opposition rejoined; but after a long debate the previous question was carried by a majority of 75 (including 22 proxies) against 32 (including 1 proxy). Two days after, a similar resolution was brought forward in the Commons by Sir James Lowther, and there, too, the previous question was moved and carried by a majority of 203 against 81. In the course of the debate North was censured by some of his colleagues for acceding to the suggestion of a bill of indemnity; and Lord Barrington, the secretary-at-war, declared that he considered such a bill unnecessary and dishonourable; that, though he himself had been a principal adviser in the matter of the foreign troops, he wanted no such protection, and should pity and despise the minister who could require such a bill.* Barrington had given excellent advice as to

* A bill of indemnity was, however, brought in and passed by the Commons; but it was unanimously rejected by the Upper House, the opposition arguing that it would be a disgrace to afford an indemnity to those who acknowledged no offence; and the ministerial lords, that, as no offence had been committed, no indemnity was wanted.

the whole management of the war in America; and this advice, if not absolutely rejected, had certainly not been followed. Hence, probably, the severity of expression against the prime minister. The noble secretary-at-war, moreover, had grown heartily sick of his post, and was anxious to resign. Lord Barrington, however, for the present, consented to drag on with the ministry; but the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of his decided speeches, was turned out. The privy seal, which his grace had held, was given to Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the colonies; and, to the indignation of most men, and the astonishment of still more, Lord George Germaine—the proud, imperious, unpopular Sackville—who had been shifting and changing between the ministerial benches and opposition, but who of late had taken a decided part in all the coercive measures which had been adopted, was made secretary for the colonies, and entrusted with the management of American affairs. It was imagined by some that government fancied a more austere and inflexible character would do that business better than the mild Lord Dartmouth had done it;* but the opinion abroad in the world was that Lord George was a man without honour or character, obstinate without real firmness, and haughty and proud without any real courage. At the same time the Earl of Rochford retired, and was succeeded as secretary of state for the southern department by Lord Weymouth; and a few days after "the wicked" Lord Lyttelton, who had distinguished himself at the opening of the session by the severity of his attacks upon administration, was called to the privy council and appointed to the sinecure office of chief justice in eyre beyond Trent. This also astonished most people, who knew the shameful irregularities of Lyttelton's life and conduct, and the strictness of the king as to all moral or conventional observances. But George III. had been obliged before now to admit into his cabinet and court lords equally depraved or irregular: Lyttelton renounced his close connexion with Chatham and Temple, agreed to defend the very measures he had attacked, and had eloquence and abilities well worth a price.†

As early as the 30th of October Lord North had brought in a bill, in conformity with a passage in the speech from the throne, for enabling the king to assemble the militia in cases of actual rebellion. Upon the second reading there was a warm debate upon it. "The principal objection made to this bill was the prodigious additional power with which it armed the crown, the king being enabled by it to draw out the militia in case of a rebellion in any part of the empire. This was said to be, in fact, empowering the crown to draw the militia out whenever it thought fit, as a pretence could never be wanting for the purpose, while there was a black Carib remaining in St. Vincent's, a runaway negro in the mountains of Jamaica, or a Hindoo rajah left on the coast of Coromandel."* It was urged that the militia had been formed under the express condition of not being called out, except in cases of invasion or rebellion *within* the kingdom; that by this new bill it would be in the power of a minister to embody the militia whenever he pleased; and as, when embodied, they were immediately subject to the mutiny act, they would be to all intents and purposes converted into a regular standing army. It was represented in strong and severe terms that this bill was a rounding and completing of that system which had for some years been uniformly pursued, to render the crown totally independent of the people, and to place the people naked and defenceless in its power. The opposition enumerated, as signs and instances of this system, the great increase of our military peace establishment, the continually growing influence obtained by multiplying places and pensions, the great weight given to the crown by the royal marriage bill, the inordinate power obtained by violating the rights and charter of the East India Company, the unusual powers granted by the late Quebec Act and the Boston Port Bill, and the design to overawe the nation into a submission to any measures by the introduction of a foreign force. And they added, that administration, taking advantage of the situation of public affairs, were attempting to bring the people by this new militia bill under martial law, and to make that law part of the established prerogative of the crown. On the other side it was urged by and for Lord North, that these were dreams and chimeras impossible ever to be realised in a country governed like England; that any minister would risk his head by calling out the militia of England under false pretences or from unconstitutional motives; that he must always face the parliament to account for his conduct, and, if ever his conduct was such as gentlemen were predicting, he would, if he escaped the scaffold, be certainly sent to a mad-house. They contended that a militia was the great constitutional defence of a free country, and one that had always been called for, in opposition to a standing army, by the most celebrated patriots, by the men who had been the most jealous of the powers of the crown. As there was a necessity for sending the regular forces abroad to support the rights of the crown and the people in America, it became necessary to adopt some mode of home security and defence in their absence; and what mode, it was asked, could be so proper and so constitutional as the present? Would gentlemen who complained of sending a few battalions of Hanoverians, who, *though* foreigners, were the king's subjects and our natural friends, to strengthen the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, now recommend the introduction of foreigners into England?—or would they wish that our ports, our docks, our very capital should be left open to the enterprise of any insidious

* Burke, in Ann. Regis.

† There were also some new court appointments. Lord Pelham was made keeper of the great wardrobe, and Lord Ashburnham groom of the stole.

* Ann. Regist.

enemy that might choose to take advantage of our defenceless situation? The defence of England belonged to Englishmen only, and his majesty, it was said, could not give a more striking instance of the unbounded confidence he reposed in their zeal, affection, and loyalty, than by putting the protection of his crown, person, and kingdom in the hands of the gentlemen of England, who raised and commanded the militia. In the course of the debate it was noticed by opposition that the first battalion of Devonshire militia in an address to the king had made an offer of their service against all enemies, *internal* as well as external; and this was interpreted to be a very significant threat against all those throughout the kingdom who entertained political opinions different from those of the court and cabinet, and more particularly against such gentlemen as, in fulfilling their duty to God and their country, had unremittingly laboured in parliament to prevent a most unnatural and ruinous civil war. This provoked counter-charges from ministers, who alleged that efforts had been made to deceive his majesty as to the general disposition of the people; and that letters from a society in London, which called itself the CONSTITUTIONAL,* had been circulated with great industry, recommending the people to enter into associations in the different counties and towns, citing as an example, and assigning as a motive, the successes which had attended that plan in bringing about the Revolution of 1688. This, they said, had induced the officers of the first regiment of Devonshire militia to make a public declaration of their loyalty and attachment to government; and it was not to be expected that plain country gentlemen, not versed in nice distinctions, and party subtilties, should look upon the letters of the Constitutional Society as proposing less than another revolution. In the end the second reading of the militia bill was carried by the vast majority of 259 against 50 only. When the bill was in committee there was another debate, and Lord North was assailed with more eloquence and more arguments. An amendment was moved, to the effect that the said power granted to the king of assembling the militia should not extend beyond the continuance of the present rebellion in America; and the opposition told him that if he opposed this motion it would convince them, beyond a doubt, that their worst suspicions respecting the bill were well founded. But, the question being put, this amendment was rejected by 140 against 55. Another amendment was then moved, that the militia should not be called out of their respective counties, unless in case of actual invasion. This also was negatived. A clause was then proposed to empower or authorise his majesty to assemble parliament within fourteen days whenever the present act, in the event of a war or rebellion in any part of the British dominions, should be called into operation; and this was agreed to without a division. On the third reading, which did not take place till the 22nd of November, a rider was proposed by Sir George Saville, limiting the duration of the bill to seven years; and this was not resisted by ministers.

Hitherto Scotland had been left without any militia. In the month of December Lord Mountstuart brought a bill into the House of Commons for establishing a militia in that kingdom; but the House was so thin at the time that the project was scarcely discussed. In the course of the session the bill was reproduced and fully argued. It was eagerly patronised by the Scotch members, and had the apparent sanction of administration; yet it met with a strong opposition, more particularly from the English country gentlemen, who would not own the gentle dominion of Lord North in this particular, who could not forget their old national prejudices, and who chose to consider the scheme as a very dangerous innovation. The *liberal* opposition sided with the squirearchy; the bill was opposed with a great deal of illiberality in all its stages, and was finally rejected by 112 against 95, Lord North finding himself in the unusual predicament of having divided in the minority. He and the advocates for the bill had dwelt upon the utility of a militia as a national defence, and had urged that the constant loyalty and invariable attachment to government which the Scots had shown for many years past had removed former objections, and entitled them to have arms, like the English, for the protection of their own coasts and their own homes and property. Those who opposed the bill said that, as Scotland contributed very little to the land-tax, she ought to have no militia unless she bore all the expense herself; that, as Scotsmen were too subservient to ministers, they might, if they got a militia, employ it against the liberties and constitution of England, &c.

Though numerically weak, the opposition were strong in other qualities: Barré had lost none of his fire, Burke was at the full maturity of his splendid powers, and Charles Fox was every day improving as an orator and debater. Since parliament had existed there had, perhaps, never been

* The head man of this society was the Rev. John Horne (Horne Tooke), who in 1774 had been brought before the House of Commons for a libel on the speaker, in the Public Advertiser. Charles Fox had proposed committing him to Newgate, but the House voted a commitment to the sergeant-at-arms. The very witty and political parson showed that the evidence against him was defective, and he was discharged the next day on paying the fees. In the month of August of the present year (1775) Horne was brought into trouble by an advertisement, signed by him, from the CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY, respecting the Americans. A prosecution was commenced by government, and the attorney-general filed informations *ex officio* against all the printers in whose papers the advertisement had appeared. The law proceedings ran out to a great length; and it was not till the 20th of November, 1777, that Horne received judgment in the Court of King's Bench. Lord Mansfield insisted on the monstrosity of his offence, in proclaiming that his majesty's troops engaged at Concord and Lexington had been guilty of a bloody murder. His sentence was, that he should be imprisoned for one year, pay a fine of 200*l*., and find security for his good behaviour for three years, himself in 400*l*., and two securities in 200*l*. each. Besides calling the action a murder, the CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY had agreed that the sum of 100*l*. should be raised "to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our *beloved American fellow-subjects*," who had preferred death to slavery, and had fallen at or near Lexington and Concord. This was meant as a set-off against subscriptions raised and being raised in London and many parts of England for the widows and orphans of the British soldiers who had perished!

a more rhetorical and eloquent opposition, and, certainly, there had never been a more active one. They renewed the contest on every possible occasion, and continued to divide the House in spite of the depressing consciousness that every division would be an exhibition of the weakness of their numbers. When the navy estimates were brought forward in the committee of supply, and when ministers asked for 28,000 seamen, including marines, stating that seventy-eight sail of all kinds would be required for the North American station alone, they represented that this was far too great for a peace establishment, and far too small for such a war as they were embarking in; they affirmed that our coasts at home would be left naked and defenceless, or our West India islands and all other distant services abandoned; they arraigned, in unequivocal language, the whole management of our naval affairs by the present administration; and they accused Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty, not merely of mismanagement but also of malversation. When the estimates for the land service were submitted there was a fresh battle. Lord Barrington, as secretary-at-war, asked for more than 2,000,000*l.*, which was to include the staff, levy-money, and the pay of the five Hanoverian battalions. His lordship stated that the whole force would amount to about 55,000 men, of whom upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. But he was sorry to be obliged to add that, as yet, hardly any of the corps were completed, and that he found great difficulty in recruiting. This might arise not less from the prosperous condition of the country than from any decided aversion of the people to enlist for an American war. The recruiting serjeant prospers most in times of distress. Lord Barrington said that no means had been left untried;—the bounty-money had been raised—the standard of height had been lowered—attempts had been made to enlist Irish Roman Catholics, and to incorporate foreigners singly into British regiments; but all had failed of the expected effect, and the recruiting service still went on very languidly.* Speaking against his own inward conviction, he said that an army in America was as necessary as a strong fleet, and that, when the operations of the army were directed to specific services and supported by the formidable fleet, it was impossible that the Americans could withstand it. What his lordship's real sentiments were with respect to the employment of an army we know from some admirable letters he addressed at various times to ministers. At the close of the preceding year Barrington had distinctly stated to the prime minister his opinion that the contest would cost us more than we could ever gain by complete success. If coercive measures were to be adopted, he thought they ought to be left to our navy and to a strong blockading force without land troops. To the Earl of Dartmouth, then secretary for American affairs, he wrote:—"The point under consideration at present is, how the mother-country should act towards colonies, one of which seems to be in actual rebellion, and many more on the verge of it. I will begin with the Massachusetts, whose conduct has merited the most severe chastisement, and is such as would justify conquest; but I am against employing troops to conquer that country, for the following reasons:—First, I doubt whether all the troops in North America, though probably enow for a pitched battle with the strength of the province, are enow to subdue it, being of great extent and full of men accustomed to fire-arms. It is true they have not hitherto been thought brave, but enthusiasm gives vigour of mind and body unknown before. If the Massachusetts (with whom the inhabitants of Connecticut and Rhode Island are said to have made common cause) were conquered, they *must be kept under by large armies and fortresses, the expense of which would be ruinous and endless.* Second, *because the most successful conquest that can be imagined must produce the horrors and bloodshed of civil war.* Third, because a conquest by land is unnecessary, when the country *can be reduced first by distress, and then to obedience by our marine totally interrupting all commerce and fishery, and even seizing all the ships in the ports*, with very little expense and less bloodshed. To this might be added the punishment of the factious chiefs by impeachment or bill, if their persons can be secured; but, till then, any judicial proceedings would provoke, not hurt, *and confer the palm of martyrdom without the pain of it; which is the perfection of fanatical beatitude.* In respect to the other colonies south of New England a strict execution of the act of navigation and other restrictive laws would probably be sufficient at present; and a small addition of frigates and sloops would so execute those laws as to prevent almost all commerce with foreign states. *Those colonies should also be left to deal with the Indians*, the mother-country withdrawing the establishments made since the beginning of the late war for the management of Indian affairs, *and kept up till this day at a great expense.* Though we must depend on our smaller ships for the active part of this plan, I think a squadron of ships of the line should be stationed in North America, both to prevent the intervention of foreign powers and any attempt of the colonies to attack our smaller vessels by sea. It remains to be considered what should be done with our troops. I think they should by no means remain inactive at Boston, where their spirits would be cowed, while the colony would be amazingly enriched. They should not be quartered in any of the provinces which have sent deputies to the congress; for, if in a large body, they will enrich those colonies as they now do New England,

* His lordship expressly and strongly denied that the difficulty of procuring men was owing to the dislike with which the people in general regarded the present war; and, in mentioning several causes for their slackness, he rested chiefly on the flourishing state of our manufactures, which, though it brought a temporary distress on the military service, was a proof of the great real strength and wealth of the kingdom, and its consequent ability to support this or any other war.

and, if separated into small ones, they will certainly be useless and probably be insulted. Very good quarters may be provided for them in Canada, Nova Scotia, and East Florida, till they can be employed with good effect. If these ideas are well-founded, the colonies will in a few months feel their distress; their spirits, not animated by any little successes on their part, or violence of persecution on ours, will sink; they will be consequently inclined to treat, probably to submit, to a certain degree; and, in my humble opinion, the whole is then over, for then, with dignity, we may make them concessions. I repeat, our contest is merely a point of honour; and Cardinal de Retz wisely observes, *qu'il n'y a rien qui doit moins s'outrer que l'honneur.*"

If, as many military men think, this system of blockade would have been attended with almost complete success even in a later war, when the Americans had a considerable fleet,* there can be little doubt of its effect if it had been adopted at this moment, when, properly speaking, they had no fleet whatever, and no formidable fortifications on their coasts. Lord Barrington, persisting in his judicious notion, wrote to Lord North, a few weeks before the assembling of parliament,—"As it is the measure of government to have a large army in North America, it is my duty and inclination to make that measure succeed to the utmost, though my own opinion always has been, and still is, *that the Americans may be reduced by the fleet, but never can be by the army.*" On the 26th of October, the very day on which the king opened parliament, his lordship wrote another warning letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, imploring him not to think of marching troops into the interior of the colonies. "I hope," said he, "the idea will not be entertained, for there must be great danger of the force wanting many essential necessaries where there is so little to be had—so much desire to prevent the having that little—so much difficulty in conveying artillery, stores, provisions, &c. —and so much hazard of losing communication with the ships."† But all this warning and advice was thrown away upon ministers, or rather, perhaps, we should say, upon the king, who, while he implored Barrington to remain in office, followed plans of his own, and imposed them upon Lord North and the rest of the administration. For the present it was held that the naval force must be accompanied with an army; and, after a hard contest, the estimates of ministers were carried by a majority of nearly four to one.

The petition from congress which Mr. Penn had presented to his majesty had been frequently brought under discussion. On the 7th of November, when a copy of that petition was laid before the Lords, the Duke of Richmond said that he saw Mr. Penn below the bar, and that he should move for his being examined by the House before they entered upon the discussion of the petition. Ministers opposed this proposition, and it was rejected by a majority of 56 against 22. The noble mover, who, according to Burke, was distinguished for his perseverance, then made another motion, that Mr. Penn should be examined on the next day. Considerable resistance was also made to this motion; but at last ministers reluctantly agreed that the grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania should be examined on the 10th. Penn, who had been governor of the colony of Pennsylvania, and who was personally acquainted with almost all the members of congress, in answer to specific questions, said that no designs of independency had been formed by the congress—that the members composing that body spoke the sense of their constituents, and that the different provinces would be governed by their decisions—that the war was levied merely in defence of what the colonists thought their liberties—that the spirit of resistance was general in the colonies—that the colony of Pennsylvania contained about 60,000 men able to carry arms, and that of these 20,000 had voluntarily enrolled—that an additional body of 4500 minute men had since been raised in that province—that they had means and materials for casting iron in great plenty—that they cast brass cannon in Philadelphia, and made small arms in great abundance and in great perfection—that the colonies had founded great hopes of reconciliation upon the petition which he had brought over and presented; so much so that it was styled the *Olive Branch*—that if conciliatory measures were not speedily adopted it was probable they would form connexions with foreign powers—that congress still really wished for a continuance of their connexion with the mother-country, and had no intention of throwing off the regulations on their trade, &c. Penn was an honest but weak man; he no doubt spoke his own sentiments, but he had assuredly been deceived, like so many others, including *some* members of the congress itself. The real makers of the revolution regarded with contempt this *Olive Branch*: they had declared against any restrictions or regulations of their trade, and they had at this moment begun their applications for assistance to the French court! These facts had been exposed by more than one member of the government: nevertheless the Duke of Richmond made a motion that this despised *Olive Branch*, this hollow petition, was sufficient ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences subsisting between Great Britain and America! In the debate which ensued the Americans were again patted on the back by the opposition, and told that, from their native courage and the nature of their country, intersected with vast rivers and abounding in strong inclosures, thick forests, and

* In the war of 1812—15.

† Letters in the Political Life of William Viscount Barrington, by his brother, Shute, Bishop of Durham. In the letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, last quoted, he says with great earnestness—"Allow me once more, my dear lord, to remind you of the necessity there is, in all military matters, not to stir a step without full consultation of able military men, after giving them the most perfect knowledge of the whole matter under consideration, with all its circumstances. I am sensible nothing can excuse the frequent liberties of this kind which I take, but an honest, disinterested anxiety for the public, and a desire to serve the king and his administration."

deep and impassable swamps, they were invincible! The Duke of Richmond's motion was, however, negatived by 86 against 33. Some of the majority very aptly contrasted the smooth language of the petition to the king with the rough and bitter language of the addresses to the people of Great Britain and to the people of Ireland,* which were adopted by congress at the same time as the said petition, which were sent over, like firebrands, with this *Olive Branch*, and now industriously circulated in order to involve the whole empire in insurrection and rebellion. These noble lords had no doubt that the addresses to the popular bodies at home spoke the *real* sense and wishes of congress, and that the petition was merely an insidious attempt to impose upon the king and parliament:—at all events, documents so different, and adopted *at the same moment of time*, could not both be sincere. On the 15th of November, the Duke of Grafton made a series of perplexing motions—that ministers should lay before the House an account of the number of forces serving in America previous to the commencement of hostilities, with their several stations and distributions—that they should lay before the House the precise state of the army now in America—that they should lay before them all the plans that had been adopted for providing winter quarters for those troops—that they should produce an estimate of the forces now in Great Britain and Ireland—and, lastly, that an estimate of the military force necessary to be sent against America, with a precise account of the number of artillery, &c., should also be laid before the House. Ministers objected that nothing would better please and serve the Americans than such ample disclosures; that it was contrary to every rule of office, as well as to every maxim of war and common sense, to furnish our enemies with such intelligence. Earl Gower asserted, on the credit of an officer of eminence in America, that the measures determined upon here were much sooner known in the rebel camp than in the king's army! As usual, the debate wandered to the original causes of the dispute, and the real object and intention of congress. Camden, Shelburne, and other lords in opposition, treated the assertion that America was aspiring at independence, as an unfounded calumny. On the other side, the new convert, Lord Lyttelton, contended that everything proved the truth of the assertion; and Lord Mansfield, the great legal authority of the day, maintained the same opinion. Mansfield's speech, on this occasion, was much admired, and it appears to have carried conviction to many minds which had half doubted before. He observed that Sir Josiah Child (the eminent political economist of the preceding century) had foretold, previously to the year 1688, that the Americans would finally attempt to be our rivals in power, commerce, and manufactures; and that Davenant had clearly foreseen that, whenever America should find herself strong enough to contend with the mother country, she would naturally endeavour to become a separate and independent state. "This," said Mansfield, "has been the constant object of the people of New England, almost from her earliest infancy. Their struggles compelled King William to revoke his former charter, and give them a new one; and, towards the conclusion of his reign, to procure an act, that no law originating in the colonies should be valid if contrary to the law of England. These disputes have scarcely ever subsided: in the year 1733, Mr. Talbot, afterwards chancellor, proposed a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, indicating the precise nature of the disputes, and fully asserting doctrines similar to those now maintained by the British parliament. The new administration formed in 1756 were extremely unwilling to engage in a war on account of America; and would have avoided it, had not circumstances given another turn to the subsisting disputes." "I do not assert," he continued, "that America was not the true cause of the war; I am certain it was. A vulgar opinion prevailed, the reverse of truth, that we armed in defence of Hanover; but, whatever form the war might afterwards assume, it was originally undertaken for the preservation of America. At the peace, the inconveniences which have since arisen were partly foreseen; but they were, with suitable wisdom, balanced against those which might result from the other part of the alternative. The restoration of Canada to France would have been the source of endless contention." In proceeding, Mansfield exposed the conduct of Camden, Grafton, and others who had assented to the bills which had hurried on the American quarrels, and who were now so boldly condemning others for those very bills. "At the time," said his lordship, "of imposing the stamp duties, an idea prevailed, that America, from her increased power and ability, should contribute to alleviate the burdens with which she had been instrumental in loading this country. I shall not discuss the propriety of the measure; from succeeding events I regret its adoption, but at the time it encountered no opposition. The next year the declaratory law was passed with equal unanimity. In a year after, the noble and learned lord (Camden), being then at the head of his majesty's councils, and presiding on the woolsack, was present when the port duties were imposed, but offered not the slightest resistance. When the resolutions for extending the statute of Henry VIII., relative to the trial of persons for offences committed out of the realm, were voted, the same learned lord retained his situation, and the noble duke, who made the motion this day, then presided at the head of the treasury; both were in the cabinet, and yet not a word was said against the measure! I look back with sorrow to all these transactions. Lastly, the bill for shutting the port of Boston, on which the learned lord hath this day bestowed so many hard names, was passed without opposition. If these acts were justifiable, those which succeeded

* We will, at a future page, give some specimens of these inflammatory addresses to the Irish.

were equally so. America does not complain of particular injuries so much as the violation of her rights; in one place congress sum up the whole of their grievances in the passage of the declaratory act which asserts the supremacy of Great Britain, or the power of making laws for America in all cases. Hence arises the dispute; they positively deny the existence, not the mode of exercising the right: they would allow the king of Great Britain a nominal sovereignty, but no more: they would renounce dependency on the crown of Great Britain, but not on the person of the king, whom they would reduce to a cipher. In fine, they would stand in relation to Great Britain as Hanover now stands; or, rather, as Scotland stood towards England before the Union." His lordship then advanced other facts and deductions, to prove that total independence was the object of America—that Great Britain could not concede any one claim without relinquishing all, and admitting disseverance and independence, which, he supposed, was not intended by any of their lordships; and he concluded by warning them that measures of conciliation would only furnish grounds for new claims, or produce terms of *pretended* obedience and submission. The Duke of Grafton's string of resolutions was rejected without a division.

In the Commons the warlike ardour of the country gentlemen was considerably cooled by Lord North's moving, on the 13th of November, that the land tax should be raised to *four* shillings in the pound. Some of the opposition congratulated the squires upon this, the enviable first-fruits of their darling coercive American measures; while others attempted to show that it would be a perpetual mortgage on their estates. An amendment was moved that the land tax should be *three* shillings instead of four, but this was negatived by a majority of 182 to 47, and then the original motion passed of course. During this debate Lord North assured the country gentlemen that the idea of taxation and levying some revenue from America was *not* abandoned; and that, when anything of that sort dropped from ministers, it meant no more than that it was abandoned *for the present*. The party he addressed not only wished for the continuance of our sovereignty, but also for American taxes to go to the diminution of their own burdens. On the 16th of November, Burke, after presenting a petition against the prosecution of the war, made his famous motion, for leave to bring in a bill for composing the present troubles and quieting the minds of his majesty's subjects in America. The bill was formed on the model of the statute of Edward I., *de tallagio non concedendo*. Still confident that the Americans were not aiming at a separate political existence, but would be thoroughly satisfied with a redress of grievances, Burke proposed the total renunciation of taxation, the repeal of all obnoxious laws and acts of parliament passed since the year 1766, a full amnesty for all offences, and a recognition of the congress, in order to a final adjustment of all and every part of the quarrel. His speech occupied three hours and twenty minutes, and in spite of its great merits it thinned the House, which seems at that period, to have considered that the greatest orator ought, on no account, to exceed one hour in one speech. He did not conceal that the adoption of these measures would necessarily involve a change in the ministers, who, he said, had brought the country into this dilemma, and to the very verge of ruin. He urged that any delay was dangerous; that if the quarrel continued the Bourbon powers would certainly interfere; and that this country was utterly incapable of coping with America, if backed by France and Spain. Though not prepared to admit that the colonies were aiming at independence, he said that America could be retained by her good inclinations alone. If this failed all failed, and it were better to trust to the honesty of the colonies before we ruined ourselves and irritated them, than after we had annihilated their affections for ever. He was answered by Governor Pownall, who denied that any renunciation, or repeal, or amnesty, on our part, would have any other effect than that of increasing the pride and resistance of the Americans, and who accused the colonists of having all along entertained notions far more extreme than any they had ventured to express until recently. Pownall also maintained that to repeal up to 1766 only would not at all satisfy the Americans, who demanded a repeal up to 1763, including the withdrawal of the declaratory act that affirmed our sovereignty and supremacy. Nay, he insisted, that to satisfy the Americans, the repeal must be extended as far back as to 1672. "They complain," said he, "of the admiralty jurisdiction; now that is as old as the act of navigation. To my argument it is nothing how far this is right or wrong, grievous or otherwise; but the Americans complain of it; and, if the bill which is to afford redress and concede to their complaints, must be effectual in order to gain their confidence, this bill does not go far enough." Other gentlemen urged, that, though Burke's bill did not concede nearly enough to satisfy the Americans, it conceded a great deal too much for us; that it would be acknowledging and establishing a principle that parliament never had any right to dispose of American revenue or to regulate the trade of the colonies; and the greater part of the House remained of opinion that nothing less than coercion in its full extent would be of any avail. Charles Fox, Sir George Saville, and all the best orators of opposition combated long but in vain for the principles of Burke's bill: when the House divided, at four o'clock in the morning, the previous question, which had been moved by ministers, was carried by a majority of just two to one, the numbers being 210 against 105. This, however, was a nearer division than had taken place on these questions for a very long time, the majority usually standing to the minority as three, or nearly four, to one. Four days after this ministers brought into the House of Commons a bill for absolutely

prohibiting all commercial intercourse with America, and for repealing, as useless and inapplicable, the Boston port bill and restraining acts, passed last session; as civil coercion against civil crimes —as provisions which were wholly ineffectual in a state of war. Lord North explained a clause respecting commissioners who were to be sent out by the crown: these functionaries were to inquire into the real circumstances of the colonies; to remedy real grievances; and, if any part or whole colony should return to obedience, they were to declare that colony, or part of it, to be at peace, upon which all the restrictions in the present bill were to cease. In vindicating his own ministerial conduct, North observed, that the dispute about taxation was not begun by him, but by his predecessors in office; that he had found the country and parliament determined not to surrender that right; and that, if the colonies, by appealing to arms, chose to make war the medium, he must pursue it through that medium, although he should constantly keep peace in view as the true point to be obtained. Upon these principles he was resolved to act without any flinching or wavering. The whole fire of opposition was rekindled by the bill, and by these declarations. It was said that this was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it was driving England and America to the fatal extremity of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independence on the other; that it was forcing the Americans into the arms of some foreign power, and that it would end in causing us the loss, not merely of all our colonies in North America, but of all our West India islands, hazarding at the same time the security of every remaining part of our empire, in whatever part of the globe it was situated. On the other side it was said that the Americans were already doing their worst against us, were already in a state of war, which, while it continued, must be carried on in every manner, as if against alien enemies. Charles Fox moved as an amendment, that the whole body and title of the bill should be left out, excepting only the parts of it which repealed the Boston port bill and the restraining acts. This gave rise to another very warm debate; but, upon the question being put, the amendment was rejected by 192 against 64. In the course of the night Admiral Lord Howe, who was soon to sail with the fleet for America, spoke with much feeling of the horrors of civil war: he declared he knew no struggle so painful as that between a soldier's duties as an officer and as a man:—if left to his own choice he should decline serving; but, if commanded, it became his duty, and he should not refuse to obey. General Conway said that a war with our fellow subjects in America differed very widely from a war with a foreign nation; and that, before an officer drew his sword against his fellow subjects, he ought to examine well his conscience whether the cause were just. Thurlow said that such sentiments, if once established as doctrine, must tend to a dissolution of all government. Petitions from the West India merchants were presented, and counsel heard against the bill: it was opposed in all its stages, and several amendments were proposed in committee, but it was finally passed by the Commons, and without any alteration, by a majority of 112 against only 16. An attempt had been made to exclude Georgia from its severities, but proof was adduced that that colony had put itself on a level with the rest. In the House of Lords the contest was renewed with equal heat and personality. The peers in opposition denied that the Americans were in a state of rebellion:—they had taken up arms, but we had driven them to it by our violence, injustice, and oppression. Lord Lyttelton loudly denounced this immoderate licence of language, and Lord Denbigh, as hot and petulant as ever, said that those who defended rebellion were little better than rebels themselves, there being no great difference between traitors and those who openly or privately abet treason! Eight peers signed a protest; a petition was presented from the merchants of Bristol, praying that the operation of the bill might be suspended for two months; several amendments were proposed, but always ineffectually; and the bill was passed by the Lords, on the 21st of December, without a division. By this time some intelligence had been received of the march of the two American armies to our Canadian frontiers. In a speech, delivered previous to the last reading of the trade-prohibiting bill, Lord Mansfield had exclaimed, "We are now in such a situation that we must either fight or be pursued. If we do not get the better of America, America will get the better of us! They have begun to raise a navy; trade, if left free to them, will beget opulence, and enable them to hire ships from foreign powers. It is said the present war is only defensive on the part of America. Is the attack on Canada a defensive war? Is their prohibiting all trade and commerce with every part of the British dominions, and starving our sugar islands, acting on the defensive? No; though those people never offended us, we will distress them, say they, because that will be distressing Great Britain. Are we, in the midst of all outrages of hostility, of seizing our ships, entering our provinces at the head of numerous armies, and seizing our forts, to stand idle, because we are told this is an unjust war, and wait till the Americans have brought their arms to our very doors? The justice of the cause must give way to our present situation; and the consequences which must ensue, should we now recede, would, nay must, be infinitely worse than any we have to dread, by pursuing the present plan, or *agreeing at once to a final separation.*"

A. D. 1776.—The American addresses to the people of Ireland had produced some very evident effects, particularly among the people of Dublin and the Protestant dissenters. After voting thanks to Lord Howard of Effingham, on his resignation, and the same compliment to those peers who had "supported the constitution, and, in opposition to a

weak and wicked administration, protested against the American restraining acts," the sheriffs and common council of Dublin were anxious to imitate the city of London, and sent over a strong petition and remonstrance to the king. The lord mayor and aldermen opposed this; where upon the common council declared their great grief for the injured inhabitants of America, and for their own brave countrymen, sent or about to be sent to that continent to slaughter their innocent fellow subjects; and, with respect to the lord mayor and aldermen, they resolved that whoever refused to consent to a dutiful petition, tending to undeceive the king, and by which the effusion of one drop of subject blood might be prevented, was not a friend to the constitution! Soon after this, when the Irish parliament assembled, they rejected a money bill transmitted from England, upon the plea that it had been altered in council. And a little later, when Lord Harcourt, the lord lieutenant, proposed to the Irish House of Commons to send out of the kingdom 4000 men, and accept in their stead an equal number of foreign protestant troops, to be maintained without any expense to Ireland, they very reluctantly assented to the first part of the proposition, and absolutely refused to receive the foreign troops. Almost immediately after the Christmas recess these embarrassing matters were brought before the English parliament, where Mr. Thomas Townshend moved for a committee of inquiry, on the allegation that Lord Harcourt had made a disposal or offer of the public money without consulting the British House of Commons, and had thereby been guilty of a breach of privilege. Ministers were greatly embarrassed, and no two of them agreed in their modes of defence. It was clear that they, or Lord Harcourt, had been at fault; but even the opposition admitted the great merits of Harcourt's administration in Ireland; and the motion was quashed by a majority of 224 against 106. Another motion on the same subject was got rid of by the previous question. In a few days after—on the 20th of February—Mr. Fox made a motion for a committee to inquire into the causes of the ill success of his Majesty's arms in North America, as also into the causes of the defection of the people of the province of Quebec. This was in the obvious intention of overpowering the administration by popular outcry, and a full exposure of all that Montgomery and Arnold had done in Canada. In a speech of uncommon power Fox maintained that the ultimate design of government was the total destruction of our constitution, &c. He proposed to commence his inquiries at the month of February, 1774, as the era when coercive measures were unquestionably determined upon. Blame, he said, must be imputable to ministers at home, or to our military commanders abroad:—either the former had planned measures which were impracticable, or else the latter had failed in carrying them into execution, and were incapable of doing their duty. He then drew a most striking picture of the mismanaged war, and taxed parliament with servilely acquiescing in schemes that had been conceived in folly and ignorance, and executed in imbecility. Excited by this speech, even several of the friends of government joined in calling for an inquiry; but upon a division Fox's motion was rejected by a majority of 240 against 104. On the 29th of February the treaties lately entered into with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, for the hire of troops for the American service, to the amount of about 17,000 men, were laid before the House of Commons.* Lord North moved to refer them to the committee of supply. This instantly led to a most vehement debate. The chief arguments used by ministers to excuse or justify this hiring of foreign mercenaries were—that there was no possibility of raising, in time, a sufficient number of men at home—that, even if native forces could have been raised, it was not to be expected that raw and undisciplined troops could answer the purpose so well as tried, experienced veterans—that it would be a terrible loss to withdraw so many hands from our manufactures and husbandry—that the expense with native troops would not end with the war, but would leave the nation saddled with the lasting incumbrance of half-pay for near thirty battalions, &c. They also represented that the foreign troops would cost much less for their maintenance than English troops, and they closed their many arguments by observing that this measure was no novelty, as we had at all times been under the necessity of employing foreigners in our wars. To this the opposition replied that the measure was disgraceful, and that England was degrading herself by applying to the petty princes of Germany for succours *against her own subjects;* that the troops had been obtained at an immoderately high price; that nearly 7*l.* 10*s.* levy money was paid for every man, and that the princes who let them out like slaves, or beasts of draught, were to be subsidised besides: thus the Duke of Brunswick, who supplied 4084 men, was to get an annual subsidy of 15,519*l.*; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who furnished 12,000 men, was to get 10,281*l.* per annum; the hereditary Prince of Hesse, who furnished 688 men, was to get annually 6000*l.*; and, besides all this, the King of England guaranteed the dominions of these princes against foreign attack. Lord George Germaine and Lord Barrington were compelled to confess that the terms were such as the princes had prescribed, and *necessity compelled ministers to accept!*† The

* During the Christmas recess Gibbon wrote to his friend;—"You know we have got 18,000 Germans *from Hesse, Brunswick,* and Hesse-Darmstadt. I think our meeting will be lively; a spirited minority, and a desponding majority. The higher people are placed the more gloomy are their countenances, the more melancholy their language. You may call this cowardice, but I fear it arises from their knowledge (a late knowledge) of the difficulty and magnitude of this business. .... I much fear that our leaders have not a genius which can act at the distance of 3000 miles."—*Letters to Sheffield.*

† There can be no doubt that the hirers out of the limbs, blood and lives of their subjects had driven a very hard bargain. Besides the annual payment which was secured so long as the troops continued to serve, the Duke of Brunswick was to receive double tha

opposition did not fail to make use of the very strong arguments that naturally suggest themselves against the practice of letting out to hire men who had nothing to do with the quarrel in question. Lord Irnham, who, since the conduct of the court to the Duchess of Cumberland, had become a downright *patriot*, quoted Don Quixote with some humour and effect, and ended with a compliment to the American people. "I shall say little," observed his lordship, "as to the feelings of those princes who can sell their subjects for such purposes. We have read of the humourist Sancho's wish—that, if he were a prince, all his subjects should be blackamoors, as he could, by the sale of them, easily turn them into ready money; but that wish, however it may appear ridiculous, and unbecoming a sovereign, is much more innocent than a prince's availing himself of his vassals for the purpose of sacrificing them in such destructive war, where he has the additional crime of making them destroy much better and nobler beings than themselves." Other members represented that these German soldiers, as soon as they found themselves escaped from the old European continental tyranny, and in a land of liberty, would accept of lands from the colonists, join the banner of independence, and fight against us; to which they would be the more readily inclined, as already more than 150,000 of their countrymen had emigrated to the New World, and were making common cause with the Anglo-Americans. Lord North seemed to hint, on the contrary, that there would be less danger of desertion from these German veterans, who considered the camp their home and country, than from raw English levies; and he represented, with too great a reverence for the German tactics and discipline (which, after all, had been eminently successful only under Frederick the Great, and which drooped and failed as soon as that great soldier departed this life), that a numerous body of *the very best* soldiery in Europe, inspired only with military maxims and ideas, too well disciplined to be disorderly and cruel, and too martial to be kept back by any false limits, could not fail of bringing matters to a speedy conclusion. Some of the ministerial party, more sanguine and confident than North ever was, seemed to think that these Brunswickers and Hessians would have little more to do than to show themselves on the American continent. Upon the whole, that laudable national feeling which leads men to prize British valour above that of other nations, and a recurrence to the high deeds of British infantry in all ages, were not brought so much into play by the opposition as might reasonably have been expected; and, upon a division, at two hours after midnight, the minister's motion was carried by a majority of 242 to 88. When, on the 4th of March, the House received the report from the committee, new objections were started to different parts of these German treaties, and another warm debate ensued. The only amendment, however, that was carried was rather of a paltry nature—an address to his majesty, moved by Colonel Barré, to desire him to use his interest that the German troops in British pay, now or hereafter, might be clothed with the manufactures of this country. In the House of Lords the whole strength of opposition was arrayed against the treaties, and against the principle of hiring mercenaries to fight our battles. The Duke of Richmond moved an address to countermand the march of the foreign troops, and to suspend hostilities altogether. In a speech in which he vituperated every part of the treaties, his grace said that ever since the year 1702 the German princes had been rising in their demands; that the present bargain far outstripped all others, and that the services of these 17,300 mercenaries would cost us not less than one million and a half a year. He spoke again of the unseen, overruling influence which had for so many years pervaded all our councils; but by this time every body understood that this *influence*, whether for good or for evil, proceeded from the determined character of the king himself. Richmond, after a long and very animated speech, was followed by other noble lords, who represented that neither Marlborough's glorious campaign of 1704, which saved the German empire, nor the campaign of 1759-60, by which the Earl of Chatham had obtained all Canada, had cost so much money as the disgraceful campaign of Boston last year; that the nation was incapable of bearing new taxes, or of supporting the war in America; and that, if to the American war were added an almost inevitable rupture with France and Spain, and the whole house of Bourbon, our utter ruin was certain! The Duke of Grafton, taking credit to himself for more knowledge of finance than he possessed, defied the chancellor of the exchequer to devise any tax that could possibly increase the receipts of government. Lord Camden called the whole war wanton, cruel, and diabolical. The king's two brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, voted in the minority; the former, who spoke in the debate, lamenting that Brunswickers, once the advocates of liberty in Europe, should now be sent to subjugate it in America, condemning all the proceedings of government, and recommending negotiations with the insurgents. Lord Temple, who had again differed, *toto cœlo*, with his brother-in-law, Earl Chatham, delivered a very remarkable speech, strongly reprobating the violence of opposition, and reminding them that few or none among them could condemn the war, and what had passed in America, without condemning their own registered votes, their own recorded speeches, the whole course, or material parts, of their own political conduct. He said, with much warmth and feeling:—"I have heard this war called unjust. I know

sum, or 21,038*l.* for each of the two years following their dismission; and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was to receive twelve months' notice of discontinuing the payment, after his troops should all be returned to his dominions. A little later the Prince of Waldeck, who agreed to furnish 670 men, made an equally good bargain for himself.

not who in this house has a right to call it so; not those who voted for the declaratory act; those only who denied our right of taxation,—and how very few were they! I cannot approve of recalling troops, and publishing the terms to which you will yield, till there is reasonable assurance of their not being utterly rejected. Uncommon sagacity and discretion are necessary to the attainment of what all must eagerly wish: when the happy and favourable moment for conciliation shall arrive, I hope ministers will seize it; I wish them success: at least at such a crisis I will not hang on the wheels of government, rendering that which already is but too difficult, the more impracticable." He also spoke of the certain effects of the harangues of opposition on the excited minds of the colonists. "The next easterly wind," said he, "will carry to America every imprudent expression used in this debate. I do not wish that the nakedness and weakness of my country should stand confirmed by the authority and sanction of testimonies given in this House! It is a time to act, not to talk: much should be done, little said!" But the opposition, whether in the Upper or Lower House, continued to talk, and in the same strain; and nearly every speech they delivered was an encouragement to the Americans, who took into consideration rather the eloquence of the opposition, and the name and fame of its leaders, than the plain figures of the divisions; who felt convinced that a large part of parliament and the nation detested the war, and were resolved to thwart it; and that a people so divided among themselves could never prosecute the war successfully, in the midst of financial embarrassments which they were glad to believe as extensive as the Duke of Grafton had represented them. Nearly every speech, moreover, assured them of what they were making pretty sure by other means—that foreign assistance would not only not be denied them, but would be granted with alacrity. In the course of the present debate one noble lord in opposition took the right philosophical view of the whole question, and maintained that *an immediate recognition of the independence of the united provinces was preferable to war.** But there was no side or corner of the House, there was no recognisable section, either of whigs or tories, and there was no part of the nation, at all prepared to admit this broad principle, or to consider the independence of America in any other light than as the degradation and ruin, commercial and political, of Great Britain. The opposition in both Houses continued to insist that the Americans did not want this independence; the sentiments of Chatham on this point were unchanged, and Burke insisted to the very last moment that the Americans would be satisfied with much less; and, even when brought by events to recommend the granting of the independence which the Americans claimed, he did it with the utmost regret, as considering the claim not less detrimental to the interests than to the fame of this country. It was in describing the fatal effects of disseverance, the wars that must inevitably follow the dismemberment of the empire, that ministers most excited men's minds in doors and out of doors. Our trade was still held to be dependent upon our sovereignty, and to secure the one it was thought we must assure ourselves of the other. On this night it was said, could we possibly sit still and suffer an independent hostile empire to arise out of our colonies, and thereby lose the trade of those colonies, which had been to us the object of so much care, attention, and expense, of so many laws, and so many wars? Could we see this trade taken from us, and given to foreigners? Upon a division the Duke of Richmond's motion was negatived by a majority of 100 against 32. On the 11th of March a new debate arose in the Commons, upon a demand of 845,165*l.*, for the extraordinary army expenses of last year. Colonel Barré was the principal speaker, and his chief effort was a laughable comparison between the campaign of Lexington and Bunker's Hill and the campaign of Blenheim. His ridicule, however, did not diminish the ministerial majority. On the 14th, in spite of "that vast and invincible majority," as Burke called it, the Duke of Grafton moved an address to his majesty, requesting that a proclamation might be issued to declare that if, within a reasonable time before or after the arrival of the troops destined for America, the colonists should prefer a petition to the commander-in-chief, or to the commissioners appointed under the late act, setting forth what they considered to be their just rights and real grievances, his majesty would consent to a suspension of arms, and would assure them, with the authority of his parliament, that their petition should be received, considered, and answered. His grace assured the House that both France and Spain were actually arming, and that *two French gentlemen had been to America, had conferred with Washington at his camp, and had since been to Philadelphia to confer with the congress.* Ministers treated these apprehensions as chimerical; and Lord Weymouth, as secretary of state for foreign affairs, assured the House that there never was a time within his knowledge or recollection when Great Britain had less reason to be suspicious of foreign courts; and that assurances of the most pacific intentions and friendly feelings continued to be received by every courier. After a long debate the Duke of Grafton's motion was lost by a majority of 91

* This was the Earl of Coventry, who said—"Look on the map of the globe, view Great Britain and North America, compare their extent, consider the soil, rivers, climate, and increasing population of the latter; nothing but the most obstinate blindness and partiality can engender a serious opinion that such a country will long continue under subjection to this. The question is not, therefore, how we shall be able to realise a vain, delusive scheme of dominion, but how we shall make it the interest of the Americans to continue faithful allies and warm friends. Surely that can never be effected by fleets and armies. Instead of meditating conquest, and exhausting our own strength in an ineffectual struggle, we should, wisely abandoning wild schemes of coercion, avail ourselves of the only substantial benefit we can ever expect, the profits of an extensive commerce, and the strong support of a firm and friendly alliance and compact for mutual defence and assistance."

against 31. About a fortnight after, Mr. Hartley presented in the Commons the form of another address, which was better conceived, though it proved equally unsuccessful.*

During these weighty deliberations Chatham remained in the country suffering from his gout; but he carried into effect a measure which seemed purposely calculated to throw odium on the war. He had sent out his eldest son, Lord Pitt, to serve in Canada with General Carleton. He had ever considered Canada as his own conquest, and as the brightest achievement of his ministry (it was the real cause of more than half the mischief that was now befalling us); and there seemed a propriety in the son helping to defend what the father had gained. He had also expressed a wish that Lord Pitt might learn the business of a soldier in a good school and *in active service*. Yet, in the month of July, in the preceding year, when he must have known that Ethan Allen and Arnold had captured our forts on the lakes, and that the Americans were meditating an invasion of Canada, he commissioned his wife to express to Major Caldwell, an officer on Carleton's staff, the family doubts as to the propriety of Pitt's remaining to fight against the Americans. "You are no stranger, sir," wrote the countess, "to the opinions which my lord has publicly professed with regard to the fatal disputes that so unhappily prevail between this country and America. His hope and persuasion that infatuation at home could not extend (whatever it threatened) to the involving the two countries in an unnatural war induced him to do nothing then about his son, and before matters came to extremity he fell ill." Yet, before he sent out Lord Pitt, the Gaspee schooner had been burned, the tea had been destroyed at Boston, the Boston port bill had been passed, the restraining bill had been passed, the Quebec bill had been passed, and it had been fully resolved by one side to employ force, and by the other side to resist it. Chatham himself in his harangues had declared war to be both inevitable and immediate. Unless we can attribute his sending out his son to one of those fits of inconsequence and contradiction so frequent in his conduct, we may reasonably suspect that he merely sent him out in order to make a great noise and stir by recalling him and withdrawing him from the service. The countess told Major Caldwell that her husband gave Lord Pitt a *free power* to decide upon his own situation; and that she herself would be equally miserable to have his sword drawn against the convictions of his own conscience, or to have him do anything contrary to his military honour. General Carleton seems to have considered that the thing expected from him as a friend, and the best thing he could do, was to send the young lord home; and accordingly the aide-de-camp, who had gone to learn the art of war in the best school, and who had only been in Canada a few months, was sent home with dispatches. At first no *public* hint was given of any such intention; but on the 14th of February, when opposition were carrying on their hottest attacks in parliament, Chatham, by the hand of his wife, intimated to General Carleton, that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow subjects of America, he found it necessary to take a decisive but painful step, which was to withdraw his son altogether from such a service. James Grenville, as an opposition leader, instantly expressed his great joy at this determination. "It is," said he, "a measure of considerable importance; and I am persuaded the weight of it has not been diminished for the want of propriety in the manner of making it." Thus the king's commission was thrown in his face, and the country was given to believe that this must, indeed, be an execrable and hopeless war since the minister who had conquered Canada could withdraw his own son from its defence!*

The remaining proceedings of this session may be briefly told. On the 10th of May Sawbridge, who had succeeded Wilkes as lord mayor, made a motion similar to that of Mr. Hartley, for placing the Americans in the same situation as the Irish. In the course of the debate Mr. Temple Luttrell, a younger brother of the colonel, called the king's speech "a sanguinary parole," and the ministry "an infernal administration." The motion was negatived by 115 to 33. Wilkes moved for leave to bring in a bill for reforming parliament—a motion which was negatived without a division.† On the 22nd of May, the day before that fixed for the prorogation, General Conway made a motion for inspecting the powers vested in his majesty's commissioners proceeding to America: and on the 23rd, at the moment the king was expected in the House of Lords, Mr. Hartley moved an address praying that parliament might not be prorogued at all, but continue sitting by adjournments during the summer, in order that they might be ready to receive information, and take measures without loss of time for every important emergency. Both these motions were negatived without a division. In his speech proroguing parliament the king confidently asserted that no alteration whatever had taken place, or was likely to take place, in his friendly relations with foreign powers. Care and economy were promised; but it was intimated that the war might prove a very expensive one. "We are," said his majesty, "engaged in a great national cause, the prosecution of which must inevitably be attended with many difficulties and

* It was to empower the king's commissioners, who were to accompany the army, to offer to the Americans a specific line of rational obedience instead of unconditional submission, to give assurances of redress and a full security to all constitutional and chartered rights, and to issue a proclamation promising to place America on the same footing with Ireland, in respect to money grants, &c.

* Chat. Corres. The resignation of Lord Pitt was pompously announced in the newspapers, with abundant comments and reflections on the sad event.

† Wilkes's scheme of parliamentary reform was to increase the number of representatives for the metropolis, the county of Middlesex, the county of York, and the other very populous counties, and to give representatives to the great trading and manufacturing towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds.

much expense; but when we consider that the essential rights and interests of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the issue of it, and can have no safety or security but in that constitutional subordination for which we are contending, I am convinced that you will not think any price too high for the preservation of such objects." He still entertained a hope that his "rebellious subjects" would be awakened to a sense of their errors, and by a voluntary submission justify him in bringing about without force the favourite wish of his heart, the re-establishment of order and happiness in every part of his dominions; but, if this hope failed, he trusted to effect the same object by a full exertion of the great force with which parliament had entrusted him.

During this session of parliament the Lords were occupied for several days with the trial of the famous Duchess of Kingston, once the beautiful Miss Chudleigh. In 1769 a cause for jactitation of marriage, which had been brought by her some years before against the Honourable Henry Augustus John Hervey, calling himself her husband, had been determined in the Consistory Court of London in favour of the lady, and she was declared to be free from any marriage or matrimonial contract with the said gentleman. In December, 1774, a bill of indictment was, nevertheless, presented to the grand jury for the county of Middlesex against the said lady for felony, in marrying the late Duke of Kingston,* at the time she was actually the wife of the said Honourable Augustus John Hervey. A true bill was found, and she was held to appear to take her trial at the Old Bailey as a felon, or incur the consequences of an outlawry. On the 24th of May, 1775, the lady, who was absent on the continent at the time of the charge, returned home, and appeared in the Court of King's Bench to answer the indictment. She was attended by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Mountstuart (Bute's eldest son), Mr. La Roche, and Sir Thomas Clarges. Lord Mansfield received her in his private room behind the court; and the sheriff of Middlesex, in whose custody she properly was on her surrendering herself, was called up. The indictment was then read, and bail accepted, she herself entering into a recognisance of 4000*l.*, and her four sureties being bound in 1000*l.* each. After some other proceedings, which it is unnecessary to detail, it was announced that her trial should take place before the House of Peers in Westminster Hall; it being admitted that she was a peeress in any case, Mr. Hervey being now Earl of Bristol.† Accordingly, on the 15th of April, the peers being assembled, and the commission appointing Earl Bathurst, the chancellor, lord high steward having been read, proclamation was made for the appearance of Elizabeth, styling herself Duchess of Kingston, in discharge of her recognisance. Her grace, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Mountstuart, and Mr. La Roche, entered the court, and made her obeisance to her peers and judges. She then remained in the custody of the gentleman usher of the black rod. The indictment was read, and the lord high steward stated the nature of the offence. The duchess then read a paper declaring that she was not conscious of any criminal act; that she never intentionally violated the laws; that she had no sooner been apprised of the charge than she travelled from Rome to England, at the hazard of her life, to appear to the indictment and defeat the malice of her enemies; that she had not been married to the late Duke of Kingston without having previously taken every precaution not to violate the laws of her country; that the Consistory Court, which had competent jurisdiction of the matter, had pronounced a sentence whereby she was declared to be a single woman; that, as a single woman, she had been married to the duke; that, if she had erred, her error did not proceed from intention; and that her conscience bore testimony to the truth of the assertion, whilst her lips pronounced her to be NOT GUILTY. Counsel was then heard on both sides on the point of law arising out of the sentence of the Consistory Court, and this occupied two whole days, when the court adjourned to Friday, the 19th. On that day the lawyers finished their addresses to the court; and then, on the motion of Lord Gower, their lordships adjourned to their own House. As soon as they were seated Lord Camden proposed two questions to the Judges:—1. Whether a sentence of the ecclesiastical court against a marriage is conclusive evidence, so as to stop the crown from proving the said marriage on an indictment for polygamy? 2. Whether, admitting such sentence to be conclusive upon such indictment, the crown may be admitted to avoid the effect of such indictment by proving the same to have been obtained by fraud or collusion? Lord Chief Justice de Grey came in to deliver the unanimous opinion of the Judges, which was, that the first question must be answered in the negative, because no sentence of any spiritual court could stop the counsel for the crown in a prosecution for felony; and that the second question must be answered in the affirmative, because it was necessarily included in the first, and because no fraudulent act of any two parties could be binding or conclusive on a third, without their participation or consent. The lord high steward then desired the attorney-general to proceed to support the charge. After opening the case and stating the nature of the evidence, the attorney-general called his witnesses. Anne Craddock, who had lived servant with Mrs. Hanmer, aunt to the prisoner, swore she had known the prisoner at the bar for upwards of thirty years; that in July, 1744, she, the prisoner, then Miss Chudleigh, accompanied her aunt down to Hampshire; that a few days after Miss Chudleigh and

* Evelyn Pierrepoint, sixth and last Duke of Kingston, had died of palsy, at Bath, on the 3rd of September, 1773, or more than fifteen months before the indictment. He had married the lady in question in 1769, or twenty-five years after her marriage—real or pretended—with Hervey.

† He had succeeded his brother in 1775.

her aunt went to Winchester races, where they saw for the first time the Honourable Augustus John Hervey, then a lieutenant in the navy; that a very few days after this first interview a marriage took place by night in Lainston Church, at which she, the witness, was present; that every precaution was taken to render the ceremony as private as possible; that a Mr. Mountenay, Mrs. Hanmer, and Mr. Merril, the nephew of Mrs. Hanmer, and the cousin of the prisoner—whose house was the only one in the parish of Lainston, and at the end of whose garden the church stood—only were present at the marriage; that for a few days the young couple lived together as man and wife; that then Mr. Hervey went on board the fleet destined for the East Indies; that some time after this she, the witness, went to live with the prisoner, who told her she had a child by Mr. Hervey, and promised to take her to see it, observing that the child was very like Mr. Hervey, its father; but that on the evening appointed to go to Chelsea, where the child was at nurse, the lady informed her that the child had died in the mean time, and was buried at Chelsea. Upon being cross-examined, this witness confessed that she had never seen the child; that the marriage was performed very late at night—she did not know the hour—that the only light in the church was a wax taper, placed in the bowl of Mr. Mountenay's hat. Being asked whether she had not received a letter promising a reward for the evidence she might give on this trial, she confessed she had received a letter from a friend, wherein she was told that a gentleman of his acquaintance would get her a sinecure, but on what account, she persisted in affirming, she knew not. Their lordships then adjourned to the next day. On Saturday morning Lord Hillsborough, Lord Derby, Lord Buckinghamshire, and other peers, put various questions to the witness, Anne Craddock, who, after some evasive answers, fully confessed the agency employed to offer her pecuniary rewards if she would appear *against* the prisoner. Mr. Cæsar Hawkins, the celebrated surgeon, was then called. He attempted to shield himself under his professional privileges, and begged to know whether he was bound to disclose communications made to him privately and confidentially, and in the way of his profession. Lord Mansfield assured their lordships that it was the duty of the witness to give every information in his power touching the matter in question. The surgeon then deposed that he had known her grace thirty years, and had *heard* of a private marriage between her and Mr. Hervey; that there was a child; that he was in the room when the boy was born, and that he saw it once afterwards before it died; that, upon Mr. Hervey's return from sea, he requested him to wait upon the prisoner with proposals respecting a divorce; that the prisoner refused to listen to any such project; that some considerable time after this the prisoner told him one day at his own house that she had instituted a jactitation suit in Doctors' Commons against Mr. Hervey; that at a later visit she told him she was very unhappy, as the Consistory Court had tendered her an oath which she had long dreaded they would; that not long after, upon another visit, she told him that she had obtained the sentence she wished from the court; that then he asked her how she had got over the oath, and that she replied, "that the matter of the marriage was so blended with such a number of falsities, that she could easily reconcile it to her conscience—that the ceremony was so scrambling and shabby a business that she might as safely swear she was not married as that she was." The secretary at war, Lord Barrington, was next called upon, and asked whether he knew anything of the private marriage between the lady at the bar and Mr. Augustus John Hervey, now Earl of Bristol. Lord Barrington desired to be excused answering that question, as it would be betraying private conversation, which, as a man of honour and a gentleman, he could never do. Lord Mansfield observed that, as far as the question related to matter of legal evidence, he was bound to answer. Lord Camden, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Radnor, and several other peers contended that his lordship was bound to answer at all events, as he was upon his oath: and then Lord Radnor repeated the question. Lord Barrington again declined answering it. A motion of adjournment was then made by Lord Radnor, and agreed to; and accordingly their lordships adjourned to their own House. Upon their return to the Hall the lord high steward said,—"Lord Viscount Barrington, it is the opinion of their lordships that you shall answer all such questions as may be put to you respecting what you know relative to the marriage between the prisoner at the bar and Mr. Hervey." The secretary at war, however, retained his scruples, and still doubted whether he could in honour break a private confidence; and he put this question to the learned counsel, whether, if he did not answer, he should be guilty of perjury? The solicitor-general—his official colleague Wedderburn—whispered in his ear that, by the oath he had taken, he was bound to reveal what he knew. Barrington then begged pardon of their lordships for the trouble he had given them, and professed his readiness to reply. Yet his evidence came to very little:—all he could state was, that he had *heard* Mr. Hervey and the lady at the bar say that they were married, and that there was a child, the issue of that marriage; but he knew nothing of either of these circumstances of his own knowledge. Some other witnesses were then examined, particularly Mrs. Philips, the widow of Mr. Amis, the clergyman who was said to have performed the ceremony; she identified an entry of the marrage, which was shown her, as having been written, at the request of the prisoner and Mr. Merril, by her late husband in her presence, in the year 1759. Their lordships met again on Monday, when the prisoner read a defence, stating that care had been taken by the process in the ecclesiastical

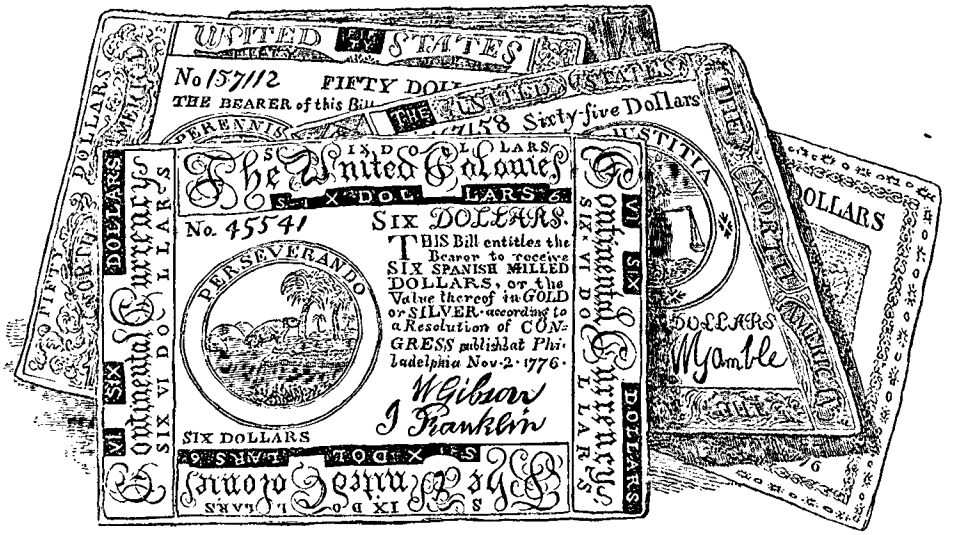
court that no offence should be committed against the law; that if she had not conceived that the sentence of that court was equivalent to a divorce she never would have intermarried with the Duke of Kingston; that she had endeavoured to obtain the best legal advice on the subject, and that the best advice she could obtain authorised her marriage. The witnesses for the defence were then examined. Of these the most important was a Mrs. Pritchard, who deposed that the witness Anne Cradock had frequently declared in her hearing that she expected a considerable fortune in case the trial should go against the duchess, and that the said Anne Cradock had at various times confessed she did not hear a syllable of the marriage ceremony performed in Lainston Church. The solicitor-general replied, simply stating the leading facts of the case, and, without enlarging on the charge, left their lordships to decide. The Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament, and when they returned to the Hall the lord high steward put to each lord the following question:—"How says your lordship? Is the lady at the bar guilty of the felony whereof she stands indicted, or not guilty?" The numbers having been counted, the prisoner was called to the bar, and informed by the lord high steward that the peers had, by their suffrages, pronounced her to be GUILTY.* She then claimed the privilege of her peerage. Thurlow, as attorney-general, attempted to prove that, although peers were by statute exempt from corporal punishment for clergyable offences, yet peeresses had no title to the same exemption. Their lordships adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament to debate on this matter. On their return the prisoner was again called to the bar, and the lord high steward announced it to be the sense of the House that she should be allowed the privilege she had claimed. In consequence no corporal punishment could be inflicted, and she was discharged on paying her fees.*

The minds of ministers were more cheerful at the end of the session than they had been at the beginning, for their confidence in the army and navy was great, and good news had been received from Canada.

Congress had voted nine regiments, including one to be raised in that colony, for the service of Canada, and to all appearance were indulging in sanguine hopes of annexing that country to their union. General Schuyler, who remained at Ticonderoga, was ordered to prepare a number of batteaux to transport the troops down the lakes and the Sorel to the scene of action. Just at this moment intelligence was received of the death of Montgomery and the precarious situation of Arnold. The congress increased their exertions, did all they could to hasten their reinforcements, and urged the provincial conventions to collect all the coined

* The verdict was unanimous: the Duke of Newcastle alone qualified his opinion by answering, "Guilty erroneously, but not intentionally."

* This sentence, however, did not deprive her of the benefit of the will made in her favour by the late Duke of Kingston, which the Court of King's Bench fully confirmed by a sentence pronounced on the 14th of April, 1780, when the lady was styled Countess Dowager of Bristol, the Earl Augustus John having died in 1779. She herself died abroad in 1788.



SPECIMENS OF AMERICAN PAPER DOLLARS
From Captain Anburey's Narrative of the American War. 1789.

money they could for the use of the Canadian army. As they hoped more from the connivance and good-will of the French Canadians than from their own arms, they adopted the resolution of engaging to make compensation, at some future period, for everything their army had taken from the Canadians, and for all the mischief they might have caused them since the beginning of the invasion. The greatest difficulty was, however, experienced in procuring men and specie; nor was it easy for men to march in that climate in the dead of winter, when the lakes and rivers were frozen and the ground covered with ice and snow. From the 1st of January to the 1st of March very few arrived at Arnold's blockading camp; but the weather then began to open, and by the 1st of April the force in Canada was raised to 1800 men. But an enemy they had not counted upon instantly made its attacks and thinned their ranks:—this was the small-pox, which, in spite of orders to the contrary, was propagated by inoculation.* As coined money did not arrive, Arnold issued a proclamation making the paper-money of congress current, under promise of redeeming it with gold and silver in four months, and threatening with destruction all such persons as should dare refuse this paper in exchange for their commodities or labour. The French Canadians had no faith either in the paper or in Arnold's promises; and his attempts to obtain credit by force only insured him hatred and vengeance. The troops helped themselves to what they wanted: they told the Canadians that they were come to liberate them from tyranny and oppression; but the Canadians did not understand this logic, and thought that they had come only to plunder them. To increase these sentiments of hearty hatred, the New Englanders laughed at the Catholic church ceremonies and insulted some of the priests, who, as a body, had been firm in their affection to the British government, or at least in their hostility to the invaders. In this state of things, and with the certainty that Quebec would be relieved by reinforcements from England as soon as the St. Lawrence should become navigable, Arnold again set up his contemptible battery before the walls of the capital of Canada; but, so far from making any impression, he could scarcely keep his guns in their places; and when, on the 1st of April, General Wooster arrived as his superior in command, he took offence, and retired to Montreal to assume a separate command there. He was scarcely gone when many of the Americans left the army and returned home, stating that the time for which they had engaged was expired. General Thomas, who was appointed to the supreme command, did not arrive till the 1st of May. The force then amounted, numerically, to about 2000 men, but many of these were not effective, and many more were looking homeward. The magazines, it is said, were almost void of provisions and insufficiently supplied with gunpowder. To complete Thomas's dilemma he saw the river beginning to open below, and heard that English ships of war, which could not fail to deprive him of the use of the river, were every day expected. On the 5th of May he called a council of war, which unanimously resolved not only that there was no hope of taking Quebec, but that there was no hope of saving themselves except by an immediate retreat! Thomas, therefore, began to remove the sick to the Three Rivers, and to embark his artillery and stores in boats and canoes. On the following morning, before these operations were completed, three English ships, which had forced their way through the ice with great difficulty and danger, arrived before Quebec. These vessels were hailed with transports of joy by the garrison:* they instantly threw on shore two companies of the 29th regiment, about 100 marines, and a few sailors. The Americans, who had thrown up no kind of entrenchment, and who were already divided into different companies and occupations, began to fly without waiting to receive a shot. General Carleton then sallied out upon them with nearly all his

General Carleton.
From a London Print dated 1782.

little force and with six field-pieces; but the enemy retreated so fast up the river that all he could do was to take their artillery and stores, about a hundred loiterers, and nearly all their sick, who had been left behind in the panic. Every possible care has been taken to give a different colour to this affair; but, words and varnish apart, it was, on the part of the Americans, a complete *débâcle*. Many of them were found, afterwards, concealed and starving in the neighbouring woods. Sick, wounded, and prisoners were all treated with great humanity.† The rest of the fugitive army con-

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

* They were the 'Isis,' 50 guns; the 'Surprize,' 28; and the 'Martin' sloop of 14 guns, under the command of Sir Charles Douglas.

† On the 10th of May Carleton issued the following humane proclamation:—"Whereas I am informed that many of his majesty's deluded subjects of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods

trived to cross the St. Lawrence at a safer place, and to form at the forts of Chamblée and St. John on the Sorel; but General Thomas's career was run, and he died there of the small-pox. On the 11th of May, five days after the Americans began their flight from Quebec, Captain Forster, who commanded the post of Oswagatchie, by command of General Carleton, began an expedition against the place called the Cedars, about thirty miles to the westward of Montreal on the river St. Lawrence, and about a mile from the great cascade. At this place, which is naturally very strong, the Americans had thrown up some works. All the force Forster had with him consisted of two lieutenants, thirty-eight privates, ten volunteers, and about one hundred and twenty Indians; but on his way he was joined by other red men. and when, at ten o'clock at night on the 17th of May, he landed at Point au Diable, within six miles of the Cedars, the Americans were wholly ignorant of his coming. The secret movement, indeed, was conducted with unusual skill, or with very unusual success, for, on the morrow, Forster took possession of a thick wood within a mile of the fort, and made all his arrangements without being either seen or heard of by the garrison. Having detached a body of Indians to cut off all communication with the island of Montreal, these Indians, on their march, fell in with a detachment of the garrison who were returning with provisions; and this was the first intelligence they received of Captain Forster's approach. The men carrying the provisions fled into the fort. Forster then sent a flag of truce to summon the Americans to surrender. Major Butterfield, who commanded in the fort, requested four hours for consideration, and *sent away to Montreal to obtain reinforcements.* Forster refused the delay proposed, and sent a second flag to tell the Americans that the Indians serving with him were at present perfectly under his command, as none of their blood had been spilt; but that, if the fort did not surrender, and any of the Indians should be killed, he could not answer for the consequences to the garrison. Intimidated by this prospect of Indian massacre, Butterfield agreed to surrender on condition of being allowed to retire to Montreal. Forster rejected this condition, and in the evening threw up a redoubt at the edge of the wood within five hundred yards of the fort. On the following morning he advanced still nearer, and began a heavy fire from musketry, having *no artillery* with him. Before the hour of noon Butterfield surrendered upon no other condition than preservation of life and baggage for himself and troops. The number of prisoners thus taken amounted to 390. The only death on our side was one Indian; but this single death was enough to rouse the fierce passions of the red men. On the 20th of May, the day after the surrender of the Cedars, Forster, being informed that a party of the enemy, unapprised of what had happened, were marching from another point to succour the fort, ordered 100 Indians to put themselves in ambush in the woods on both sides of the road through which this party must pass. The manœuvre succeeded completely, and after a short conflict, in which three or four Indians were wounded, the Americans laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. The red men brought them to the front of the fort, and there prepared to put them to death, ceremoniously, in atonement of the blood of their tribe which had been shed. With extreme difficulty Captain Forster induced the savages to forego their ancient and revered customs, and accept of presents instead. From the Cedars Forster advanced to Vaudreuil, about six miles to the northward; but, learning that Arnold had taken post at Lashine, nine miles from Montreal, he turned in that direction with the intention of dislodging him. When within three miles of Lashine, Forster was informed that the number of the enemy already amounted to 600, and that Arnold was likely to be reinforced in the course of a few hours. Forster, therefore, thought it prudent to retire to Vaudreuil, and Arnold, two days after, followed him up the river with the intention of attacking him. Forster seems to have disposed of his little force with very considerable skill; and, after making several attempts to force his position, Arnold gave up the attempt in despair, and returned to St. Anne's, on the island of Montreal. Finding himself much encumbered by the number of his prisoners, Forster judged it expedient to enter into an exchange with Arnold, who readily assented to a cartel. Congress afterwards broke this cartel on a pretence that Forster had behaved in a cruel and inhuman manner towards the American prisoners he had taken at the Cedars. This accusation is refuted by respectable names and by documents, and also by a standing order of Carleton to all the officers in Canada to behave with mildness and humanity in all cases whatsoever, and notwithstanding any provocations on the part of the Americans, who, as yet, were far too raw, fierce, and unruly to respect the ordinary rules of war. But the congress went further still, demanding that Captain Forster should be delivered up to them as guilty of murder, &c. General Carleton being now reinforced by more troops from England, repaired to Three Rivers, about midway between Quebec and Montreal, and about fifty miles from the American head-quarters on the Sorel. Upon the death of Thomas, General Sullivan took the command of the revolutionists, who were again reinforced from Lake Champlain and the country in their rear. Fancying that Carleton had only sent a detachment to the Three Rivers, Sullivan sent General Thompson and

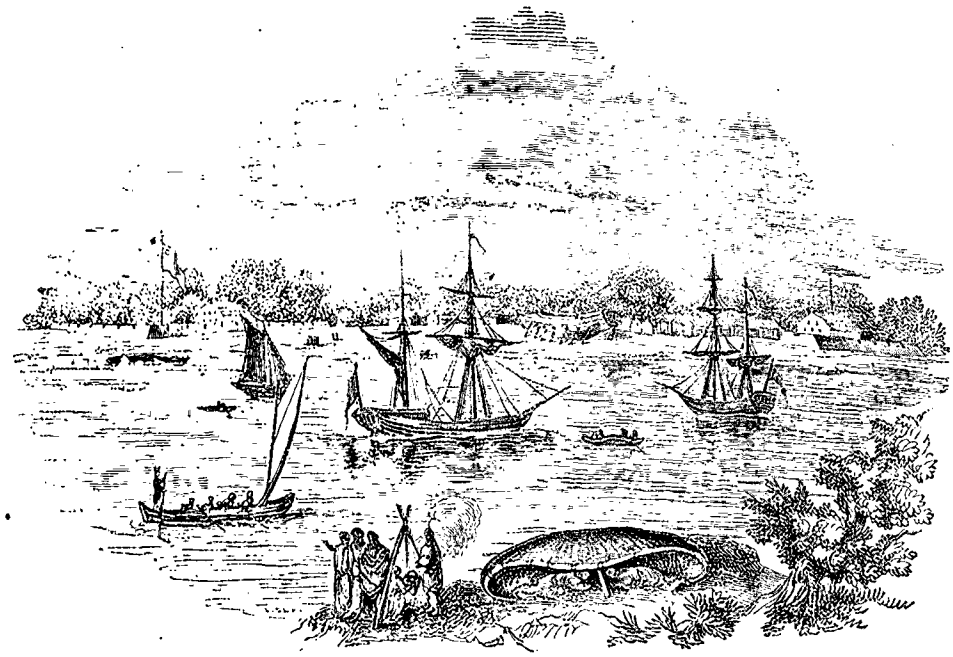
and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them: all reasonable expenses which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the receiver-general. And, lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them that, as soon as their health is restored, they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces."

Colonel St. Clair from the mouth of the Sorel to cross the St. Lawrence and make a night attack on the English position. Thompson and St. Clair, with a force variously stated at from 1400 to 1800 men, got across the broad river though it was watched by armed vessels; but they were wrong in their reckoning as to time, and day dawned before they got near Three Rivers. As soon as they were seen the alarm was given all along the bank, a fire was opened upon them from some ships, and, landing from their boats, they ran in their confusion into a broad morass almost entirely surrounded by rivers and creeks, where they were soon attacked by General Fraser in front, while General Nesbit got into their rear, so as completely to cut off their retreat to their boats, and Major Grant took possession of a bridge, which rendered their escape over the river Des Loups impracticable. The Americans, however, formed, advanced to the charge with great spirit, and made a furious attack. But they were repulsed by Fraser with a terrible loss in killed and wounded; and their commander, General Thompson, with Colonel Irvine and about 200 men, was taken prisoner. They then fell back in extreme disorder across a bog into a wood on their left, which was full of deep swamps. Through some mistake Major Grant was withdrawn from the bridge he had guarded, and on the following day Colonel Allen, who afterwards forsook their cause and joined the king's army, led the mass of the Americans over this bridge and down to their boats, which—strange to say!—had neither been seized nor destroyed by the British. Now, however, Sir Guy Carleton embarked the mass of his forces, and pursued them by water. But, before he got to the mouth of the Sorel, Sullivan, having landed what remained of Thompson and St. Clair's detachment on the left bank of that river, was in full march for Fort Chamblée. Instead of following up the river Sorel, Carleton came to anchor at its mouth, where he remained one or two days. His conduct in this matter has been severely criticised. "It was generally believed," says Stedman, "that if, instead of coming to anchor, General Carleton had continued the pursuit, which he might have done, as the wind was as favourable as it could possibly be, he would undoubtedly have arrived at Chamblée ten or twelve hours before General Sullivan, who was encumbered with cannon and baggage. In this case Sullivan would have been compelled to lay down his arms; General Arnold would have been intercepted at Montreal; and Ticonderoga, also, would have been taken, as no troops were now stationed there for its defence." But it possibly might be said in defence of the English general, that he was anxious for the country in his rear, where Arnold still had the semblance of an army on foot, and where some of the Canadians seemed wavering—that the forts on the river presented a formidable obstacle to shipping—that the navigation of the Sorel was in many places difficult, and in some altogether impracticable to ships—that fresh reinforcements might have arrived at Chamblée—and, finally, that the greatest precaution was necessary against an enemy who had given signal proofs of courage, address, and rapidity. Sir Guy Carleton recrossed the St. Lawrence to look after Arnold, and ordered General Burgoyne, who had arrived with the last reinforcements from England, to proceed up the river Sorel in pursuit of Sullivan, but giving him strict orders not to risk an engagement until he should be sustained by another column on his right. Arnold, too glad to escape with the remnant of his force from a country which he had reached with such incredible pain, embarked his men, crossed over at Long Isle, and joined Sullivan at Fort St. John, on the Sorel. Chamblée was abandoned and burned by the retreating Americans. Sullivan proposed defending Fort St. John, but his troops, completely disheartened, refused to stand by him, and the remnant of Arnold's force was not in better heart. The whole army was in a state of total insubordination. The two American generals therefore set fire to St. John's and continued their retreat up the river, closely followed by Burgoyne, who took possession of the different posts the Americans had occupied almost immediately after they were evacuated. But when Burgoyne reached the head of the Sorel, and saw the lake beyond it well supplied with armed vessels, which the Americans had taken or built, he desisted from his pursuit, having no vessels proper for the navigation of those waters. Sullivan and Arnold threw themselves upon the Isle aux Noix, a low unhealthy flat, where many of their men perished of fever. Canada was thus entirely freed from American arms; and the most energetic efforts were now making there for the recovery of Ticonderoga and the dominion of lakes Champlain and St. George.*

But, in the mean time, nothing but disgrace had attended our main army at Boston. During the winter it had suffered many hardships and privations, but the worst suffering of all was that continued state of inactivity and torpor which commenced with the arrival of Gage, and which never terminated till the departure of Howe.† The Americans in the blockading army had also undergone many miseries; but Washington succeeded in keeping up their flagging spirits, which were further revived from time to time by the arrival of provision waggons, ammunition, artillery, and reinforcements. In the course of the month of De-

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.—Ramsay.—Burke, in Annual Register.

† Notwithstanding the enormous expenses incurred for the support of this army, and the never-ending accounts of our commissaries and contractors, they had not even had a little fresh meat and vegetables to give to the sick and the wounded! Hence, and from the hot weather, a terrible increase of deaths. Captain Harris—afterwards General Lord Harris—was among the sufferers. "He had been dangerously wounded, on the head, in the American redoubt on Bunker's Hill, and had owed his life to the humanity, gallantry, and presence of mind of the late Marquess of Hastings, then Lord Rawdon, and a young lieutenant in Harris's company. Though an officer, and an admired one, Harris could scarcely procure anything but salt pork and salt beef. The condition of the wounded privates he describes as most deplorable.—*Letters, in the Life and Services of General Lord Harris, by the Right Hon. S. R. Lushington.*



ST. JOHN'S, ON THE SOREL.
From a Drawing by Captain Anburey, who served at its capture in 1776.

cember they made several advances on the besieged, and took almost undisputed possession of several important positions. Thus, Ploughed Hill, Cobble Hill, and Lechemere's Point were successively occupied and fortified: their approaches were carried within half a mile of the British works on Bunker's Hill, and their guns drove the British floating batteries from some of their stations, and protected other works which they constructed themselves. Congress recommended an assault upon Boston immediately, but Washington very wisely asked for more time to complete his approaches and make his preparations. He trusted that congress would do him the justice to believe that imperative circumstances, and not inclination on his part, occasioned the delay.* In the month of January a council of war was held in the American camp, which was attended by several members of congress; and it was resolved, "that a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the *ministerial* troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favourable opportunity should offer." And it was further put in the shape of an advice, "that thirteen regiments of militia should be asked for from Massachusetts and the neighbouring colonies, in order to put the army in a condition to make the attempt:" The colonists were prompt in compliance, and the militia regiments assembled in the lines on the 1st and 2nd of February. But still Washington was obliged to wait, for the season just then was exceedingly mild, and he wanted ice to enable him to pass the river. "No man upon earth," said he, "wishes to destroy the nest in Boston more than I do; no person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall to accomplish it, if it shall be thought advisable; but if we have no powder to bombard with, nor ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been all the year; we shall be in a worse, as their works are stronger." About the middle of February the cold became intense, and the ice sufficiently strong to bear the troops. A council of war was then called to consider of an immediate assault upon Boston, Boston Neck, and Bunker's Hill; and they agreed almost unanimously that the attempt was too hazardous. At the end of February various appearances among the British troops seemed to indicate an intention of evacuating Boston, and Washington had received intelligence that a part of the British force there was expected at New York. General Howe, and the ministry at home, indeed, had become convinced by this time that there was no use in his staying where he was; but he and they ought to have reflected on the unfavourable impressions and fatal effect of being driven out by the Americans as one beaten and conquered, and, having staid there so long, he ought to have guarded against the particular line of attack which Washington was now meditating.* He ought to have been taught a lesson by the affair of Bunker's Hill—and yet there was

* Marshall, Life of Washington.—Washington's own Letters.

* Captain Harris, like a sensible man, had said, eight months before, that there could be no use staying in Boston, and that the proper way of prosecuting the war was by our navy and blockade—as we have seen recommended by Lord Barrington. "I have heard,"

another hill, the Heights of Dorchester, which commanded the shipping in the harbour and nearly the whole town, and of this hill he had taken no more care than had been taken of Bunker's Hill. On the 2nd of March the American general, who had received more powder, some bombs, and some heavy pieces of artillery, which had been brought from Ticonderoga and Crown Point, began a heavy bombardment and cannonade on the unfortunate town, and on the British lines, which was repeated on the following night, and still more furiously on the night of the 4th, which is said to have been particularly selected as the eve of the anniversary of the death of Crispus Attucks and the other martyrs, who had fallen in the Boston riots of 1770. On this latter night, as soon as it was dark, and the artillery began to roar, Washington dispatched General Thomas with about 2000 men, an immense quantity of fascines, trusses of hay, and several pieces of artillery, to take possession of the Heights of Dorchester. Thomas, who was followed by 300 labourers, stole across a low isthmus (it might have been swept by English guns) without being perceived, got to the top of the Heights without obstruction, and at day-dawn presented to the British precisely the same sudden spectacle they had witnessed before on Bunker's Hill—a redoubt, a breast-work, and a strongly though hastily fortified position. Before they recovered from their stupor Thomas began to thunder at the town and at the ships of war, which were obliged to shift their anchorage; and all the while his unemployed soldiers worked with the labourers in digging trenches and raising other works to make the Heights of Dorchester still more formidable. General Howe saw that he must either dislodge Thomas or evacuate Boston. He resolved to attempt the former, and detached Lord Percy with 3000 men. These troops, which, to have had any chance of success, ought to have been double or triple the number, embarked in transports, and fell down to the castle in order to proceed thence up the river to a low strip of land at the foot of Dorchester Hill; but—fortunately we should say—a storm rose, and then the retiring tide made it impossible for the ships to approach the destined spot. Lord Percy and his men returned to the harbour, and nothing more could be done that day, but much remained to be suffered from the terrible fire kept up from Washington's lines and from Thomas's new position. And, in the mean while, Washington threw more and more men to the Heights, and the New Englanders, encouraging each other with cries of "Remember the Fifth of March," rushed boldly forward to join and strengthen Thomas. Colonel Mifflin, who had some knowledge of engineering, with an inventive faculty which regular engineers do not always possess, went to the same spot, and by his advice General Thomas ordered his people to chain together, and fill with sand and stones, a number of hogsheads which were to be rolled down the very steep hill upon the English, if they should attempt to march up—an effective contrivance, by which it was calculated whole columns would have been swept off at once. The storm continued during the night with a tremendous fall of rain, and it had scarcely abated the next morning. Howe, it appears, again talked of clearing the Heights of Dorchester; but the madness of any such attempt was soon made apparent even to his dull comprehension. It is said that, if he had again detached Lord Percy, Washington would have attacked Boston and Boston Neck—in which, however, we believe, he would have been as sure of repulse as Percy must have been. As matters were decided, Washington was left to the much safer operations of bombardment and cannonade, and these he continued without any regard to the buildings of the town. On the 8th of March a flag was sent out from the select men of Boston, acquainting General Washington that it was the intention of the troops to evacuate the place, and that General Howe was disposed to leave the town standing, provided he were allowed to retire without molestation. As this paper was not signed by Howe, Washington took no notice of it officially, but it appears that he instructed some of his people to intimate that the terms, if properly put, might be complied with. On the 10th and 11th, by order of Howe, all the linen and woollen goods in the town were put on board ship. On the 12th and 13th some excesses were committed by some of our soldiers and sailors, who appropriated what they could, and destroyed what they could not hope to carry off. Howe threatened the offenders with death, but in that scene of confusion, irritation, and revenge, the offence could not be wholly prevented. On the 14th strong barricades were erected in the streets leading down to the water side, and proclamation was made by the crier for the inhabitants to keep within their houses. It appears to have been also hinted, both in the town and in Washington's camp, that, if any attempt were made to hinder the embarkation, fire would be set to Boston, and everything in it destroyed. But no interruption was offered or attempted—the Americans thought it triumph enough to see him gone. In the course of the 15th and 16th, Howe, who would not condescend to any direct communication with Washington, embarked his luggage and a good part of his men, and by the morning of the 17th he got all that the ships could hold and carry safely on board, and at about 10 o'clock in the morning the squadron weighed anchor and sailed away. Beside his army he was obliged to carry away with him about 2000 American tories or royalists, who preferred running any chance of danger to remaining in the town at the mercy of their own countrymen of the opposite party. He left behind him, for

said he, "that you are determined to withdraw all troops from the colonies, and carry on the war by sea only. This appears the only possible way of distressing them, as we can cut off every intercourse with other nations, and, by that means, bring them to reason, at a much smaller expense than it can possibly be effected by land."—*Letter in Lushington's Life of General Lord Harris.*

want of room in the ships, 250 pieces of cannon, half of which were serviceable, 4 large mortars, 150 horses, 25,000 bushels of wheat, and a quantity of barley, oats, and other provisions, of which Washington's army stood greatly in want. He also left a considerable quantity of ammunition which ought to have been destroyed. His force, at the moment of the evacuation, did not much exceed 7000 men, while Washington must have had from 25,000 to 30,000 men, counting regulars, militia, volunteer companies, and all. To complete all the woeful blunders which had been committed, Howe, in sailing away, left no cruiser in Boston Bay to warn the ships expected from England that the place was no longer in our possession; and a few days after several of our store-ships sailed right into the harbour, and fell into the hands of the Americans before they discovered that George Washington and not King George was master of Boston. One of these ships alone—the Hope—had on board 1500 barrels of gunpowder besides carbines, bayonets, gun-carriages, and all sorts of tools necessary for the army and artillery. In appropriating this much-wanted supply the jubilant New Englanders said it was the gift of providence, whose doings were marvellous in their eyes! But still worse happened in consequence of Howe's unpardonable negligence. Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, with 700 men fresh from England, ran right into Boston harbour, not knowing but that the place was still in our hands. He was taken of course, and became in the hands of the Americans a subject for severe and brutal retaliation. Before entering Boston, Washington, fancying that Howe intended to proceed with his whole force to New York, detached a considerable part of his army in that direction, with orders to march as quick as possible; and he soon sent the rest of his army by divisions to the same province. By the 14th of April Washington collected the whole army in the neighbourhood of New York. The revolutionary party, with not so much as a single tory to disturb their unanimity, remained in peaceful possession of Boston; and congress passed a vote of thanks to Washington and his army "for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston," and directed a gold medal to be struck in commemoration.*

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Ann. Regist.—Marshall, Life of Washington.

MEDAL STRUCK BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO COMMEMORATE THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON BY THE BRITISH TROOPS. Drawn from a Specimen in the Collection of Mr. Hawkins, British Museum.

Instead of proceeding to New York, Howe had sailed to the eastward for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where he arrived soon and safely.

Earlier in the year than these events, signal ill success had attended the efforts of the government party in North Carolina. Governor Martin, from on board the ship to which he had been driven, contrived to collect a body of Highlanders who had but recently emigrated to America, and another body of resolute unruly men called "Regulators" or Squatters, who led a wandering life in the back-woods and outskirts of the colony. Martin gave the command of these two bodies to colonels MacDonald and MacLeod, who set up the king's standard in North Carolina, and summoned all men to repair to it. They were promised the assistance of regular troops that were to be landed at Wilmington. A considerable number of the inhabitants in the counties of Orange and Chatham, who were only half-reclaimed Regulators, also agreed to act in concert with the Highlanders; and a regular council was formed of some of the leaders of the back-countrymen and the chiefs of the Highlanders. But General Clinton and the regular troops expected to

co-operate did not arrive; and when, in the month of February, the loyalists embodied themselves at Cross Creek and attempted to open their way to Wilmington, they were circumvented by a superior insurgent force, decoyed into a miserable swamp, foiled, and beaten. MacLeod * and most of the Highlanders were made prisoners; but the Regulators, being better woodsmen, escaped for the most part and returned to their old hunter life in the back country. No second attempt could be made to erect the royal standard in the Carolinas until the arrival of a force from England. At last, on the 3rd of May, Lord Cornwallis, with seven regiments of infantry, arrived on that coast in a squadron of transports, convoyed by Sir Peter Parker; and almost immediately after General Clinton arrived at Cape Fear and took the chief command of the troops. Clinton's instructions were to endeavour by proclamations and other means to induce the Carolinas to return to their allegiance; to inform himself accurately of the temper and disposition of those provinces; and, if he found the royalists numerous enough and bold enough to take up arms, he was to leave a part of the forces there to assist them, and to repair with the rest of the troops to New York to meet the commander-in-chief, General Howe, who was to leave Halifax and be at New York some time in June. But Clinton, who might have changed the whole aspect of affairs if he had been there with anything like a force *three* or *four* months earlier, when the Highlanders and Regulators were up in arms, now found no encouragement, and no hopes of a co-operation. Tired of doing nothing, he and Parker resolved to do more than was in their commission, and, sailing away from Cape Fear, they ran down to Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, to capture or destroy that thriving town, whose trade supplied the two colonies with the nerves of war. On the 4th of June they arrived off Charleston and took possession of Long Island. There they found willing royalists, but they had all been disarmed by the revolutionary party in *the preceding month of January!* But there was another island, where, instead of disarmed royalists, there were armed insurgents and tremendous batteries; and this island defended Charleston harbour, from which it was distant about half a mile; and, as a sad addition to Sullivan Island—such was the name of the fatal place—there was a projecting point of land to the northward, called Hadrell's Point, which almost touched the island, and which was now united to it by a bridge of boats, and Lee, late an English colonel, but now an American general, the rival of Washington, who had been for months watching Clinton's desultory movements, and following him from province to province,† was encamped on that projecting point, with a force of 2500 regulars, about 3000 militia, and some artillery. Notwithstanding these formidable and unexpected appearances Clinton persevered in his design: he constructed on Long Island two batteries, to answer those of the enemy, and to co-operate with the floating batteries destined to cover the landing of the troops on Sullivan Island. On the 28th of June, at half past ten in the morning, Sir Peter Parker, in the Bristol, made the signal for action. His fleet, consisting of the Bristol, of 50 guns, the Experiment, of 50 guns, and the Active, Solebay, Actaeon, Syren, and Sphynx, 28-gun frigates, the Thunder bomb, and the Friendship, an armed ship of 24 guns, soon came to anchor, with springs upon their cables, in front of the American fort, and opened a tremendous fire upon it. But misfortunes began early—no soundings had been taken, neither had the ground on the island been surveyed—three of the frigates got aground! Two hove off, but the third stuck fast, and became of little or no service. As soon as the fleet began firing, Clinton's batteries on Long Island opened, and about the hour of noon the 15th regiment and all the light infantry and grenadiers were embarked in boats in the rear of some floating batteries, armed boats, and four small craft, which had been used as tenders to the fleet. Scarcely, however, had the detachment left the beach when they were ordered to disembark, and return to their encampment on Long Island. In the mean time the ships, left to themselves, continued an unremitting fire upon the fort, to which the Americans responded with equal steadiness and alacrity. Between one and two o'clock the American fire seemed to slacken; but it was only through want of ammunition, and, as soon as a supply was obtained from General Lee in the rear of the fort, it was renewed as vigorously as before, and never ceased till nine or ten o'clock at night. Burke has exerted his eloquence in describing this day of carnage. "Whilst the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the firmness of the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort could not fail of calling for the respect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave seamen of Britain. In the midst of that dreadful roar of artillery, they stuck with the greatest constancy and firmness to their guns; fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn to

* Macdonald, on account of sickness, was absent.

† Clinton had been at New York, in the Jerseys, on the coast of Georgia, and in other places—in nearly all *accessible* places where there were royalists. He entertained good hopes of Georgia; but the revolutionary party neglected no means of preserving their ascendancy. In the month of June the committee of safety of Savannah, the capital of Georgia, passed the following strong resolutions:—"That the houses in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets thereto belonging, together with the shipping now in our port, the property, or appertaining to the friends of America, who have associated and appeared, or who shall appear, in the present alarm, to defend the same, and also the houses of widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith appraised:—That it be considered as a defection from the cause of America, and a desertion of property, in such persons who have and shall leave the town of Savannah, or the hamlets thereto belonging, during the present alarm; and such persons shall be precluded from any support or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification:—That it be incumbent upon the friends of America in this province to defend the metropolis, as long as the same shall be tenable:—That rather than the same shall be held and occupied by our enemies, or the shipping now in the port of Savannah taken and employed by them, that the same shall be burnt and destroyed:—That orders shall be issued to the commanding officer, directing him to have the foregoing resolutions put in execution."

pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, nor never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience as rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still with a noble obstinacy disdained to quit his duty, until, his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a

SIR PETER PARKER.
From a Painting by Valentine Green.

condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness which have seldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dressed. Nor did Captain Scott, of the Experiment, miss his share of the danger or glory, who, besides the loss of an arm, received so many other wounds that his life was at first despaired of."* The fire of the British ships did not produce all the effect which had been expected, for the fortifications were far stronger than had been fancied, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were ingeniously composed of palm trees, earth, and other substances, and the merlons were of unusual thickness. During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict the seamen looked frequently to the eastward, still expecting to see the land forces advance from Long Island, drive Lee from his entrenchment at Hadrell's Point, and come up to second the attack upon the fort. When the firing ceased, in the darkness of night, the Bristol and Experiment were left almost wrecks upon the water; and, when they counted their killed and wounded, they were found to be 111 on board the Bristol, and 79 on board the Experiment. The frigates had not suffered a proportional loss, but two of them were sadly cut up in hull and rigging. Indeed the Americans expected that most of the ships would be unable to pass the bar. On the following morning demonstrations were made of renewing the attack; the light infantry, grenadiers, and the 15th regiment were again embarked; but they were almost immediately after ordered to disembark, and no further attempt was made. As the Actæon frigate still stuck fast where she had grounded, the commodore ordered her commander to remove his crew, with all the stores he could, and set fire to her; and she was burnt to the water's edge, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Americans. The colonists were greatly elated by this success, and the English somewhat divided in opinion as to the real causes of their failure. As usual when sailors and soldiers are joined in an unsuccessful service, the popular disposition was to throw all the blame on the latter; but a land officer,* who, if not actually engaged at Sullivan Island, had the best means of obtaining information, says that some of the ships kept at too great a distance—that they might have gone much nearer, and have done great execution, by pouring broadsides into the fort†—that Sir Henry Clinton had been greatly deceived in his information—that a passage pointed out to him as fordable in the rear of the fort was not passable, as the general and several of his officers, after wading up to their shoulders, and finding the water still increasing in depth, were compelled to return—that the ground on which the fort stood was insulated by a broad and deep trench cut right across the island, and commanded by the guns of Fort Sullivan—that the boats provided for carrying the army and artillery let in the water so fast, that they were near sinking, and the officers and artillerymen in them had a narrow escape from drowning. Burke, who almost invariably procured his information from good quarters, says that the bomb-vessel did not do all the service which was expected, either owing to some fault of construction, or a wrong choice of distance. The Americans accounted for their victory by the strength of the fort, the care they had taken to secure its approaches, and the presence of Lee in force on the projecting point opposite the island. Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received universal applause from his countrymen for the great courage and conduct he had displayed; the garrison also received their share of praise, and a serjeant was publicly distinguished by the present of a sword from the president of the colony. Ge-

* Ann. Regist.

* Stedman.

† If they could have destroyed the bridge of boats, over which the Americans received their powder, &c., the garrison in the fort must have surrendered. It appears that the ships early in the action attempted this, and failed, partly through want of water, and partly through the fire of Lee's column.

neral Clinton with the troops set sail on the 21st, to join General Howe. He was escorted by the Solbay frigate, but the rest of the fleet was under the necessity of remaining some time at Long Island to refit.*

In Virginia the expelled governor, Lord Dunmore, made a last effort to retrieve the king's affairs. With the consent of General Howe he dispatched Mr. Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, to induce the people in the back and inland parts of Virginia to take up arms for government, and to invite several of the Indian tribes to join them. Connelly had previously traversed the whole country from Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio, and had negotiated a treaty with the Indians on that river, the inveterate enemies of the Virginians. He was now instructed to collect as many men as he could, and proceed with them to Pittsburg, behind the Alleghany mountains, and at a proper moment he was to cross those mountains, and penetrate into the heart of Virginia:—he was then to leave a garrison at Fort Cumberland, descend the Potomac with the rest of his forces, and seize upon Alexandria, where Lord Dunmore was to join him, with some ships, and as many people as he could collect. In completion of this plan strong lines, with entrenchments and fortifications, were to be drawn across the country, so as to separate the northern from the southern colonies. Connelly was proceeding with sanguine hopes of success, and had reached the back settlements, when he was recognised by a tradesman to whom he was known, and who instantly denounced him to the nearest of the revolutionary committees. This committee of safety seized Connelly, took his papers from him, and transmitted them to congress, who ordered him to be sent prisoner to Philadelphia. There he was put in irons, and otherwise treated with great severity. The scheme was developed and overthrown by his papers, and thus ended Lord Dunmore's last effort.†

In the mean while the revolution had been proceeding at an accelerated pace, and the insurgents, who could no longer conceal anything or derive any benefit from concealment, had ventured to announce the full extent of their design. On the 15th of May the continental congress sitting at Philadelphia resolved, "That it should be recommended to all the various assemblies and conventions in the United States of America, where no form of government adequate to the exigencies of affairs had yet been adopted, to establish such a constitution as should be most conducive to the public welfare and security. This vote was immediately published in the newspapers, with a preamble stating that, as his Britannic majesty had, with the concurrence of his parliament, excluded the inhabitants of the colonies from his protection, it became necessary and expedient to suppress and abolish the power and constitution which had been derived from that source. All this was virtually a declaration of independence. When the mask was off, several individuals, including some who had worn it the longest, put in rival claims for the honour of being the first to have originated the great idea. We cannot enter into the discussion of these rival claims; but several writers, Americans by birth and feeling, and popular with Americans, seem confidently to confer the glory on Benjamin Franklin, quoting words and sentences used by that philosopher many months before, when he was still in England, and employing all his art to make the Earl of Chatham and the other great orators of opposition as deaf as adders to the ministerial cry that he and his countrymen were aiming at nothing less than independence. Mr. Josiah Quincy, writing from London in the month of November, 1774, (about two months before the philosopher went down to Hayes to cajole our great orator, and make Chatham believe that the famous conciliatory bill he was then preparing would be a good basis for negotiation, as all that was wanting was a redress of grievances, &c.) says, "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul. *His ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipation.* He is explicit and bold on the subject." And the same close friend of the philosopher further says, under the same date (November, 1774), that he (Franklin) "explicitly and in so many words said that New England only would hold out for ages against this country (Old England), and, if they were firm and united, in *seven* years would conquer."* The same American writers seem very generally disposed to admit that any premature disclosure of this extreme intention would have had a very injurious effect upon the temper of the American people; and they universally agree that even at the last moment it was necessary, except in the province of Massachusetts, to develop the plan of a total separation from the mother-country by degrees, and to take great pains in preparing the popular mind for its reception. And they also admit that it was an English pen that rendered the most effective service in this particular, and that Thomas Paine, the well-known author of the "Rights of Man" and the "Age of Reason," contributed more than any man to convert the people to the doctrine of independence. Paine, originally a Quaker and staymaker of Thetford, in Norfolk, then an exciseman, then an assistant at a school, then an exciseman again, made his abilities known in 1772, by publishing a pamphlet. This pamphlet† recommended him to the notice of Franklin,

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ann. Reg.—Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Schomberg, Naval Chronology.—Carlo Botta, Storia della Guerra Americana.—Marshall, Life of Washington.—Letters of General Lee.

† Stedman

* Journal and Letters, in Memoirs of Josiah Quincy.—Jared Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris.*—Gordon, who wrote his History of the American War far more from American than English accounts and documents, and who was copiously furnished by the American leaders with papers, both manuscript and printed, also gave the extracts from Quincy's Journal, which we have quoted in the text, many years before they were quoted by the American biographers.

† It was neither very political nor very polemical—it was all about excisemen, and was entitled "The Case of the Officers of Excise; with Remarks on the Qualifications of Officers, and on the numerous

and Franklin recommended the poor author to go and try his fortune in America. Paine took the advice, and, having settled at Philadelphia in 1774, he became a contributor to newspapers and other periodical works, and in January, 1775, editor of the "Philadelphia Magazine." In the month of January in the present year, 1776, he brought out his famous political pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." There were other writers on the same side—of course none were tolerated on the other side—but Paine outstripped them all; his pamphlet met with unparalleled success; it was circulated throughout the colonies, and during the winter and spring months it had been a principal study with all classes of Americans. The clear, simple, and vigorous style of the author, the familiarity of his illustrations, and his thorough earnestness were well calculated to make an impression on the popular mind. But "Common Sense" was even admired by persons of more refined taste and more competent judgment. Burke calls it "that celebrated pamphlet which prepared the minds of the people for independence;" and the American annalists and biographers affirm that after its appearance the public mind was rapidly and wonderfully changed. Paine did not long remain unrewarded; the legislature of Pennsylvania voted him 500*l.*; the university of the same province conferred on him the degree of master of arts; and he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, founded by his patron, Franklin. Subsequently he was made clerk to the committee of foreign affairs, and he was consulted by members of government and members of congress as an oracle. He continued to feed the press with matter calculated to keep alive the popular feeling and passion, which he, in a great measure, had called into existence.*

As General Washington and the main body of the American army were now in the city of New York, or in its neighbourhood, the royalists and the moderates were completely crushed in that colony, and the men of movement had everything their own way. And so warm and active were they in the New York convention, that they were among the very first to take into consideration the resolution of the continental congress recommending the organization of a new form of government. Gouverneur Morris put himself at the head of these debates, and advanced a series of facts and arguments to show that disseverance and independence were absolutely necessary, and that the proper time for claiming them had now arrived. At the close of his speech he made a motion for appointing a committee to draw up a notice to the people of the colony, recommending a new election of persons expressly authorised to assemble and form a new government. This motion was opposed, and another substituted and carried, for appointing a committee to take into consideration the resolutions of the continental congress, and to report thereon with all convenient speed. On the 27th of May the committee presented their report. It went the whole length desired, and was in substance as follows:—That the right of granting, or new-modelling, governments, belongs to the people; that the present form of congress and committees originated in the free choice of the people, and was dependent on the people; that this form, instituted under British sovereignty, was necessarily defective; that by the *voluntary* abdication of the late Governor Tryon (*he had fled to save his life*), by the dissolution of the old assembly, and by the unwarrantable hostilities committed by the British fleets and armies, the old form of government was *ipso facto* dissolved, whereby it had become necessary that the people of the colony should institute "a new and regular form of internal government, in exclusion of foreign and external power;" that doubts had arisen as to the authority of this provincial congress to form such a government, which doubts could of right be removed by the people only; that time should be given to the people to remove the above doubts, either by declaring their respective representatives in congress to be invested with the necessary powers, or else by electing another body for the express purpose of establishing this new government; and that an order should be issued by the provincial congress to the several counties of New York, for calling the people together to express their sentiments on the subject by the usual mode of election.* The democratic principle could not go farther; it was not possible to make a clearer enunciation of the great and bold experiment in government about to be tried—of that system which, after sixty-four years, can scarcely be said, yet, to have got beyond its experimental stage.† But the men of the hot south, the impatient Virginians, had preceded the New Yorkers by a few days, and had gone to work in a less round-about manner by appealing to the continental congress instead of to the people. The convention of Virginia had met at Williamsburg on the 6th of May; and on the 15th they took the decisive step of instructing their delegates in the continental congress at Philadelphia to propose to that body an immediate declaration of independence; and, having done this, the convention employed itself in drawing up a declaration of rights,‡

Evils arising to the Revenue from the Insufficiency of the present Salaries."

* Penny Cyclopædia, Art. Thomas Paine.

* Jared Sparks, Life of Gouverneur Morris.

† While our present Monthly Part is passing through the press, the following avowal, equally remarkable in itself and on account of the quarter whence it proceeds, appears in the ablest and most philosophical organ of English radicalism:—"We fear that the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration, the most calamitous that any country unassailed by foreign or domestic war ever endured, have shown that the great experiment of the present constitution of the United States must eventually fail. We trust that it may be succeeded by forms of government more fitted to the increased extent, population, and wealth of the country, less exposed to the influence of party spirit and faction in their wildest and wickedest forms, affording better security to persons and property at home, and rendering collisions with their neighbours less frequent, and capable, when they do occur, of easier adjustment."—*Article on the Seizure of the Caroline, in the Examiner for 21st March*, 1841.

‡ The declaration of rights was to this effect:—1. That all men are born equally free, possessing certain natural rights, of which they cannot by any compact deprive their posterity; 2. That all

and a new constitution for the colonies, as if the independence had already been established. In conformity to the instruction of the convention, Richard Henry Lee, one of the Virginian delegates at Philadelphia, moved, on the 7th day of June, that the congress should forthwith declare—"That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should immediately be taken for *procuring the assistance of foreign powers*, and a confederation be formed to bind the colonies more closely together." The question was adjourned till the next day—Saturday, the 8th of June—when a debate began which only terminated on the following Monday. The length of the debate shows that there was some opposition; but this, it is said, was, in most of the opposers, merely as to *time*, and not to the principle of the measure of independence. Virginia had spoken out, and so had six other colonies; but the other six—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—were as yet silent, and it was deemed expedient to wait awhile for their formal concurrence. The impatience of the revolutionary leaders was, however, too great to suffer any long delay;—they fixed upon the 1st of July as the decisive day, and, meanwhile, they appointed a committee to prepare a draft of the declaration of independence. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, John Adams, of Massachusetts, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, Robert R. Livingston, of New York, and Dr. Franklin, of Pennsylvania. They appointed Jefferson to make

THOMAS JEFFERSON.
From a Painting by G. Stuart.

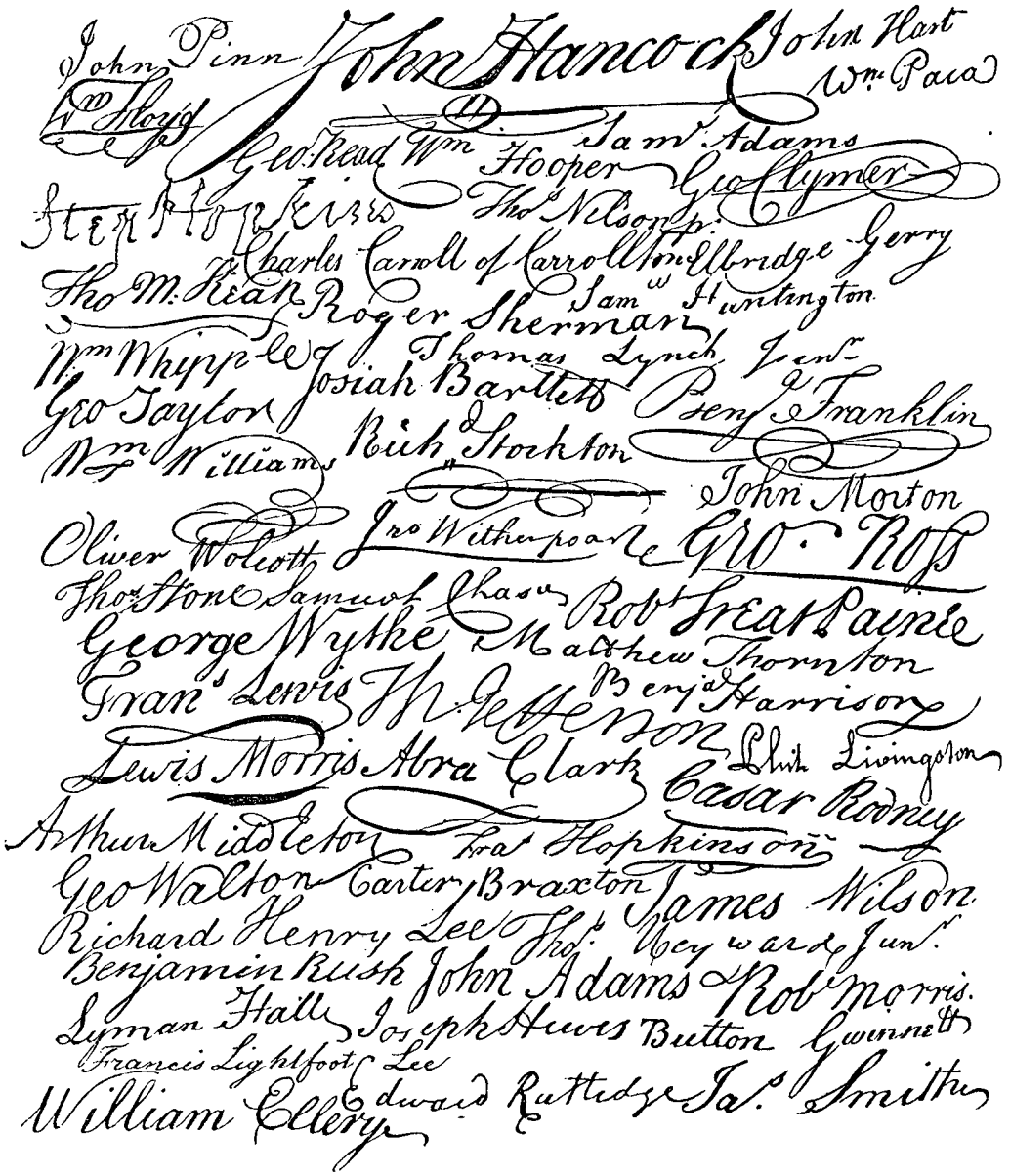
the draught. The young Virginia lawyer soon finished his task, showed it to Franklin and Adams, who made a few alterations, and then submitted it to the whole committee—which whole, as we have seen, consisted of four members besides Jefferson. On the 28th of June the committee reported the declaration to Congress, who, after the reading, ordered it to lie on the table till the 1st of July. Though its friends had certainly not succeeded in obtaining a unanimous and spirited adhesion, they brought on the question in a committee of the whole house on the appointed day, and in the course of that day nine States voted for independence: Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it; the delegates from Delaware were divided in opinion; and the delegates from New York, who had been chosen before Washington drove Howe out of Boston and took possession of New York with his army, begged leave to withdraw, and would not vote at all. On the resolution being reported, the delegates from South Carolina requested an adjournment of the question to the next day, hinting that they might then vote for it for the sake of unanimity, though disapproving of the measure! The adjournment was agreed to. On the following day the South Carolina delegates concurred with the majority; a third delegate arrived from Delaware, and voted for the resolution; the Pennsylvania delegates *were changed that very morning* by some very summary and irregular proceeding of the revolutionary party, and the new ones joined the majority. Thus, as the Americans say, twelve of the thirteen States voted fairly in favour of the declaration of independence; but from the accounts given—and the one we follow is their own—we cannot possibly conceive that the voices were all fairly obtained. New York, however, still remained unassenting. After a debate, *with closed doors*, the convention of that colony, on receiving a letter from their delegates at Philadelphia,* had agreed to a motion made by that flippant young lawyer, Jay, the purport of which was, that, as the people of the colony of New York had not authorised their delegates in congress to declare the colony independent, and nevertheless as recent events required some determination on this matter, it was necessary for the powers of the delegates to be enlarged; and that therefore it ought earnestly to be recommended to the freeholders and other electors, not only to invest the said delegates with the authority required for instituting a new form of government, but also with full power to deliberate and determine on every question whatever, that might concern or affect the interest of the colony, and to conclude upon any measure which to them should appear conducive to the happiness, security, and welfare of the colony. After this long-winded preface, which did not so much as mention the word independence, Jay's motion, still keeping to the indirect form, went on to say that the voters ought also "to instruct or otherwise to inform the said delegates of their sentiments relative to the great question of independence." Gouverneur Morris, another young lawyer, delivered a very long harangue, to

power is vested in the people, from whom it is derived; 3. That they have an unalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish their form of government at pleasure; 4. That the idea of an hereditary first magistrate is unnatural and absurd; and, 5. That no government, independent of, or separated from, the government of Virginia, ought to prevail within the limits of Virginia.

* These delegates had most distinctly expressed that they considered themselves bound *not to vote* on the question of independence!

convince the timid or doubting party that the protection of the mother-country was worth nothing, and that America was strong enough to protect herself. He said—what was perfectly true—that they had already set up a sovereignty of their own, coining money, raising armies, and regulating commerce. "Foreign treaties alone," said he, "remain, and even those you have dabbled in. Georgia you have put under the ban of your empire, and received her upon repentance as a member of the flock. Canada you are now treating with. France and Spain you ought to treat with, and the rest is but a name! . . . . . Some, nay many, persons in America, dislike the word *Independence*. For my own part, I see no reason why *congress* is not full as good a word as *parliament*, and it is a mighty easy matter to please people, when a single sound will effect it." Jay's resolution was agreed to; but the delegates at Philadelphia had not thought their instructions sufficiently clear and specific. In the mean while the English army had arrived at Sandy Hook, in the neighbourhood, and the convention had retired from the city of New York to White Plains. But, encouraged by the presence of the English force, the moderates and loyalists staid away, and, discouraged by the same cause, some of the revolutionary party staid away also; so that there was a very thin attendance at White Plains. On the 8th of July they opened what they called a new provincial congress, to the members of which the freeholders and voters are said to have granted full powers to decide on the subject of independence; but which members appear to have been none other than those who had sat in the last convention. The number was still small; and the legal competency—considering popular election decisive of the point—very questionable indeed. The people of the colony had not been called together, as recommended in the report of the 27th of May; and, since General Howe's landing in the neighbourhood of New York, the vast majority of the population of that city, and of the townships near it, had unequivocally declared for the king. The only authority of the new provincial congress was derived from a minority; and it does not appear that the sense of even the minority was regularly taken in the election of the provincial members, who now undertook to bind the whole colony to the declarations and fortunes of the General Congress. They instantly read and discussed a letter from John Hancock, the president of the continental congress, informing them of all that had passed at Philadelphia; and on the very next day—July the 9th—they resolved that the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring the united colonies free and independent States, were cogent and conclusive; that they fully approved the same, and would at the risk of their lives and fortunes join the other colonies; and that the delegates of their State should be and hereby were authorised to adopt all such measures as they might deem conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America.* This resolution, which was carried *five days after* independence had been proclaimed by congress at Philadelphia, was considered as completing the *voluntary consent* of the thirteen provinces or states. Before being passed, Jefferson's draught of the declaration of independence had been slightly altered in committee. Not to offend the friends of America in England, all the passages were struck out which stigmatised the people, and those retained that stigmatised only the king and government. A clause reprobating the slave trade was also struck out, to avoid giving offence to slave-holding patriots and the slave States generally. But after every alteration several delegates had refused to sign the famous paper. Some of the recusants staid away, but Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, was present, and frankly declared that he would never sign it. The signatures wanting were supplied, months after, by newly chosen delegates. The declaration, nevertheless, went forth to the world as the unanimous act of congress and of the American people. It commenced with asserting that all men were created equal, and that all people had an unalienable right to choose their own government; that the history of the present king of Great Britain had been a history of injuries and usurpations, having for their direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over America. "To prove this," continued the paper, "let facts be submitted to a candid world:" and then came a long array of all the monstrous acts of tyranny, oppression, cruelty, and perfidy of which George III. was said to have been guilty. Many of his sins were omitted for the sake of brevity, but those inserted filled eighteen separate clauses. They were far more numerous than—with all his faults, errors, or obstinacy—a candid world will ever admit; and much too numerous to be inserted here. After the black list, it was stated that a prince, whose character was thus marked by every act which might define a tyrant, was unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Though much softened, there still remained a clause condemnatory of the people of Great Britain. "Nor have we," said the declaration, "been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our com-

* John Alsop, one of the New York delegates at congress, refuse to act under the instruction of the convention. In a spirited letter, he said, "I am compelled to declare that it is against my judgment and inclination. *As long as a door was left open for a reconciliation with Great Britain, upon honourable and just terms*, I was willing and ready to render my country all the service in my power, *and for which purpose I was appointed and sent to this congress*; but as you have, I presume, by your *Declaration*, closed the door of reconciliation, I must beg leave to resign my seat as a delegate from New York."—*Jared Sparks*. The convention, as a matter of course, "*cheerfully accepted*" Alsop's resignation. And yet Jefferson had the effrontery to say and *write*, that the delegates from New York and their constituents also were all favourable to the Declaration of Independence.—See his Autobiographical Memoir.



Fac-similes of the Signatures to the Declaration of Independence, July 4th, 1776.
On a Scale one-fourth less than the Original.

mon kindred to disavow those usurpations which interrupted our connexion and correspondence. But they have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which pronounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce,

and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."*

The framers of this document and such of the American people as went along with them were neither deficient in confidence in their own prowess nor ignorant of the physical advantages their country presented, and the difficulty Great Britain, split into factions and with a divided parliament, must encounter in carrying on that distant war; yet it remains indisputable that their sole reliance was not upon "native swords and native ranks." We have heard Gouverneur Morris speaking of their dabbling in foreign treaties, we have heard English ministers speaking of secret envoys from France, and we have the confession of one of the leaders of the revolution, that at least one secret agent had been among them *months before they drew up the declaration of independence.* This leader was John Jay, whose own son tells the story in a striking manner. "Some time in the course of this year (1775), probably about the month of November, congress was informed that a foreigner was then in Philadelphia who was desirous of making to them an important and confidential communication. This intimation having been several times repeated, a committee, consisting of Mr. Jay, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jefferson, was appointed to hear what the foreigner had to say. These gentlemen agreed to meet him in one of the committee rooms in Carpenter's Hall. At the time appointed they went there, and found already arrived an elderly lame gentleman, having the appearance of an old wounded French officer. They told him they were authorised to receive his communication; upon which he said that his most Christian majesty had heard with pleasure of the exertions made by the American colonies in the defence of their rights and privileges; that his majesty wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly his friendly sentiments towards them. The committee requested to know his authority for giving these assurances. He answered only by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, 'Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.' They then asked what demonstrations of friendship they might expect from the king of France. 'Gentlemen,' answered the foreigner, 'if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it.' The committee observed that these assurances were indeed important, but again desired to know by what authority they were made. 'Gentlemen,' said he, repeating his former gesture, 'I shall take care of my head;' and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more. It was the opinion of the committee that he was a secret agent of the French court, and directed to give these indirect assurances, but in such a manner that he might be disavowed if necessary. Mr. Jay stated that his communications were not without their effect on the proceedings of this congress. This remark probably related to the appointment, on the 29th of November, of a secret committee, including Mr. Jay, for corresponding with the friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and *other parts* of the world."* The secret committee here alluded to, which soon became a public one, with Thomas Paine, the author of Common Sense, for its secretary, certainly opened an active correspondence with every court supposed to be inimical to Great Britain; and, both before and immediately after the declaration of independence, several American agents, much less secret and mysterious than the interesting French gentleman who had been at Philadelphia, repaired to Paris, to court and bargain for French assistance. Others went more clandestinely to Madrid, to Naples, to the Hague, to St. Petersburg. But, besides this foreign aid, the Americans counted upon a rebellion in Ireland as a certainty, and upon an insurrection in England as a probability. Their addresses to the Irish people, sent over before the declaration of independence, had been artfully contrived to lead to one of these ends. In one of their addresses, drawn up by Jay, they regretted that they had been obliged to include Ireland with Great Britain in their non-importation agreements, as they loved the Irish and had suffered no mischief at their hands. "*Your* parliament," said this address, "had done us no wrong. *You* had been ever friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand we were not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself, but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin. We perceived that, if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain must be fruitless. Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children in promiscuous and unmerited misery—when we found all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state—when we perceived our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity—who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of the desolation? Who can censure us for repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who in such circumstances would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation? Though

* Professor Tucker, Life of Jefferson.—Jared Sparks, Life of Gouverneur Morris.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Papers in Almon, and other collections.

* Life and opinions of John Jay, with selections from his correspondence and miscellaneous papers: by his son, Wm. Jay. New York, 1833.

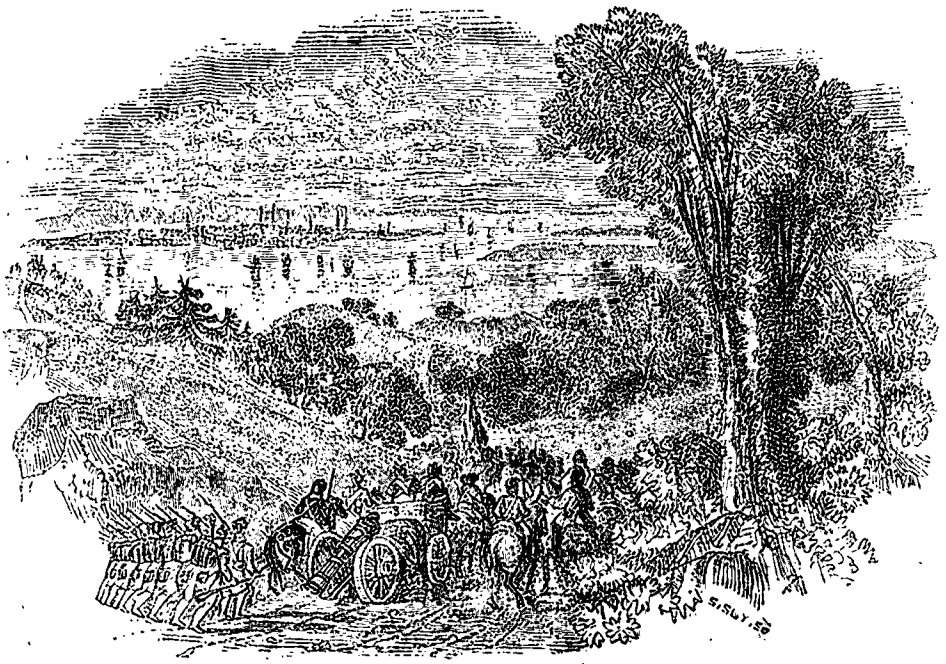
vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men; though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation; though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws; and, though charged with rebellion, we will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say—what more can we offer? We know that *you* are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the fat pastures of Ireland many hungry parricides have fed and grown strong to labour in her destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten.*"

General Howe having remained at Halifax with the Boston army till the 11th of June, had then set sail for New York, and had come to anchor at Sandy Hook on the 29th of June. He had expected to meet there his brother Lord Howe with the main body of the fleet and the new army, as also Sir Peter Parker with his squadron, and General Clinton with his troops, but all these parties were still far away, and he did not think it prudent to venture upon any hazardous step till they arrived. He was met at Sandy Hook by Tryon, the expelled governor of New York, who had been for some time on board of a ship of war, but who had secured the services of two companies of volunteers, consisting of 100 men each, raised in New York from a respectable class of society, and all ardent in the cause of the mother country, and furious at the persecutions and annoyances their party in the colony had undergone, and were actually undergoing.† At this moment Washington and his army were throwing up strong entrenchments at New York and on Long Island, to close the river Hudson against the English fleet. For the same purpose a number of vessels were sunk in various parts of the channel. Washington, with the main body, was at New York; General Sullivan, in great force, was at the western extremity of Long Island, just opposite New York; and the rest of the American forces occupied different posts on York Island, except three detachments, one on Governor's Island, one at Paulus Hook, and the third round about New Rochelle and East and West Chester, to oppose any sudden attempt which might be made to land up the river in the rear of New York. The total number of Washington's army appears to have been rather above than under 30,000 men; but sickness prevailed in his camp to such an extent, that at one time it was reported that nearly a fourth part of the men were unfit for service. He had now a large train of artillery and an abundant supply of military stores. Notwithstanding his imposing attitude, General Howe, with his 9000 men, resolved to be nearer to him, and leaving Sandy Hook he sailed to Staten Island, situated just under the south-western point of Long Island, and whence he could watch the operations of the enemy. No opposition was made to his landing, the American troops abandoning Staten Island at his approach without firing a gun. Three days after Admiral Lord Howe arrived with his long expected fleet and troops from England at Sandy Hook, having unfortunately lost some time in seeking his brother at Halifax, where he fancied the general still was. The fleet proceeded almost immediately to Staten Island, where it was soon afterwards joined by Sir Peter Parker's shattered squadron from Sullivan Island. Our army now amounted altogether to nearly 30,000 men, British and foreign.

Before proceeding to any direct act of hostility, Lord Howe sent ashore, by a flag, circular letters acquainting the Americans with his powers both civil and military, and enclosing a declaration granting pardons to all such as were willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; promising that any colony, town, port, or place that submitted should instantly be excepted from the provisions of the acts of parliament prohibiting their trade, &c.; and giving assurances that the meritorious services of all persons who should aid and assist in restoring tranquillity would be duly rewarded. Washington instantly forwarded these papers to the congress, and the congress published them in all their gazettes, in order, as they stated, "that the good people of these United States might know of what nature were the concessions, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of their *late* king might now, at length, be convinced that the valour alone of their country was to save its liberties." Still reluctant to proceed to extremities, Lord Howe attempted to open a communication with General Washington, and sent some of his officers with a flag and a letter; but as he could not possibly recognise the revolutionary rank of the American, and as, in consequence, he addressed his letter to George Washington, Esq., that officer proudly refused to receive it. On the 20th of July, General Howe, rather sillily, dispatched Adjutant-general Paterson to New York with letters addressed to George Washington, Esq., &c. Washington received Paterson with much courtesy and politeness, but would have nothing to do with the letter, stating "that a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description or designation of it, otherwise it would appear to be a mere private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied *everything*, but they also implied *anything*; and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public sta-

* Life and Opinions of John Jay: by his son, Wm. Jay.

† The revolutionary convention of New York had decreed that all who befriended the British government should be considered as enemies to the state, guilty of *treason*, and should suffer "*the pains and penalties of death!*" They had established CONFISCATIONS OF PROPERTY, and were publicly selling by auction the goods and chattels of the royalists or *suspected* royalists!



NEW YORK FROM LONG ISLAND. From an Original Drawing.

tion." (In a resolution approving these proceedings, congress directed that no letter or message should be received on any occasion whatever from the enemy by the commander-in-chief or any other officer of the American army, but such as should be directed to them in the character they respectively sustained, and with their military rank.) It was in vain that Colonel Paterson repeated his assertions that no disrespect was intended—that Lord Howe and his brother the general, though most anxious to open a correspondence, could not depart from the rules laid down for them;—Washington rejected the letter, and refused to let it lie on his table. After some conversation relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, which had no good result, Paterson said that the goodness and benevolence of the king had induced him to appoint Lord Howe and General Howe his commissioners to accommodate the unhappy dispute; and he assured the American that the two brothers had not only great powers but very good intentions; and that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting a pacific arrangement: and he added that this visit was to be considered as the first advance towards that desirable object. To all this Washington replied that he was not vested with any powers of the sort; but he must observe that, so far as he could judge, Lord Howe and General Howe were only empowered to grant pardons—that those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon—and that the Americans were only defending their indubitable rights. This, Paterson said, would open a wide field for argument; and, after expressing his fears that an obstinate adherence to forms might obstruct the great business of accommodation, he took his leave. The substance of this conversation was communicated by Washington to congress, and was, by congress, *put into the newspapers*. The impression produced and artfully instilled into the minds of the Americans was, that the Howes were afraid of fighting the captor of Boston. At the same time the Gazettes were filled with abuse of the English army and flattering appeals to the American heroes. Washington himself, in one of his orders of the day, told his troops that the time was now near at hand which must determine whether they were to be freemen or slaves—whether they were to have any property or none—whether their houses and farms were to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a hopeless state of wretchedness. "Our cruel and unrelenting enemy," continues the order, "leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or to die." Having at last been joined by Clinton and by nearly all the forces he expected, General Howe, on the morning of the 22nd of August, put his army in motion on Staten Island, and first threw forward a division of 4000 men under the command of Clinton, who landed in Gravesend Bay, Long Island, without opposition, their disembarkation being well covered by three frigates and two bombs. Washington reinforced General Sullivan, who was holding the island. Clinton's division was soon followed by the rest of our army, with the artillery; and, upon their landing, Sullivan's advanced guard, which

had been hovering in the neighbourhood of the landing-place, set fire to all the houses and granaries, and fled precipitately to seek cover in the woody heights through which the English must pass.* Washington, making a most erroneous calculation that Long Island might be held, threw over more and more reinforcements from New York, until the mass of his army was committed on that spot. He gave orders that any soldier attempting to conceal himself, or run from the field, should instantly be shot; and he solemnly promised to notice and reward such as should distinguish themselves. By his direction the Americans, to the number of 15,000, were posted on a peninsula towards that end of the island which faces the city of New York, and is not more than a mile from it: their lines extended almost right across the peninsula from Whaaleboght Bay, an elbow of the East River, on the left, to a deep marsh on a creek emptying into Gowan's Cove on the right: their rear was covered against an attack from the English ships by some batteries on Governor's Island, Red Hook, and Brooklyn-ferry; and there were other batteries on the East River to keep open their communication with the city of New York: in their front they had a strong line of entrenchments secured by abbatis, flanked by redoubts, and lined with spears or lances, their centre, at Brooklyn, being made uncommonly strong; and in advance of these artificial works they had, at the distance of some two miles and a half, the natural defences of a range of hills—those to which their advanced guard had fallen back on Clinton's landing—covered with thick woods extending obliquely nearly all across the island, and intervening between the American lines and Lord Howe's army. Their object was to occupy these heights, and to defend against the English the defiles which led through the hills; and General Putnam, whom Washington had sent, with six fresh regiments, to take the command over Sullivan, took post on these wooded hills, so as to stop all the passes. Putnam took post on the left, with his centre nearly opposite to a place on the high road called Flat Bush, and Lord Stirling posted himself on the right near that part of the sea-shore called the Narrows. Washington himself had superintended these dispositions; but, after passing the day of the 26th at Brooklyn in the lines, he had returned at night to New York. General Putnam retired to Brooklyn, leaving Sullivan on the hills in command of the left. That evening the Hessians under General De Heister took possession of the village of Flat Bush, right opposite to Sullivan, whose patroles they engaged and whose attention they distracted. In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton and Sir William Erskine, having reconnoitered Sullivan's position and the whole range of hills, saw it would not be difficult to turn his left flank by crossing the hills, where they were low and unguarded, in the direction of the town or village of Bedford. Upon receiving their report Howe resolved to make a combined movement in three separate columns and in the middle of the night; and he sent Clinton with one column, supported by the brigades under Lord Percy, in the direction of Bedford, and another column, under General Grant, to turn Lord Stirling's position, by passing between him and the sea; and he ordered the Hessians to be ready so as to attack Sullivan, right in front, by a given moment. General Howe marched in person with the first of these columns, which quitted its camp at ten o'clock at night on the 26th of August. The movement was eminently successful, and the troops got close to the hills before they were discovered. At the same time General Grant, who had a much shorter distance to march, went on very leisurely, and at the moment appointed opened a heavy fire of musketry and artillery upon Lord Stirling's position. This loud roar on their right made both Sullivan and Stirling believe that the main body of the English army were attempting to pass in that direction;—therefore Sullivan hurried reinforcements along the wooded ridge to sustain Stirling, who remained on his hill intent only on defending that pass. Grant kept him in play till day-light, by which time Clinton's division, after some slight skirmishing with patroles, gained the pass on the other side of the line; and General De Heister, moving from Flat Bush with his Hessians, had begun a cannonade on Putnam's centre, which was covering the defile in which ran the direct road to Brooklyn. Nearly at the same time Lord Howe put part of his fleet in motion, and began a heavy cannonade on Governor's Island and Red Hook, in the rear of Brooklyn. About eight o'clock in the morning the right of our army got to Bedford, between the fortified lines and the ridge of hills, and a loud fire from Clinton's guns announced to the Americans on the ridge that the British were in their rear. At the ominous sound they instantly retired from the woods by regiments, hoping to regain their fortified lines and camp at Brooklyn; but they presently encountered the front of Clinton's column, and were driven back again to the hills.* Then the Hessians cannonaded them from the other side, took three of their guns, and drove them back again upon Clinton's column, which was now deploying so as to block up every road and foot-path. The Americans again ran back to the heights, but,

* "We embarked in boats," says Harris, "and landed without opposition in Gravesend Bay, then marched six miles inland, and halted,—a large body of Americans, near us, keeping up a fire *from behind walls and trees*. About 4 P.M. on the 26th we struck tents, and lay on our arms during the night about three miles from Bedford; and, though in summer, it was the coldest night I experienced up to the 25th of November. Such sudden changes of climate are not uncommon here."—*Journal, in Lushington's Life of General Lord Harris.*

* Captain Harris, who was engaged, says:—"At day-break, the 27th, the light infantry attacked and forced small posts which the Americans had on the road leading to their lines at Bedford. This appeared to be the first notice they had of our being near to them. About nine we fired two signal guns to a part of the army under General Grant, who was to make a feint in the front of the Americans, while we got round to the rear, and immediately marched briskly up to them, when, almost without firing a shot, they abandoned their post, and retreated to their lines under cover of their guns."—*Lushington, Life of Gen. Lord Harris.*

broken and panic-stricken, they could do no good anywhere; they were knocked down in heaps by De Heister's corps—some laid down their arms—some, running along the ridge between the Hessians and Clinton's column, escaped by the road near the sea-side—some hid themselves in the woods; but a great proportion of their left wing and centre were either killed or taken prisoners. Their right, under Lord Stirling, was equally panic-stricken on hearing Clinton's firing in the rear: they, however, maintained the contest with General Grant until they received news of the total rout of the rest of their army. They then abandoned their position, and ran for their lives across a morass to Mill Creek. It is stated that, if General Grant had moved rapidly to the edge of that morass, and had secured the head of a mill-dam over which they escaped, the greater part of this division must have been either drowned or taken prisoners. But most of them crossed the creek, and thence continued their run to Brooklyn. In their haste, however, they left their commander behind them, for Lord Stirling was taken prisoner by Grant's division.* Between the British right, under Clinton, and the Hessians, a great many of the American officers were taken, including General Sullivan and General Udell or Woodhull. The total amount of prisoners was 1097, and from 1200 to 1500 Americans were killed or wounded. The loss of the British was comparatively trifling, not exceeding 400 men and officers in killed, wounded, and taken. In the heat of the action Washington crossed over from New York to the camp at Brooklyn, whence he witnessed the confusion and headlong flight of his troops, whom, in our opinion, he had most unwisely exposed to an unequal contest. He also witnessed, from that ill-omened camp, the ardour of the British troops, who followed the American fugitives almost to the foot of their works, and who were with difficulty prevented from making an assault on their lines—an assault which ought to have been made before the fugitives recovered from their fatigue and panic. But General Howe was of a different opinion, saying, that, though he might carry the lines by assault, yet, as it was apparent that the lines must become his, at a very cheap rate, by regular approaches, he would not throw away the lives of his men; and he ordered them back to a hollow way, out of the reach of the enemy's fire.† The British army encamped that night in front of the American lines; and on the following morning, the 28th of August, they began to break ground about six hundred yards from one of the redoubts. They seemed to have been so absorbed by this tedious and laborious occupation—to have had their eyes so bent and fixed upon the earth and their pickaxes, spades, and mattocks—as to have been blind to everything else that was passing; and they kept digging their trenches on one side, while Washington was smuggling his forces out on the other, and ferrying them over East River to the city of New York. It is said, however, that a marvellously thick fog concealed and favoured the American general's critical operation. On the night of the 29th, having collected a number of boats, and removed his military stores, with part of his provisions and the lighter part of his artillery, he began to embark his men. When the party first embarked were landed on the New York side, the boats returned for another; and this ferrying occupied several hours, during which Washington, who kept his own person on the New York side of the water, expected every moment that General Howe would burst through his lines at Brooklyn, and take his men in the rear, and that Lord Howe would send some of his ships up the East River to destroy their fragile boats and every hope of escape from Long Island. But the high-feeding English general slept on; and his brother, the admiral, though not so apt to doze, did not move a single ship or boat, and was, to all appearance, unconscious of what was going on. Fort Sullivan may have taught the necessity of caution in attacking such works; but it was not necessary to attempt taking the forts or batteries on Governor's Island and Paulus Hook, or any of the works in front of New York; all that was needed was to pass them, which might have been done with the greatest ease, as was soon shown by two English frigates that despised their fire, ascended the Hudson, and cut off the communication, by water, between Washington's army at New York and the remnant of the army of Canada on Lake Champlain. Nothing but a miracle of negligence, slowness, and stupidity could possibly have saved the forces—the half of his army—which Washington had exposed on Long Island; and, in point of generalship, nothing except the English letting them go when they *were there*, was so miserable as Washington's sending the Americans to that island. But even after his lucky escape, Washington found himself in a very critical situation; for he not only had a superior, and, to a degree, a victorious force, in front, with a commanding fleet, but all the country round about him was hostile to his cause. On the first appearance of Lord Howe, the people of Staten Island took the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and joyfully offered to serve as volunteers; the people of Long Island were equally loyal; on both sides the Hudson—in

* This William Earl of Stirling, as he called himself, was the son of a Mr. James Alexander, who had gone out to America in 1714, with the appointment from George I. of surveyor-general for the province of New Jersey. The son, who succeeded to the same office, and also to large estates in New Jersey and New York, came over to England in 1757, after his father's death, when he was a young man of about one-and-twenty, and in 1759 got himself served nearest lawful heir male to Henry fifth Earl of Stirling, who had died without issue in 1739. On this he assumed the title, but, his petition to the king having been referred to the House of Lords, their lordships, in 1762, came to a resolution that he had not made out his claim. He still, nevertheless, continued to call himself a lord, on his own authority, and was recognised as such by the American revolutionists, whose cause he joined, and in whose army, on the breaking out of the war, he received a commission as major-general.

† *Stedman.*—*Harris* says in his journal,—"Our men were most eager to attack them in their lines, and I am convinced would have carried them; but we were ordered to retreat out of the reach of their guns, and lay from about 4 p. m. till very near dark at the entrance of a small wood, exposed to the fire of their riflemen. During the whole evening they hit but one man, though their balls continually whistled over our heads and lodged in the trees above us."

New Jersey, as in New York—the anti-revolutionists began to declare themselves in vast numbers; the whole continent, indeed, between New England and the Potomac abounded with royalists or with very lukewarm republicans, and the city of New York, taken as a whole, was decidedly hostile to congress. Washington felt that, under all these circumstances, there was no possibility of defending the important city* for which he had risked so much—even to putting his whole army in jeopardy; and on the 12th of September, when the British were slowly enclosing him on all sides, he evacuated New York in too great a hurry to carry off all his artillery and stores. The landing of the British on New York Island was effected without any loss or any difficulty. The Americans were driven beyond the eighth milestone from the city, thus leaving Howe in possession of the best half of the island. But he had scarcely taken possession of New York when a dreadful fire broke out, apparently proceeding at the same moment from several quarters of the town. A number of incendiaries had staid behind and concealed themselves in the houses, combustibles had been carefully prepared, and, taking advantage of a brisk gale of wind, these desperadoes began their work in several places on the night of the 20th, about the hour of midnight, when most of the citizens and troops were buried in sleep. But when the spreading flames gave the alarm the soldiers were beat to quarters, detachments of sailors from the fleet were landed, and after a hard struggle the fire was stopped, though not before it had reduced nearly a third part of that fair city to ruins.† Some of the incendiaries were caught in the fact, and were either dispatched by the sword or bayonet, or thrown into the flames they had kindled, by the infuriated soldiery. The design was to make what Washington could no longer keep of no use to his enemies; and the stern patriotism and self-devotion of the act have been applauded, by those who have not sufficiently reflected that these New Englanders were not destroying their own houses and property, but the houses and property of another people and a rival colony; and were, to all appearance, careless how many American New Yorkers might be burnt to death with the British soldiers, or left, like them, houseless and homeless.

On the morning of the 15th three British men-of-war ascended the North River as high as Bloomingdale, and completely stopped the farther removal of stores by water; and on the same day Sir Henry Clinton landed at a place called Kipp's Bay, about three miles above New York. Washington had thrown up works at this important point, but his troops fled from them with the utmost precipitation, and swept away in their flight a whole column which was sent to sustain them. Washington rode in person to the spot, but he could not rally them; and, in spite of all his efforts, another corps which he brought up joined the general flight, in which he himself was compelled to join, after witnessing the seizure at Kipp's Bay of all the heavy artillery and a large portion of his baggage, provisions, and military stores. He was thus compelled to confess, in the bitterness of his soul, that new troops and raw militia, notwithstanding their high republicanism, could never stand against a regular army, though only royalists and mercenaries; and that, to have any chance of success in the field, he must be allowed to have time, and be permitted to establish as absolute a sway and as severe a code of military laws as existed under the European governments. He clearly saw that the democratic principle and the practice of free election would never do in the army, and that republicans, when they make war, must make it like other people, and dispense with the fundamental doctrine of personal liberty and equality. At present, in spite of various efforts made by Washington to remedy the evil, there was scarcely any distinction between platoon officers and privates. The New Englanders, the strength of his army, were fanatic asserters of equality; they had been allowed, in most instances, to elect their own officers, and of consequence a disposition to associate with them on the footing of equality was a recommendation of more weight, and frequently conduced more to the choice of officers, than any individual merit in the persons chosen. It is also stated by American writers that in some instances men were elected to the rank of officers who agreed to put their pay in a common stock with that of the soldiers, and divide equally with them. Hence the privates acquired no habits of obedience and subordination; and hence also the most disgraceful and unmilitary practices prevailed among the officers.* If we are to believe other accounts, a considerable number of these New England officers were little better than a set of rapacious pedlars and swindlers. Continuing to withdraw his last regiments from New York, Washington, after a considerable loss in men, occupied works and lines which ran right across York Island, the strongest being at Kingsbridge and Fort Washington. There was also a strong detachment posted in an entrenched camp on the heights of Haerlem, and some hills in front were occupied in considerable force and rudely fortified. Having taken possession of New York, where he was received with acclamations, having saved it from the flames and organised a temporary local govern-

* "Batteries were soon erected to oppose a work they had on York Island; and, though the East River is there six hundred paces across, our artillery soon silenced theirs, and, as we afterwards found, dismounted most of their guns. Our landing on York Island was effected without the loss of a man; for the moment they saw us ashore they retreated to their works at Kingsbridge. A lieutenant of theirs, who was that night my prisoner, informed me that a body of three thousand men had got round to our right, with the intention of attacking us before we could form after landing; but so little eager were they to commence the assault, that, upon their falling in with two companies of grenadiers, who had by accident been posted on the same road, they fled with the utmost haste, not even taking time to put on their packs and blankets, which they had thrown off on a thorough conviction of beating us. Their blankets were a great prize, as several of our men had thrown off their's on the 27th, when pursuing the enemy."—*Harris's Journal.*

† Among the buildings consumed was the old English church. When the Americans stationed at Paulus Hook saw the steeple fall, they gave three cheers, probably rejoicing in a double sense, and more as presbyterians than as patriots.

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

ment, General Howe left some troops in that city, and with the main body of his army marched up York Island, and encamped in face of Washington's lines, with his front about a mile and a half from the heights of Haerlem; his right leaning on Horen's Hook, on the East River, his left on Bloomingdale, on the North River; so that his line extended quite across the island—there about two miles wide—and was covered on either flank by the British ships. On the 16th of September there was some skirmishing in the plain that lay between the two camps; and the Americans lost two of their best officers, Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch. Desertion now became frequent, and the time was approaching when the time of service for which most of the Americans had engaged would expire. Washington, on the 24th of September, wrote what was almost a despairing letter to Congress. "We are now," said he, "as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon that occasion last year, the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper advantages had been taken by the enemy, added to a knowledge of the present temper and disposition of the troops, reflect but a very gloomy prospect upon the appearance of things now, and satisfy me, beyond the possibility of doubt, that, unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by congress, our cause will be lost." It was found already that all the boasts of the sons of liberty about flying to arms by hundreds of thousands and fighting for their country without pay and reward, save such as they should acquire by establishing the most free and perfect of all independent governments, was little more than moonshine—that, with some exceptions, the richer classes preferred staying at home and sending the poorer to fight for them—and that the poor were only to be engaged by levy-money, and good pay—that they must in fact be made soldiers in the real sense of the word, by being *soldati*, just as if they were mere English or Frenchmen, paid by King George or King Louis. "When men," said Washington, "are irritated and their passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over, to expect among such people as compose the bulk of an army that they are influenced by any other motives than those of *interest* is to look for what never did and I fear never will happen." Nothing but pay—good pay—would make good men and good officers. "Establish your army upon a permanent footing," said he, "and give your officers *good pay*. This will induce gentlemen of character to engage; and, until the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like, and support the character of, gentlemen; and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts which many of them now practise, to filch the public of more than the difference of pay would amount to upon an ample allowance.* . . . With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment. . . . I shall therefore take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty be immediately offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, a suit of clothes, and a blanket, to each non-commissioned officer and soldier." As to the militia, he added that it was assuredly resting upon a broken staff to place any dependence upon it, as the militia-men not only deserted themselves, but were the cause of desertion in others. Congress, who had little money to spare, and who seem to have thought that, while they themselves were tolerably well paid by their constituents, the army ought to serve for little or nothing, voted a bounty of twenty dollars per man, and small portions of land to every officer and soldier who should serve out the whole war. Washington thought this much too little, and he informed the delegates at Philadelphia that the soldiers would certainly leave the service at the end of the short time they had engaged for, unless the offer were raised; and that, unless the pay of the officers—especially that of field officers—was raised forthwith, most of those who wree worth keeping would quit the service. Nay, he went so far as to say that, unless the republican soldiers were gratified to the extent of their wishes, they would be disposed to *join the royal army, and that many of them were doing so already*. Congress then voted an increase of pay and of bounty money, and offered other advantages, immediate or prospective, which made it more profitable to serve under Washington than to serve under Howe.†

Immediately after the victory on Long Island, Lord Howe, as one of the king's *pacificators* or commissioners, made another attempt to open a negociation. He admitted the American general Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the fight of the 27th of August, to his parole, and sent him to Philadelphia with a verbal message, the purport of which was—That, although he (Lord Howe) could not treat with congress as such, he was desirous of conferring with some of its members as private gentlemen only, whom he would meet at

* It appears that it was no very uncommon sight to see an American officer shaving his own men, and that too "in the face of characters of distinction." A captain was tried and broken for stealing his soldiers' blankets. In some corps captains, lieutenants, ensigns, serjeants, corporals, drummers, and privates lived on a common stock and on a footing of perfect equality. Almost every villainy and rascality was for some time practised with impunity. This state of things drove many gentlemen from the service altogether, and made others declare more or less publicly that if they had known what the republican army was to be, they would never have joined it. At the same time bitter animosities prevailed between the troops from the north and those furnished by the southern colonies. "Their reflections on each other," says Stedman, "were mutual and equally illiberal. Their variances were so great, that the Pennsylvanians and New Englanders would as soon have fought each other as the enemy. Officers of all ranks were indiscriminately treated with the greatest scurrility and abuse, for no other reason than that they were born on this or that side of Hudson's River, just as formerly, in England, violent disputes were carried on between the inhabitants of the south and those of the north side of the Trent." Another ground of complaint was the circumstance that, at the beginning of the war, the New Englanders—ever keen bargainers—had got more pay than was allowed the soldiers from the south.—*Jared Sparks, Life of Morris.*

† Washington's Letters.

any place they would appoint;—that, in conjunction with General Howe, he had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous and honourable to both;—that he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could allege being compelled to enter into such agreement;—and that, in case congress were disposed to treat in the manner suggested, many things not yet asked might be granted them;—and if, upon the conference, there should arise good ground for an accommodation, this might lead to an acknowledgement of its authority, as otherwise the compact could not be completed. Congress was considerably embarrassed by this message, and the hearts of several of its members misgave them for a moment; but it was soon resolved by the majority to reply to Lord Howe through General Sullivan—That, being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make. At the same time the president of congress was directed to inform General Washington that no propositions for peace ought to be received or attended to, unless made in writing, addressed to the representatives of the United States in congress, or persons authorised by them; and that, if any application on that subject should be made to him by any of the commanders of the British forces, he must inform them that these United States, who had taken up arms only for the defence of their lives and liberties, would cheerfully agree to peace on reasonable terms, whenever such should be proposed to them *as an independent people.* They next appointed three of the bitterest enemies of Great Britain—Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and Rutledge—their committee to receive the communications of Lord Howe. This trio waited upon his lordship in Staten Island, on the 11th of September, four days before the British army took possession of New York. His lordship received them with great politeness, and opened the conversation by saying, that, though he could not treat with them as a committee of congress, yet, as his powers enabled him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen of influence in the colonies, he would be glad to confer with them if they thought themselves at liberty to enter into a conference in that character. Franklin and his companions replied, that, as their business was to hear what he had to say, he might consider them in what character he pleased; but they must consider themselves in no other character than that given them by congress. Lord Howe then informed them that he and his brother, as commissioners, had full power, confirmed by act of parliament, to grant pardons for the past; that their authority did not go farther; but that every favour might be expected if the Americans would only return to their allegiance to the British crown. He also assured them that there was every good disposition in the king, ministry, and parliament to make the government easy to them; and that, to put an end to their grievances, the obnoxious acts of parliament would all be revised, &c. The committee gave it as their opinion that to return to allegiance and dependence was now impossible; and they declared that the Americans had been forced against their will into the war and into the proclamation of independence. Lord Howe then put an end to the useless conference with many expressions of grief and regret for the horrors which must be let loose upon the land. The committee returned to Philadelphia,* and Howe passed over to New York, as we have seen, driving Washington before him to the lines he had previously made. After consuming whole weeks in throwing up intrenchments to defend his own lines and the approaches to New York, he, on the 12th of October, embarked a considerable part of the royal army in flat-bottomed boats, sent them through Hell Gate into the Sound, and landed them at Frog's Neck, about nine miles in the rear of Washington's positions, which were thus shorn of their strength. Some of the ships of war went still higher up the North River, so as to cut off any retreat to the Jerseys, and the only road open was one leading to the New England provinces; and this road too might have been closed by a more active and skilful commander. Washington, taking council from his own high courage, and forgetting the low spirit of his troops, would have remained where he was to fight a pitched battle. He harangued his officers, and told them they must retreat no farther, but decide the fate of America on that ground. But General Lee, the deserter, who had come up from Sullivan Island and the Carolinas, remonstrated against this determination, pointing out that the ground was almost as bad as Long Island, and that the British would hem the army round with such a chain of works, as would reduce them to the necessity of surrendering, through famine, without fighting at all. Washington was still obstinate, but a council of war was called, and it was decided by a majority that they

* Before this interview at Staten Island, Lord Howe had written a private letter to his "worthy friend" Doctor Franklin, to acquaint him of the nature of his mission, to express his earnest desire to see all differences accommodated, &c. This letter gave Franklin the opportunity of insulting England and sneering at the *bonhommie* of his lordship. He predicted that her pride, her folly, her fondness for conquest, her lust of dominion, her greed for the monopoly of trade, must prove as pernicious to her as the crusades formerly were to most European nations. But, mixing up his old duplicity with his present fierce denunciations, he said—"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire: for I knew that, being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their shares of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for." He again showed a rancorous animosity for the treatment he had received from the British cabinet, and which he called "a groundless and malevolent treatment." In the end, he told Lord Howe, after a few hollow compliments, "that, since he had gone to America in the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation, he ought, *on the failure of that hope, to relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.*"

must decamp immediately.* If General Howe had landed at Pell's Point instead of Frog's Neck† the retreat would have been almost impracticable, and Washington must inevitably have lost all his artillery and baggage; but Howe did not re-embark his men and collect them at Pell's Point till the 18th of October, and thus time was allowed the Americans to bring off most of their remaining military stores, and to get towards the open country called the White Plains. The English general's blunders, however, could not excuse those committed by Washington. On the 19th and 20th there was some skirmishing, and a sharp combat at a narrow pass which the Americans in vain attempted to defend against the British. On the 21st Washington occupied some heights between New Rochelle and the branch of the Hudson called the North River. Howe encamped in and about the village of New Rochelle, on the shore of the Sound, and was joined in the course of the day by a fresh division of Germans, under General Knyphausen, and by an incomplete regiment of cavalry from Ireland. On the 22nd Washington fell back to the edge of White Plains, and put the main body of his army in a long line of entrenched camps, extending from twelve to thirteen miles, on different heights. He thus placed the river Brunx between him and Howe; and he presently threw up some additional works to strengthen his line. When Washington had made himself as strong as he could, and had somewhat revived the spirits of the Americans by a few skirmishes, in which their use of the rifle and their knowledge of the country gave them some trifling advantages, Howe, on the 28th of October, moved to attack him in two columns, the left led by himself, the right by Clinton. As the British advanced towards the White Plains Clinton's column fell in with several bodies of the enemy and drove them back to their lines in great confusion and dismay. When our troops arrived within three quarters of a mile of the American lines they had a distinct view of their whole position, which was strongest on the flanks and weakest in the centre. If an assault had been made on the centre it could not have failed, and its full success would have been absolute destruction to the American army, for Washington had so posted his right wing that, if cut off from the centre and left, it must either have surrendered or have been drowned in the winding Brunx. Howe had in the field 13,000 effective men; Washington had from 18,000 to 20,000; but the greater part of them were not better than a loose militia, and their dismay and confusion was very evident in spite of their fortified lines, which, on a near approach, were not found so formidable as they appeared at a distance. When our army came in sight their tents were all standing; and the hurry of striking them, and of loading the waggons with the baggage, with the movement of troops backward and forward, in evident uncertainty of purpose, gave an extraordinary picture of alarm.* Their panic was farther displayed by their opening a rambling cannonade when our men were too far off to be touched by their balls. But Howe, instead of moving right on the weak centre, kept his attention fixed on the right wing, and on a hill beyond the Brunx, where Washington had posted 4000 men, though in that position they were utterly incapable of supporting, or receiving support from, the rest of his army. But it appears to have been Howe's strange destiny to convert Washington's mistakes into benefits to the Americans. Though the force beyond the river could not reach him with their guns, and though two battalions with a couple of pieces of artillery might have prevented them from re-crossing the Brunx to take him in flank, he directed the first and chief effort of his army against that worthless position. He detached a part of his left wing; the men crossed the river at a ford which was entirely under the command of our cannon; they then mounted the hill, and gallantly drove the 4000 Americans from it.† But then it became necessary to sustain the troops which had taken possession of the hill; and in so doing the left and right wing of our army were in a great measure severed from one another. That night—and it was an inclement one—the British troops lay on their arms. The next day they encamped, with the left wing on one side of the Brunx, and the right on the other. On the 30th Howe was reinforced by four battalions from York Island and two from Maro Neck Post; and he then made a disposition to attack the enemy's lines on the following morning. But during the night it rained in torrents, and the rain made the faces of the hills so slippery, that it was thought our men would have great difficulty in mounting them; and, besides, the Americans had been allowed two whole days and three nights to strengthen their lines, to recover their dejected spirits, and to look out for, and partly prepare, a safer abiding place, a still stronger line in their rear. On the 31st the weather was fine and the hill sides comparatively dry. Howe then resolved to make his attack on the morrow; but his intention was betrayed by a deserter, and before the break of day Washington evacuated the lines, set fire, in his retreat, to all the houses on White Plains, crossed the Croton river to North Castle, and took up a most advantageous position, with the Croton stretching along his whole front, and with his rear well defended by woods and heights. Instead of following him, Lord Howe returned to reduce Fort Washington and King's Bridge, where the American general had left considerable forces in the rash hope that they would be able to hold out even though he retreated or were beaten. The force in Fort Washington, and in extensive en-

* Marshall.

† Frog's Neck was an island, joined on by a bridge which the Americans broke.

* Stedman.

† Captain Harris, who was on the field, says—"The Americans behaved in the most dastardly manner, for, though they at first made a show of resistance, no sooner was our second brigade ordered to advance, than they gave way with such precipitation, that they escaped to the heights behind before our men could reach them."—*Journal, in Lushington's Life of Lord Harris.*

trenchments round it, was indeed immense for such a service, consisting of no fewer than 3000 men, under the command of Colonel Macgaw, a brave, well-educated and skilful Pennsylvanian, who had deserted the law to follow the profession of arms. The post was most important to the royal army, as it secured an intercourse with the Jersey shore, and in the hands of the enemy seriously obstructed the navigation of the North river. The fortifications were in good repair—the situation was wonderfully strong by nature—and it was not to be approached except under a heavy fire. It was the 15th of November before the English got their batteries in order and summoned the garrison to surrender on pain of being put to the sword. On that very morning Washington was in the fort, having brought over some reinforcements from the opposite side of the river; but as soon as he had instructed Macgaw to defend the post to the last moment he withdrew. On the following morning all the neighbouring heights were assaulted in different directions by four columns of British and Hessians, who had hills to climb and thick woods to force, rivers to ascend and creeks to cross. They lost in killed and wounded eight hundred men; but, Lord Percy having carried the advanced works, the garrison threw down their arms, and all who were not killed were taken prisoners. Thus did Washington lose 3000 of his best men. On the 18th of November Lord Cornwallis crossed the North river, drove the Americans from Fort Lee, which was nearly opposite Fort Washington, took all their tents standing, all their provisions and stores, and advanced into the Jerseys without opposition. This advance induced Washington to quit his post on the Croton, and fall back upon the Delaware river. Cornwallis penetrated to the remotest parts of East and West Jersey, being received by the majority of the people rather as a friend and deliverer than as an enemy. On the 24th of November, being reinforced by two brigades of English troops and a battalion of highlanders, his lordship marched on for Brunswick. Here he was ordered to halt—an order which is said to have saved the panic-struck and flying army of Washington from ruin. Cornwallis was within two or three marches of the Americans, whose retreat was impeded by bad roads and heavy artillery. But his lordship did not receive orders to advance till the evening of the 16th of December, and, though he marched from Brunswick at four o'clock on the following morning, and arrived at Princetown in the afternoon, the last of the American rear had cleared out before his arrival.* Washington, it is said, had been there in person with Stirling's brigade, and had only left the place an hour before Lord Cornwallis reached it. In headlong haste, and with extreme difficulty, the American general led the remnant of his army to Trenton, and there began to ferry them across the Delaware. So many had deserted—so many had retired because their term of service was up, that he had now scarcely 3000 men, and of these a portion were unsteady militia. At Princetown Lord Cornwallis halted seven hours longer than he should have done;* he did not march till nine o'clock the next morning, and when he reached Trenton, at four in the afternoon, he was only in time to see Washington's last boats crossing the river. The Americans had collected all the boats on the Delaware, from Philadelphia upwards, for seventy miles, so that the British had no means of following them. Beyond the river, Washington's force, ragged, worn out in body and spirit, lost all appearance of an army, and the men continued to desert though often brought back forcibly to the camp. Cornwallis put his division into winter quarters between the Delaware and the Hakensack, and nothing more was done in this quarter. While Cornwallis had been advancing through the Jerseys, Clinton, with the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, had been sent along the coast to Rhode Island, where the people were enthusiastic revolutionists, and where an American squadron had been collected under Commodore Hopkins. The island was taken without any difficulty, for the provincial troops fled, and Hopkins retired up Providence river, where he remained inactive and useless. But, unfortunately, it required a considerable force to keep

Lord Cornwallis.
From a Painting by Hamilton.

* Lord Cornwallis was a very Cæsar in rapidity compared to his commander-in-chief and some of our methodical generals. His movements were checked by Howe. Captain Harris, who was with the advancing column, could hardly understand why they halted so frequently. With his usual good sense and modesty he says—"We pursued the enemy much too slowly; but it is not for us subordinates to comment on the movements of our commanders, of which we are in general very incompetent judges. Warped by passion, we consider only visible objects, and forget the thousand latent wheels by which a great army moves."—*Journal*. The British, however, would not have been left much behind if the Americans had not abandoned the greater part of their artillery. Harris in his journal mentions that at one place, where a hundred resolute men might have stopped our whole army, they left behind them thirty-two guns, together with their tents and baggage.

* He rested seventeen hours.

Rhode Island, and during three years a great body of men was left upon it in perfect idleness.*

On the side of the lakes, the American army which had fled from Canada had been equally unfortunate with that near the Delaware. We left it on the Isle aux Noix, where the Sorel issues from Lake Champlain, suffering from fever and malaria, Sir Guy Carleton being unable to follow up his successes through want of vessels to cope with the American flotilla and command the lakes. The way in which the want was supplied and the difficulty overcome afforded a consoling proof—a proof much required—that all activity and energy were not confined to the irregular, self-taught American officers. Thirty vessels were required to give a decided superiority on those waters, the access to which by the Sorel was impracticable to ships, and most difficult and laborious to boats on account of numerous shallows, falls, and rapids. The frame-work of some vessels was sent for to England, but this required time. Carleton therefore sent detachments from the king's ships stationed at Quebec with volunteers from the transports and a corps of artillery—in all about seven hundred men—to fell timber and to occupy a favourable post on the shore of Lake Champlain. The keel and floor timbers of the 'Inflexible,' a ship of three hundred tons, which had been laid at Quebec, were taken to pieces, carried over to St. John's, and laid down again at a corner of the lake where a little dock-yard was improvised; thirty *long* boats, many large batteaux or *flat*-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons were carried up to the spot, partly by land and partly by being dragged up the shoals and rapids of the river Sorel at an extraordinary expense of human labour. Lieutenant Schanck, an officer who possessed great mechanical ingenuity, superintended the works at the dock-yard, where timber which had been growing in the forest in the morning, was turned into part of a ship before night. In twenty-eight days from the relaying her keel, the 'Inflexible' was launched, rigged, armed with eighteen twelve-pounders, and equipped for service; two schooners, the 'Maria' and 'Carleton,' were put together with equal rapidity; and the flotilla was completed by the 'Loyal Convert' gondola, the 'Thunder,' a kind of flat-bottomed raft carrying twelve heavy guns and two howitzers, and twenty-four boats armed each with a field-piece or carriage gun. The whole thing seemed like magic! In a few weeks the British, from not having a single boat, had a force sufficient to sweep the Lakes Champlain and St. George from end to end. Before these preparations were made the Americans had quitted the Isle aux Noix and traversed the lake for Crown Point. Congress had voted that General Gates should take the command of that northern army, and that he should be reinforced with six thousand militia. But men no longer marched willingly in that direction. If any efforts were made to increase the shipping, they had failed, for at this moment the Americans had only fifteen small vessels on the lake, carrying in all ninety-six guns, fourteen of which were eighteen-pounders, twenty-three twelves, and the rest six and four-pounders. The command of this squadron, at the instance of Washington, was given to Arnold, the real hero of the Canada expedition. No time was lost by the British in seeking this brave and active enemy, and Sir Guy Carleton himself embarked with the squadron—the strangest squadron that ever English seamen had seen. Captain Pringle was commodore with his pennant on the 'Inflexible;' and among those young officers who were appointed to the 'Carleton' schooner, was one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of British naval commanders—this was Edward Pellew, then a midshipman, afterwards Admiral Viscount Exmouth. On the 11th of October they discovered Arnold with his fifteen vessels drawn up in a strong line across the passage between Isle Vallicour and the western shore of the lake. The 'Carleton' schooner, being the foremost, attacked with her twelve six-pounders. It fell a dead calm, and the rest of the English craft, though near at hand, could not get up to her assistance. Thus the 'Carleton' had to sustain the whole force of the enemy. Half her crew were killed and wounded, and she had two feet water in her hold; but she sunk the 'Boston,' a gondola carrying one eighteen-pounder and two twelves; and burnt the 'Royal Savage' of twelve guns, the largest and best of Arnold's schooners.

ARNOLD.
From a French Portrait in *Complot d'Arnold.*

Commodore Pringle got up some artillery row-boats which towed the 'Carleton'—a wreck upon the water—out of the reach of the American fire, which proceeded not only from the shipping, but also from a number of riflemen whom Arnold had placed on the shore of the isle. In the course of the night the Americans, though well watched, escaped from the passage and attempted to make Fort Ticonderoga. On the following morning they were out of sight; but by the hour of noon the British

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Marshall.

flotilla* got up with them and brought them to action a few leagues below Crown Point. After a running fight of two hours Arnold's headmost vessels succeeded in reaching Crown Point, and the narrow part of the lake beyond that fort; but the 'Washington' and the 'Jersey' were taken; and all the rest were run on shore, and there burnt by their own crews. The Americans had just time to set fire to their works on Crown Point, and then save their lives or their liberty by running. American writers have not a breath, or a flourish of the pen, to bestow on Arnold's brilliant performance on these two days; but it appears from English authorities that his conduct was truly heroic, and that he fought on, with his wonted intrepidity, when most of his vessels had run from him and abandoned him.* The British flotilla came quietly to anchor off Crown Point. Hitherto Carleton had been as active as could be desired; but now a lethargy, or an excess of doubt and caution, fell upon him, for he disembarked the troops he had with him at Crown Point, and remained there till the 3rd of November, instead of proceeding to Ticonderoga, which was but fifteen miles off, and which was so ill prepared for defence that General Schuyler had resolved to abandon it on his approach.† His conduct has been severely criticised, and many advantages have been enumerated, which, it is said, he might have obtained, if he had finished the campaign on the lakes by taking Ticonderoga. The reduction of that place, it has been urged, would have greatly forwarded the operations of the ensuing campaign which terminated so fatally, and would have increased the number and the spirit of the loyalists; as a body from Albany had actually prepared to join his army as soon as he should arrive at Ticonderoga. It is probable, however, that Carleton may have had strong reasons for not hazarding too much, and that Schuyler may have had a greater force than was generally reported, to oppose to the mere handful of English soldiers. What remains unquestionable is that the conception and management of the lake campaign were beautiful things in war; and that Carleton displayed as much humanity as bravery. Upon quitting Crown Point he descended Lake Champlain to the Isle aux Noix, put his little force into winter quarters there, and returned to Quebec, where he exerted himself during the winter in making preparation for the next campaign, which, eventually, he was not allowed to direct.

Though the easy and comfortable confidence of many of its members that the contest would be soon decided by the victory of American arms was materially shaken, the general congress as a body, remained firm and hopeful; for they knew that the chances would turn much in their favour when the English army ventured into the interior of the country; and they also knew that extensive foreign aid and co-operation were preparing for them. While Washington was being driven from post to post, they occupied themselves in completing their republican constitution.* The advance of Lord Cornwallis, however, through the Jerseys, obliged them to fly from Philadelphia to a safer place; but when re-assembled at Baltimore, on the 20th of December, they betrayed no despondency, or any lack of spirit, which must have proved fatal to their whole cause. Convinced that Washington in the field, and as an experienced soldier, was more competent to the management of an army, and of the means of recruiting it than a set of lawyers, traders, and planters, they materially enlarged his military powers, authorised him to raise sixteen additional regiments, furnished him with all the money they could, promised him a great deal more next spring, and conferred upon him for six months a sort of dictatorship. They voted a loan of 8,000,000 of dollars, they made more paper money, they threatened those who would not receive it, and they adopted all possible means, by force, intimidation, and enticement, to get money into their treasury, and courage and unanimity into the hearts of the people. Their committee of foreign correspondence laboured night and day, neglecting no argument, and scarcely any temptation, to induce France and Spain to espouse their quarrel openly, and threaten England with invasion, while so large a part of her forces were engaged in that distant war. To men who had so committed

* Stedman.—Ostler, Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth. London, 1835.

† During Carleton's stay at Crown Point young Pellew nearly succeeded in capturing Arnold. That American general, having ventured upon the lake in a boat, was observed, and chased so closely by our midshipman, that, when he reached the shore and ran off, he left his stock and buckle in the boat behind him. "This," says the biographer of Exmouth, "is still preserved by Mr. Pellew's elder brother, to whom Arnold's son, not many years ago, *confirmed* the particulars of his father's escape."—*Ostler, Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth.* If Arnold had been taken, we probably should never have heard of the catastrophe of Burgoyne in the next campaign.

* On the 4th of October they established articles of confederation and perpetual union between the several States. These articles, which were a supplement to and extension of the declaration of independence, were sixteen in number. It was settled—I. That the thirteen States thus confederating should take the title of the United States of America: II. That each and all engaged in a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, and for their general advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that might threaten all or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever. III. That each State reserved to itself alone the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, &c. IV. That no State in particular should either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, or conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the United States assembled in congress; that no person invested with any post in the United States should be allowed to accept any presents, emoluments, office, or title from any king, prince, or foreign power; and that neither the general congress, nor any State in particular, should ever confer any title of nobility. V. That none of the said States should have power to form alliances or confederations, even among themselves, without the consent of the general congress, &c. VI. That no State should lay on any imposts, or establish any duties which might affect treaties to be concluded hereafter by congress with foreign powers. VII. That no State in particular should keep up ships of war, or land-troops, beyond the amount regulated by congress, &c. VIII. That when any of the States raised troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of colonel and under should be appointed by the legislature of the State, and the superior officers by congress. IX. That all the expenses of the war, &c., should be paid out of a common treasury. The other clauses were explanatory of the preceding ones, or devoted to the functions, faculties, and sovereign power of the general assembly or congress: but the fourteenth clause imported that, in case Canada should be willing to accede to the present confederation, and come into all the measures of the United States, she should be admitted into the union at once, and participate in all its benefits; but that no other colony should be admitted without the formal consent of nine of the States composing the union.

themselves every thing seemed preferable to a return to allegiance. It was formally discussed in congress, whether their commissioners at the court of Versailles should not be authorised to transfer to France the same command or monopoly of their trade which Great Britain had possessed. This was relinquished as too extreme a measure, and as striking a mortal blow *at most of the leading arguments they had used with the people in favour of independence.** It was next proposed to offer France a limited monopoly—a monopoly of certain articles to be enumerated ;—and, upon the failure of this proposition, it was suggested that France might be captivated by the immediate offer of an alliance offensive and defensive. But the cooler and more astute heads represented that if France would venture into the war at all it would not be through any treaty, compact, or promise of theirs, but merely out of her old rivalry and hatred of England—that all the assurance she would want from them was an expression of their determined will never again to submit to the mother country, but to persevere in their present course, through good and evil fortune, and even though not a sword should be raised, or a gun fired in their behalf by any European power.† This was the political philosophy of Benjamin Franklin, who was now preparing to go to Paris as chief negotiator ; and resolutions to this effect were printed and sent all over the union, and then to the principal courts of Europe, with agents appointed to impress upon those courts the truth and sincerity of the declaration, and to solicit their friendship for the newly-formed independent States. They expected, if they could only maintain the struggle a little longer, that half of the powers of Europe, who were jealous of the greatness, and anxious for the dismemberment, of the British empire, would, " in sound policy, interfere so far as to prevent the conquest of the United States." ‡ They were not guilty of that folly in politics of trusting to the generous passions and amiable feelings of courts and cabinets : they appealed to the worst passions and to the most selfish feelings; and with what success we shall soon see. The English government got possession of some of these papers, and published them to the world. At the close of the year very sufficient proofs were given, that the American people were not quite unanimous in the cause of independence and affection to Washington. Petitions were signed by a great number of the inhabitants of the city and island of New York, by the inhabitants of Long Island, and of several other places, declaring that they acknowledged the constitutional supremacy of Great Britain, and prayed to be received into the king's peace and protection. The congress had scarcely left Philadelphia for Baltimore when the large majority of the Philadelphians, who had opposed the declaration of independence, and who had unwillingly recognised the signature of their delegates, which had not been obtained without a trick, began openly to declare for the royal cause. Several of their leading men went over to the commissioners, Lord Howe and General Howe, at New York ; and, as those who staid behind in Philadelphia were heartily joined by the peace-loving quakers, they hindered the execution of an order for fortifying the city. General Washington detached two or three regiments and some artillery to Philadelphia, to put down or check the anti-revolutionary spirit ; but this did not prevent several of the leading men belonging to other places in the colony of Pennsylvania from corresponding with Lord Howe and his brother. Most of the towns of the two Jerseys, moreover, sent deputations to the king's commissioners, and expressed their anxiety for the return of peace and order, through the channel of submission and conciliation.*

In one particular the advice of the secretary-of-war, Lord Barrington, had been followed. Our establishments for the management of affairs with the Indians were withdrawn, and the red men were left to adopt their own course against the back settlements of the colonies, which, year after year, had kept encroaching on their hunting-grounds. The fiercest animosities had long existed between these incompatible neighbours ; and the white Americans had adopted at an early period, and continued to retain, the principle that the red men were to be treated like beasts of prey which can never be tamed, but may be exterminated. As the Indians were accurate accountants in matters of blood, and held, as the most sacred part of their religion, that they were bound to avenge the death of their kindred and tribe, the effect of this exterminating system was terrible. We will not take upon us positively to assert that a different system would, before this period, have humanised the savages ; but no one can doubt that the theory and practice pursued tended to increase their ferocity. Our agents had scarcely been withdrawn when the Creeks and Cherokees resolved to ravage the back territories of Virginia and the Carolinas, and to carry, if possible, fire and the spear into the interior of those colonies. Our agents warned the well-affected to remove their persons and property, and they encouraged the Indians to do what would certainly have been done without their encouragement. The Creeks began the incursion ; but, after inflicting a deal of mischief, they found themselves obliged to retreat, and to sue for a peace with the colonists. The Cherokees then began their invasion of the back settlements of Virginia, where they committed their usual atrocities ; but the militia of the colony and of the two Carolinas soon marched against them, drove them from the places they had taken, pursued them into their own country, destroyed their habitations, laid waste their fields, and slaughtered a prodigious number of their warriors. The Americans accused the

* Secret Journals of Congress, as cited by Marshall, Life of Washington.
† Id. Id.
‡ See papers, in Almon's Remembrancer.

* Ann. Regist.—Almon's Remembrancer—Gordon—Stedman.

English of being the sole cause of the barbarous invasion they had suffered; the English accused the Americans of committing worse barbarities than the Indians in their invasion of the Cherokee country.

We return to England, where the minds of all men were absorbed by the momentous struggle. In the course of the summer it had been discovered not only that many of the American privateers were *French* ships,* which had taken out papers and commissions from the government of the revolution, with few or no American seamen on board; but also that France, and Spain as well, were fitting out great armaments, and were allowing the American privateers, or the vessels with American commissions, to sell their prizes in their ports. Sixteen more ships of the line were thereupon put into commission by our government, who issued proclamations augmenting bounty-money to seamen, recalling all British sailors that were in foreign service, and laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions. Parliament assembled on the 31st of October. In his opening speech the king declared that nothing could have afforded him so much pleasure as to be able to state that the troubles in the American colonies were at an end, and that the unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themselves from the oppression of their political leaders, and had returned to their duty. "But," continued his majesty, "so daring and desperate is the spirit of those leaders, whose object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown and all political connexion with this country; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commission; and have presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason be suffered to take root much mischief must grow from it to the safety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdoms, and, indeed, to the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed and clearly understood—we shall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures." Although he advised them at all events to prepare for another campaign, he was happy to inform them that, by the blessing of divine providence on the good conduct and valour of his officers and forces by sea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the foreign troops, Canada was recovered; and that, though, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of August, the success in that province had been such as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive consequences. With something like insincerity—for he must, at least, have doubted the truth of those professions—he declared that he continued to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe; and that he indulged the hope that all misunderstanding might be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the inestimable blessing of peace. He thought, nevertheless, that in the present situation of affairs it was expedient that we should be in a respectable state of defence at home. He trusted that his faithful Commons would readily and cheerfully grant such supplies as the maintenance of the honour of his crown, the vindication of the just rights of parliament, and the public welfare should be found to require. In conclusion he said—"In this arduous contest I can have no other object but to promote the true interests of all my subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art of which they boast declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My desire is to restore them to the blessings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every British subject, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for all the calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs." The addresses in both Houses brought on violent debates, in which the animosity of party was more discernible than anything else. In the Commons, Lord John Cavendish moved an amendment which was longer than the whole of the proposed address. It included a view of the whole ministerial management of American affairs; and, after a declaration of zeal and loyalty, it expressed the deepest concern at beholding the minds of a very large and lately loyal and affectionate part of his majesty's subjects entirely alienated from his government; and then it inferred that the disaffection and revolt of a whole people could not have taken place without some considerable errors in the conduct of ministers and parliament. These errors it imputed to the want of sufficient information and the too great confidence in ministers, who, though by duty bound to know the temper and disposition of the Americans, had totally failed for want of that knowledge. It insisted that every act of parliament which ministers had proposed as a means of procuring peace and submission had become a new cause of hostility and revolt, until we were inextricably involved in a bloody and expensive civil war, which would exhaust our strength, expose our allies to the designs of their enemies,* and

* Many, perhaps most, of these French privateers or pirates belonged to the West India islands which we had restored to France at the last peace. They cruized among our sugar colonies, and between them and the North American continent. When they saw merchantmen or transports they thought they could take they showed American colours, and plundered in the name of congress; when they saw ships of war they hoisted French colours, and called themselves loyal subjects of King Louis. Some of these "sea-solicitors" made enormous fortunes, as had been done by their predecessors the Flibustiers and Buccaneers—a more straightforward and honourable class of robbers.

* This alluded more particularly to a quarrel which had broken out between Spain and Portugal, and which the court of Madrid seemed inclined to settle by force of arms and another invasion of Portugal.

leave the kingdom in a most perilous situation. It affirmed that no hearing had been afforded to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies —no ground laid for removing the original cause of the quarrel—no proper authority given to the commissioners nominated for the apparent purpose of making peace: and it represented that all these things, and the delay in sending out the commissioners, had driven the colonists to despair, and had furnished them with reasons for breaking off their dependence on the crown of this kingdom. It stated that it could only be by withdrawing their confidence from ministers who had so often and so grossly abused it that parliament could recover the confidence of the people. It recommended a searching inquiry into all the grievances of the colonies, and into all the misconduct of ministers in regard to them. It said that when we had prohibited their trade and their fisheries, it ought to have been expected that the American seamen and fishermen would turn privateers, and wreak their vengeance on our commerce. As it could not deny that our arms had been successful in the course of the year, it observed that a wise and moderate use of the late advantages might be productive of happy effects; and it assured his majesty that nothing should be wanting to enable him to take advantage of any disposition to reconciliation which might be the consequence of the miseries of war. The amendment concluded with the following general sentiments :—"We should look with the utmost shame and horror on any events that should tend to break the spirit of any large part of the British nation—to bow them to an abject, unconditional submission to any power whatsoever —to annihilate their liberties, and to subdue them to servile principles and passive habits, by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms; because, amidst the excesses and abuses which have happened, we must respect the spirit and principles operating in these commotions. Our wish is to regulate, not to destroy them; for, though differing in some circumstances, those very principles evidently bear so exact an analogy with those which support the most valuable part of our constitution, that it is impossible, with any appearance of justice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the sword, in any part of his majesty's dominions, without admitting consequences and establishing precedents the most dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom." The Marquess of Granby rose and seconded the amendment, and he was followed by most of the opposition orators. John Wilkes distinguished himself on the occasion.* "What we call treason and rebellion," said he, "the Americans call a just resistance and a glorious revolution—and that revolution has taken deep root, and has spread over almost all America. The loyal colonies are three—the free provinces are thirteen." With a perfect ignorance of the characters and intentions of the men, he proceeded to describe the leaders of the American revolution as persons not very prone to a change of government, but only driven to extremities by an accumulation of neglect, insult, and injury, and by two years of a savage, piratical, and unjust war carried on by us against them. Wilkes ridiculed the half-reliance expressed in the king's speech on the pacific declarations of our natural enemies; and Colonel Barré positively asserted that we were at that very moment threatened with war both by France and Spain. In reply to Lord Sandwich, who maintained that France, and more particularly Spain, would think of their own colonies, and the effects to be apprehended there, if the insurgents in the British colonies were protected, assisted, and made victorious in their revolt. Charles Fox denied that it was repugnant to the interests of those two courts to permit the independence of the United States; and he urged that what France and Spain would chiefly keep in view was the favourable opportunity presented of splitting and dividing their old and formidable rival—the British empire. In the course of the debate George Washington was lauded as a high-

* Wilkes was again in great pecuniary embarrassments—according to his own account, "steeped in poverty to the very lips." In going out of office as lord mayor, on the 8th of November, 1775, he delivered a violent speech at Guildhall, full of the bitterest reflections on the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the ministry. He charged them with endeavouring to establish despotism in New England, popery in Canada, &c. He had saved no money out of his allowance, and had run the city into several new or unusual expenses. Nevertheless, a few days after, the court of common council, with only one dissenting voice (Alderman Harley), passed a vote of thanks to John Wilkes, Esq., as late lord mayor, for his indefatigable attention to the duties of his office,—for his great politeness,—for his wise, upright, and impartial administration of justice,—for his diligence on all occasions to promote the interest of the city,—and for his *unblemished* conduct and *exemplary* behaviour during the *whole* course of his mayoralty. What followed was bathos. The same court, on the same day, voted that 100*l.* should be sent to him for *the great care he had taken of the plate, furniture, &c., of the Mansion House.* Two years after this his creditors petitioned the court of common council for payment of his debts. All his friends opposed the reading of the petition; but, on the question being put, it was carried, and read. It was then decided, by a majority of 73 against 72, that the said petition should lie on the table. At the next court his friends were more successful :—a majority decided that it would be indelicate to interfere in a private dispute between a gentleman and his creditors; that Mr. Wilkes's public service and sufferings deserved some recompense, and that the chamberlain of the city *ought to be directed to pay him* 500*l. a year during the pleasure of the court*, as an acknowledgment of his public services to Englishmen in general, and to the citizens of London in particular. But, before this money could be taken out of the city purse, it was necessary to hold another court; and in that court it was determined by a majority of 12 aldermen and 96 common councilmen, against 4 aldermen and 69 common councilmen, that no such sum or pension should be granted; and that the paying any of Wilkes's debts out of the city cash, whether contracted in his mayoralty or not, would be improper in itself and dangerous as a precedent. He next attempted to obtain the lucrative office of chamberlain or treasurer to the city; but he was twice defeated. Upon this he declared that all public spirit in the capital was visibly decaying—that a majority of the livery had sold and surrendered the capital to the ministry—that the greater part of them seemed either lulled into supineness and a fatal security, or enrolled among the mercenaries of corruption and despotism, being no longer worthy the name of freemen, but sunk into tame, mean vassals, ignominiously courting and bowing their necks to the ministerial yoke! But John Wilkes was soon put into a better humour and into a better opinion of city virtue and patriotism. After living in a miserable manner upon his humbler friends—his great political colleagues seem to have done little for him, and would no doubt have seen him starve—after borrowing, begging, and descending to nearly all the arts and tricks the improvident poor resort to, he was, in the month of November, 1779, elected chamberlain by an immense majority of votes, he counting 2332, and his opponent, a Mr. James, only 370. The place was then worth from 3000*l.* to 4000*l* a-year, a sum with which even Wilkes could contrive to make the two ends meet. He had to find security to the amount of 40,000*l.* Sawbridge and three other substantial friends did this for him. From this moment Wilkes became far more moderate in his politics. He gradually paid his debts, lived in the highest style of fashion, and dealt fairly and honourably with the city funds.

spirited, hospitable, unambitious country gentleman. The president Hancock was described as a plain, honest merchant, of fair character and considerable substance in Boston; and the rest of the leaders in congress were represented as simple-minded, unspeculative people, who, until very lately, had abhorred levelling and republican principles. It was maintained—it was solemnly averred and sworn to—that the revolutionary leaders had practised no arts, no trickery, no subterfuges, no oppression upon any part of their countrymen, —that there had been no coercion anywhere—that the revolution had sprung from the spontaneous and universal feeling of the colonies. The Americans were again and again called the most virtuous and the most valuable members of the British community; and, by some of the most violent speakers, the speech from the throne, to which the address was to be an echo, was described as insidious, false, hypocritical, and deceptive. Lord North and Lord George Germaine defended the speech in all its parts, and went farther in attributing or insinuating a direct share in its composition to the king, than it was usual for ministers to do. They said that, if *they*, as ministers, had neglected their duty, or if they had misled parliament, they might be brought to account at a suitable season; but that this was not the time, nor could those matters be the proper subject of an address. The only question now before the House that called for debate was very simple in its nature—it was, only, whether we chose to resign all the benefits we derived from our colonies,—all the fruits to which our vast expenditure of blood and treasure in their nurture and defence gave us a legal right, —and, by truckling to the defiance and insult hurled at us by the Americans, cut off at once these sources of our power and opulence, and submit to a degradation from the rank we held in the political system: or whether, by a full exertion of our present power, we should preserve those advantages, assert our ancient glory, restore the supreme and indivisible authority of the British legislature, and bring back our ungrateful subjects to a sense of their duty. Lord George Germaine said that we had been anxious for reconciliation upon mild and fair terms, and the Americans or their political leaders averse to it; that even according to their own statements of the propositions made by Lord Howe, and the conferences that had taken place at Staten Island, his lordship was as eager for the restoration of peace as Franklin, Washington, and the rest were eager for the continuance of hostilities. He declared that, even if the princes of the House of Bourbon should incur the folly and the guilt of assisting a rebellion, we were in a state to defy their hostility. Lord North, in his quiet way, told some of the opposition declaimers, that, if they were members of the new American legislature, they could not have ventured with impunity to make so free with the president and the absolute majority of congress, as they were doing with the sovereign, the ministers, and parliamentary majority of this country! In the end, the amendment was rejected by a majority of 242 to 87; and, the main question having been then put, the original address was carried by 232 against 83. In the Upper House an amendment exactly similar to that of Lord John Cavendish was proposed by the Marquess of Rockingham. The ministerial phalanx gave back the fire of opposition with vigour, and in some instances with great effect. They reminded the noble lords on the other side of the House, how often they had declared that the Americans were not aiming at independence, and would never, except at some remote period, and when under the pressure of monstrous evils and the most crying injustice, separate themselves from the parent state, or break the near and dear connexions which united them with the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland. And, after noticing the open hostilities which preceded by many months the declaration of American independence, they said that such things would never have happened had it not been for the orations, the encouragement, and violence of a faction at home, who cared more about getting back into office than about losing a part of the empire or involving us in an expensive war. Speaking as if empire must be inseparable from commerce, they predicted no less than impoverishment, ruin, and subjugation by France, from the loss of our American colonies and the establishment of the independence of the United States. The lords in opposition were much divided in opinion. The Duke of Richmond thought that America was gone for ever, and that we had better sit down as quiet and contented as we could under the grievous loss, which had been solely caused by an unjust and imbecile administration. Lord Shelburne said he could never think that Great Britain could

Lord Shelburne.
From a Portrait published in London, 1780.

resign her right to control the trade of America, which was the very essence of the political connexion between the two countries; and that, as the national debt was truly and equitably the debt of every individual in the whole empire, whether in Asia, America, or nearer home, the Americans ought, in some way, to contribute to its discharge. The first lord of the Admiralty (Sandwich) made a warm speech—but not warmer in sentiment than what the mass of people out of doors were ready to respond to. He declared that, to withdraw from the struggle, or to succumb, would be derogatory to the character of Englishmen and ruinous to their interests and safety; that, if we took that blow from the Americans, our European fame would be sunk so low that every nation would seek to insult and wrong us; that, for himself, he would hazard every drop of blood and his last shilling rather than see his country set at defiance, bullied, and dictated to by her undutiful and ungrateful children, her arrogant and rebellious subjects. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 91 against 26. Fourteen peers then got it entered on the journals, at full length, as a protest signed by themselves. After these divisions a number of the opposition members, especially those of the Rockingham party, imitated a course which had been pursued in former times with signal ill success; they seceded from the business of parliament, alleging that it was useless to discuss or oppose ministerial measures. Others, however, refused to follow the example, and this gave rise to fresh disagreements and altercations among a party, already very weak in point of numbers. Efforts were made to bring the great orator to the charge; but Chatham's gout had not improved with advancing age, and little could be got from him beyond a declaration that he continued in the same sentiments with regard to America, which he had always professed, and which stood fully explained in his provisional act; that, unless effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciling the colonies, he was fully persuaded that, in a very few years, France would set her foot on English ground; although, at the present moment, her policy might probably be to wait some time, in order to see England more deeply engaged in this ruinous war, *against herself*, in America; as well as to prove how far the Americans, abetted by France *indirectly* only, might be able to make a stand, before she took an *open* part, by declaring war against England.* It required no superhuman sagacity to arrive at the latter conclusion, which was familiar by this time to the whole nation, who knew that the French were constantly sending supplies of arms and ammunition to our colonies.† On the 16th of November Lord John Cavendish produced in the House of Commons a copy of the declaration published by Lord Howe and his brother as the king's commissioners. This proclamation had not been published in the Gazette or in any home journal; and therefore his lordship pretended to consider it as a forgery and a daring imposition upon the public. Lord North assured him that such a proclamation had really been published at New York, and that he did not doubt that the paper now read to the House was a true copy of it. Lord John Cavendish then exclaimed, that parliament had been treated with a degree of indignity and with marks of contempt which had never been known before. They were, he said, treated as cyphers in every instance, except when they were used as blind instruments in some odious work. When their name was wanted to give a sanction to acts which rendered them objects of abhorrence to their fellow-subjects in every part of the empire, then they were called upon and the odium was left to fall upon the heads of parliament; but when any appearance of moderation and lenity was shown, all the merit was assumed by the crown and ministers. He said that in the present instance the parliamentary powers granted to the commissioners, and narrowed to the minister's taste, had been subsequently altered without consent of parliament; and that people had learned through the medium of a common newspaper that the commissioners were to undertake a revision of all the laws and acts of parliament that the Americans had complained of. Lord John then changed his tone, saying that he would overlook punctilios; that the great object was to restore peace and union; that parliament ought to forget the insult offered to its authority, and sanction whatever was likely to lead to the desired ends, and that, therefore, he should move that the House resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all acts of parliament by which his majesty's subjects in America thought themselves aggrieved. Burke seconded the motion in a speech rather eloquent than wise. He applauded the great valour of the American people, and he treated the attempted burning of New York with a mixture of ribald wit and offensive religious unction. When in the latter vein, and denying that the New Englanders and Connecticut men had set fire to the city, he called the conflagration a direct interposition of Providence to arrest the progress of British arms! Others asserted that the proclamation of the commissioners had been purposely kept secret; that the departure from England of Lord Howe had

* Chat. Cor.—In the preceding month of July Lord Chatham had brought an action against Mr. Henry S. Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiser, to recover damages for the very great injury he had sustained by the defendant's printing a libel in his paper of the 22nd of March, declaring his sentiments and opinions to be hostile to the Americans, and such as totally coincided with those of the ministry. His counsel proved the printing by Mr. Woodfall; but, on the discovery of a variation of one letter between the printed piece and the record, his lordship was nonsuited.—*Ann. Regist.*

† The royal navy of France had ventured upon one or two bravadoes. On the 29th of July Sir Thomas Rich, in his majesty's ship 'Enterprise,' fell in with a French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and several frigates, commanded by the Duke of Chartres, afterwards Duke of Orleans, Philippe L'Egalité, &c. The French bore down and ordered Captain Sir John Rich to go on board their flag-ship. Rich replied that, if the French admiral had anything to communicate, he might go on board the 'Enterprize.' The duke insisted, threatened to sink him, and pointed his guns at the 'Enterprize.' Rich told him that he never received any orders but from his own admiral—that he might fire when he pleased—but that he would not quit his own quarter-deck. The volatile French Prince then relented, pretended to admire his spirited conduct, and, instead of ordering, invited him on board to dinner.—*Id. Id.*

been purposely delayed in order that the Americans might proceed in their despair to extreme measures; that this delay had, in fact, given rise to the declaration of independence. Ministers in reply denied that there was anything novel in the proclamation and the mode of issuing it, or any design to dictate to parliament. They said, on the contrary, that they had endeavoured to follow the sense and intention of parliament and the very act under which the commissioners were appointed—that the proclamation went no farther than the address voted last session to the throne, and that if it had proved effectual everything would still have been left to the revision, correction, or approbation of parliament. They treated with contempt the accusations of creating delays and attempting secrecy. They asked whether it was possible to suppose they could attempt concealment and privacy with respect to a document which had been posted upon the walls and houses of New York? The proclamation was, as yet, no treaty, nor even a part of a treaty—it was merely a preliminary which might possibly lead to an arrangement; and they maintained that negotiations while pending could not be discussed in parliament without endangering the issue, nor ought to be debated, unless suspended at some point which required the intervention or opinion of the legislature. They advanced several arguments to show the impropriety of the present motion; but the conclusive one was, that the declaration of independence, and the adherence to it, made it improper for us to revise the acts of parliament, which his majesty was otherwise disposed to do. To revise or repeal laws for a people who totally denied the authority of those laws, and who now could not be aggrieved by them, would be absurd, and excite the ridicule of all mankind. They asked of what avail it would be to make concessions, while we knew not whether any degree of concession would bring the colonies back to their former connexion with this country? "Let the Americans," said they, "give up the question of independence, and acknowledge our legislative authority, and then we will revise our acts, and form regulations for their future ease and government: but whilst they persist in their present claim, and hurl defiance at us, as independent sovereign States, no treaty can be thought of, no concessions made, but must be useless and ridiculous!" They repeated that the congress and a part of the American people held the rest of that country in a state of misery and thraldom; that liberty there was none, or only for the ruling party; that the freedom of the press was outraged and trampled upon; that the prison-houses of the continent were crammed with American citizens who retained an affection for the country from which they sprung, and for the government under which they had lived happy days. Lord John Cavendish's motion was rejected by a majority of 109 against 47.

On the 8th of November Lord North moved in a committee of supply for 45,000 seamen for the service of the following year. Upon this Mr. Luttrell asserted that all our naval affairs had been infamously and corruptly managed, and that the noble lord at the head of the admiralty had been guilty of wilful and dangerous imposition both on parliament and the public, by putting forth false representations of the state of the navy. The conduct of Sandwich was vindicated by Lord North and by such of the junior lords of the Admiralty as had seats in the House of Commons. After severely censuring the manner in which Mr. Luttrell had made his attack, they said that nothing could more redound to the honour of the first lord of the admiralty than a strict parliamentary inquiry, which would prove that all the charges brought against him proceeded from error or falsehood, ignorance or malice. Luttrell said that he had an undoubted right, as one of the representatives of the people, to make observations upon the conduct of any minister or public officer whatsoever; and that, as he was taunted with not making any formal charges, he would take care, as soon as the House was resumed, to move for the production of papers, and would then make a formal accusation against the first lord of the admiralty. And, accordingly, when the House was resumed Luttrell moved that all the late returns of the navy which had been received at the admiralty should be laid before them. The production of these papers, he said, would afford him the proofs he wanted to establish his charge, and would, moreover, let the House into the true state of our national defence. Lord North resolutely refused the papers, stating that such an inquiry, at such a critical moment, must be attended with bad consequences; that, whether prepared or unprepared, such a full disclosure of our naval strength or weakness would be impolitic; that, if we were superior in force to our enemies, such a knowledge might prevent their speaking out, and so keep us in the dark as to their intentions; that, if we were inferior or in a bad state of preparation, the impropriety would be still greater; but that, in any case, the business of government could not be carried on if such peevish inquiries were encouraged. Members of the admiralty board and other men in office affirmed that the navy of Great Britain was never in better condition, and that that department had never been conducted with more ability than at present. And, indeed, we have better proofs than these assertions that Lord Sandwich, in spite of many stains on his private character, was in many respects a good public servant, and an intelligent manager of sea affairs. Luttrell's motion was negatived without a division. The number of seamen was fixed as required by the minister, and for the whole expenses of the navy, including the building and repairing of ships, &c., 3,205,505*l.* were freely voted, exclusive of 4000*l.* afterwards voted to Greenwich Hospital, and 500,000*l.* to go towards the discharge of the debts of the navy. The army estimates, which were carried on the 16th of November, not merely with-

out a division but without a debate, were about 3,000,000*l.*, exclusive of extras, and some new contracts with the German princes for more men to serve in America. These supplies being granted, parliament adjourned on the 13th of December—which day was appointed for "a solemn fast and humiliation"—till the 21st of the following January.

During the recess of parliament, the public mind was dreadfully agitated by the strange and mysterious performances of an incendiary, which seemed at one time to denote that there was a secret and irresistible agency employed to destroy all our shipping in their docks, and all our arsenals. Those all important places, the prolific sources of our fame, our greatness, and power, were certainly not watched and guarded with sufficient vigilance. It was not so generally known or so indisputably ascertained and proved then, as it has been since, that a destruction of this kind had been meditated by more than one foreign nation some years before. In 1764 less than a year after our last peace with France by the treaty of Paris or Fontainebleau, Choiseul, the French minister, opened a devilish plot for destroying our shipping and dock-yards to Grimaldi, then prime minister of Spain, who, being equally anxious for a renewal of war, and equally inveterate against England, gave the plan his approbation. But the unscrupulous Frenchman had trusted too many persons with his secret, or Grimaldi, contrary to the habit of his countrymen, had opened his mouth too wide.* Lord Rochford, our ambassador at Madrid, got a clue to the plot and gradually discovered its full extent and atrocity. On the 17th of September (1764), Lord Rochford, in a *most secret* dispatch, announced to Lord Halifax the discovery he had made. "The scheme," said our ambassador, "is this: two French engineers were sent to England in June last. They went to Portsmouth and Plymouth; staid some time; and returned to France. They are since returned to England, and are now there. They reported to M. de Choiseul that they had gained, by bribery, the necessary people to assist them, *some of whom are English*. In short, that in the dark nights, between the 1st and 15th of November, the shipping and dock-yards, both at Portsmouth and Plymouth, would infallibly be destroyed, and that they had invented a new kind of fire for that purpose. I would not willingly give credit to so diabolical a design, but I can see no reason to doubt my friend's intelligence. He (Grimaldi) related the whole to his intimate and bosom friend Masones, who was formerly ambassador at Paris; and has further told me, that it has since been confirmed to him." In the same letter Lord Rochford said, "I have learnt that, about three weeks since, Grimaldi received a letter from Choiseul, telling him that everything was ready; and in his answer, which was sent by the last Spanish messenger who went for London, Grimaldi, after approving the scheme, added, *the sooner it is carried into execution the better.*" In another secret dispatch, written five months later, or on the 25th of February, 1765, Lord Rochford gave some additional particulars. An Englishman of the name of Milton was said to be the first projector of the scheme. This man had been three days concealed in the house of Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador, who had got him sent over to France, and who, as Lord Rochford was informed, was sending, or had sent, away, by sea, from Portsmouth, some of the others who had been engaged in the plot.* All that the English public discerned of this business was an apparent alarm and increase of vigilance at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Woolwich. As the precautions of government deterred the incendiaries, as the king and the ministry of the day were resolutely bent on preserving peace, as they had not succeeded in detecting any of the conspirators or procuring substantial proofs, and as it would have been very easy for the French and Spanish courts to disavow the dark proceedings of their ministers, no notice was taken of the plot. The industrious writer who first brought the matter before the world in the year 1813† was averse to implicate the sovereigns of France and Spain. For ourselves we can believe that Charles III. had too much honour and conscience to promote such a design; but we can easily credit that his Bourbon cousin, Louis XV., was capable both of entertaining it and promoting it, if he saw any probability of its succeeding without committing him openly in the eyes of the world. He always kept in England, sometimes unknown to his accredited ambassador and diplomatic agents, and always independent of them, some secret agent or agents, who corresponded not with his minister of foreign affairs nor any of his cabinet, but directly with himself.‡ When he died his successor Louis XVI. found in his cabinet at Versailles, carefully enclosed in long tin cases, a number of plans, papers, and memoirs, accompanied with ground plans, diagrams, maps, &c., which all related to England, and which all had been sent over by his *secret* agents, the most active of whom was that creature of equivocal sex, the far famed chevalier, or chevaliere, d'Eon—a creature that had wit, activity, cunning, and audacity. Under Louis XVI. this secret deposit of papers was opened and made public to ministers and placemen; but there was one particular document which was most carefully suppressed, as it contained "a well combined plan against England;" and which was most carefully preserved when the rest were burnt, "as it might be of the greatest service in case of another war."§ Was this the memoir for burning our dock-yards? We know it related to a plan of invasion, and the French

* The Spanish minister was a native of Genoa, and the Genoese are famed in Italy for *la bocca stretta*.

* Letters and dispatches from Lord Rochford, as cited by Archdeacon Coxe, in Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

† Archdeacon Coxe.

‡ Ségur.

§ Ségur l'ainé, Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les Regnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI.

then, as at later periods, maintained, as an indisputable axiom in war, that nothing but our fleets could prevent their making a successful invasion. Our functionaries had returned to their old easy confidence or carelessness, when, on the 7th of December, a fire broke out in the rope-house in his majesty's dock-yard at Portsmouth, and threatened destruction to everything there. By timely exertion it was got under, and it passed for an accident till the 15th of January, when Mr. Russell, one of the under clerks of the dock-yard, having occasion to move some hemp in the hemp-room, discovered a machine and combustible materials evidently placed there by design. This awoke and confirmed the worst suspicions; and, as, some weeks before, a sullen, silent man, had been seen loitering about the yard, the assembled workmen instantly conceived that he must be the incendiary. As he was a painter by trade they called him John the Painter; but nothing more was known of him, and on searching Portsmouth and the neighbourhood no such person could be found. Government issued an advertisement, describing the man, and, under the name of John the Painter, offering him a reward of 50*l.* to surrender himself for examination; and offering the same paltry sum to any one that should apprehend him. In the mean time other fires broke out in various places, and six or seven warehouses were consumed on the quay at Bristol, close on a deep and narrow chasm, which was nearly dry when the tide was out, and which was at the moment crowded with shipping that narrowly escaped destruction, for if the fire had caught one of them it must almost inevitably have spread to the rest. These things seemed to prove a settled and extensive design, and, as our dear brothers in America had shown, particularly by their doings at New York, that they were adepts in the art of conflagration, and that they were capable of going any lengths against us, the conclusion generally drawn was almost inevitable. A cry of indignation, horror, and alarm, ran through the land, that American incendiaries had stolen into the country, and would spread fire and devastation in every part of it. While people were in this agitated state, Sir John Fielding, the most intelligent and active of all our magistrates, found some means to trace this John the Painter, and to identify him with a fellow who had been apprehended at Odiam, in Hampshire, for a burglary, about the beginning of February. He was brought up to London for examination. The fellow behaved with perfect composure, boldness, and cunning; and, though several times interrogated by members of the privy council, by some of the lords of the admiralty, and other officers belonging to that board, he was neither disconcerted nor embarrassed, and he could never be driven to answer any question that tended, however indirectly, to criminate him. It appeared, however, that he had passed some time in the most combustible of the American colonies; and, thereupon it was determined to set another painter, who had likewise been in America, to circumvent him and entrap him. This scheme for procuring evidence, which is contrary to the spirit of English law, and excessively repugnant to modern feeling and to the practice of the present day—although to some that practice may seem to be carrying liberality towards the accused to an unwise and dangerous extent—is said to have been suggested by Earl Temple, who thought that we could not, and ought not, to stand upon punctilios in such a vital matter. Baldwin, the travelled painter selected for the business, did it with great address. Being put in the same ward with John the Painter, he pretended to sympathise in his misfortunes, and to hold principles similar to his own: he spoke of his travels in America, and nothing is more likely to lead to fellowship and free communion, whether among educated or half educated men, than their having been over the same ground in distant countries. By this freemasonry of travellers and by his other ingenious arts, Baldwin thoroughly outwitted the crafty incendiary, and in about fifteen days led him to disclose the whole of his secret history. Implicit reliance can scarcely be placed on the evidence of a man capable of such work, and Baldwin had too cunning and low a mind not to be suspected of some little exaggeration; nevertheless, nearly all the details that admitted of proof to be found in this country were in a remarkable degree corroborated by other witnesses, who were removed from any suspicion of collusion, invention, or exaggeration. According to Baldwin, the incendiary told him that his real name was James Aitkin, that he was born in Edinburgh and bred a house painter, and that a spirit of rambling and a profligate habit of life had led him into many countries and through many strange adventures. He had passed through several English regiments, from each of which he had deserted soon after receiving the enlisting or bounty money; he had traversed England through nearly all its parts, sometimes robbing on the highway, sometimes filching and stealing in towns, sometimes working at his trade as a painter. To gratify his roving disposition, and probably to escape the consequences of his crimes, he shipped himself for America, continued there two or three years, and travelled on foot through several of the colonies, at a time when political frenzy and animosity against England were at their highest. There and then the renegade, the fugitive from the gallows, commenced politician and reformer of abuses, and conceived the notion of serving the cause of liberty and checking the monstrous tyranny of King George, by burning our shipping and our principal trading cities and towns. Leaving America, in March, 1775, he went to France, where he had several interviews with Silas Deane, the agent of congress, who was travelling Europe like another John of Procida, seeking enemies to Great Britain. Silas Deane, we know, was at the time in very close relations with the leaders of the war party in France; and Choiseul, the head manager of the plot which Lord Rochford had

discovered in 1764, was now again in office, and as anxious for a war with England as ever he had been. According to Baldwin the incendiary told him that Silas Deane had given him some money; had encouraged him to set fire to the dock-yards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, and Chatham, as the best means of distressing Great Britain; had promised to reward him according to the service he should do the American cause; and, as an earnest of what should follow, had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon, a merchant in London to the amount of 300*l.*, which bills, however, he had found it necessary to burn in order to prevent a discovery. Following the same evidence, we find it stated, that, after concluding his bargain with Silas Deane, he procured a French passport (which he was sorry to say he had left at Portsmouth with other things in a bundle), and came over to Dover; that at Canterbury he contrived the machine which had been found in the hemp-house at Portsmouth, and got involved in a quarrel about politics with a dragoon; that on leaving Canterbury he proceeded straight to Portsmouth, and began to compound and prepare his combustibles; that he quarrelled with his landlady on account of the interruption she gave him in these occupations, and was obliged to take another lodging as she forcibly turned him out of her house; that he easily got into the dock-yard, and was even locked up one day in the hemp-room; that, finding a difficulty in lighting his matches, he had purchased other matches of a woman in the town; and that, when his machine had been effectually placed and the fire was breaking out, he took his departure from Portsmouth in a countrywoman's cart, often looking back at the flames, with the hope that the conflagration would spread and answer the end proposed. A boy, who had made a canister or part of the machine for him at Canterbury, was produced at his trial, which took place at the Winchester assizes, and swore to the article found in the hemp-room and to the person of the prisoner: the dragoon whom he had quarrelled with at Canterbury, the woman at whose house he had lodged at Portsmouth, the man who had let him out of the rope-house, the various persons who had seen him in the dock-yard, the woman who had sold him the matches, the woman who had taken him up in her cart in his flight from Portsmouth, and lastly, the bundle he had left behind him, in which was his French passport, with other articles which had been mentioned by Baldwin, were all produced against him, and formed, altogether, a long and strong chain of circumstantial evidence. With his cunning and smattering of law, the prisoner could hardly fail to point out the very questionable way in which Baldwin had been employed to procure evidence. "Whether it be a false accusation," said he, "or a betraying of trust, through the treachery of the man's heart, I should like that your lordships would take it into consideration, whether such a person has a right, in the sight of God, and according to the laws of this kingdom, to give evidence against me; or, if he has, whether such evidence ought to be regarded?" This, with some objections of little or no weight against the witnesses from Canterbury, who could not swear to a precise day, was all the defence he could set up. When asked if he rested his defence on these observations, or if he could call any witnesses to speak in his favour, he said, doggedly—"For what end? Till something is proved against me I have nothing to defend. I am ready to live and die according to law." In pronouncing sentence the judge said that, having been convicted of such a crime, upon the clearest evidence, he could give him no hope of mercy. "I do not look for any, my lord," said the painter; and when the judge added "I have only now to pronounce the *painful* sentence of the law," he responded "*joyful.*" There was no doubt left on any mind either as to his guilt or as to his connexion with Silas Deane. But, after sentence, the prisoner confessed to some naval officers and others, that the substance of most of what Baldwin had deposed as his previous revelation to him was true—that he had indeed applied to Silas Deane, who told him when the work was done he should be rewarded—that, after setting fire to the rope-yard at Portsmouth, he had come up to London and waited on Dr. Bancroft, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Silas Deane—that he afterwards wrote to Dr. Bancroft, and the day following met him at a coffee-house, and told him he would do all the harm he could to this kingdom—that the doctor did not approve of his conduct, yet, upon being pressed not to inform against him, the doctor promised him he would not. But he denied that he had ever had any recommendation to merchants, or had burnt bills for 300*l.*, saying, that what he had really burnt were his indentures, to conceal his real name. He confessed that he had twice attempted to set fire to the dock-yard at Plymouth, and had set fire to the warehouses at Bristol after failing in an attempt to deposit his combustibles on board of some ship; that he had committed various robberies, some a long time ago and some quite recently; that he had enlisted in and deserted from two regiments, and that he had lived and travelled in America as stated. On the 10th of March (1777) he was carried from Winchester gaol to Portsmouth dock-gate, where a gallows was erected sixty feet high. There, in a composed and firm, but penitent state of mind, he recommended to the officers strict vigilance at all the dock-yards, as otherwise it would be in the power of any desperate man to do a vast deal of mischief. He acknowledged the justice of his sentence, hoped for forgiveness, and wished success to his king and country. After hanging the usual time he was taken down, and then, according to the offensive practice of the times, he was suspended in iron chains near the spot. In the red hot party violence of the day there were not wanting some to commiserate his fate, and to hint more or less openly that he had not been allowed fair play. In Bris-

tol this violence was such that, before his discovery and trial, the most bigoted and furious of the Tories attributed the fire which had happened in their city to the disaffection, the republican and American principles, of the Whigs; and the most furious of the Whigs attributed it all to the malicious arts and inventions of the Tories, employed merely to blacken their political adversaries. Silas Deane made a tour to Italy, but he was soon afterwards regularly appointed by congress their ambassador and plenipotentiary at Paris.* He gave other and ample proofs that his hostility to England was under no control of conscience or of decency, and of the animus of Choiseul not a doubt can be entertained. We see, however, various strong reasons for believing that Louis XVI. was kept wholly in the dark as to the atrocious project.

A.D. 1777.—Soon after the Christmas holidays a bill was brought in for enabling the admiralty to grant letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans, whose privateers were swarming not merely among our West India islands, where they did immense mischief, but also in the narrow seas of Europe. The bill was passed by the Commons without opposition or debate; but in the Lords the words "letters of permission" were substituted for "letters of marque," the latter being considered as only applicable to a foreign enemy—a nice distinction scarcely worth the making. On the 6th of February Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable the king to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of, the crime of high treason committed in America or on the high seas, or of piracy. Notwithstanding the secession of the Rockingham party, this bill encountered strong opposition. Lord North observed, that, as the law stood at present, it was not possible for government officially to apprehend the most suspected person; that the crown had actually no means of confining rebel prisoners, or those taken in the fact of piracy, except in the common gaols, where confinement was not only inconvenient but impracticable; that it was absolutely necessary the crown should be enabled to confine prisoners of these descriptions in proper places, until circumstances should make it advisable to put them upon their trial. On the very next day the bill was brought in. It pleased the opposition still less than the minister's speech had done, and indeed some of its clauses were highly objectionable. It provided that all persons charged with or suspected of treason committed in any of the colonies or on the high seas, or of piracy, should be liable to be committed to any common gaol, or to any other special place of confinement appointed under the king's sign manual, within any part of his dominions; and that they were there to be detained without bail, mainprize, or trial, during the continuance of the act, with a proviso, that a certain number of his majesty's privy council might grant an order for admitting any such prisoners to bail or to trial. Dunning declared that this bill struck directly at the great palladium of the British constitution and only security to the rights and liberties of the people, the Habeas Corpus act; that it was disgraceful to bring in a matter of such magnitude when the House was so thinly attended, and still more disgraceful to attempt precipitating its passage. Lord North had moved that the order of the day for the second reading should stand for Monday the 10th, and to-day was Friday the 7th. Dunning, seeing that the House was going to divide upon the question for the second reading, and knowing that it would be carried, moved to have the bill printed. This being agreed to prevented the division; and then the alarm excited by the bill recalled a few of the seceders. Thus the House became fuller, the debate warmer. The opposition urged, that the bill was both needless and tyrannical; that it was a measure only to be adopted in cases of the greatest emergency, when the constitution, liberties, properties of the people were at stake, or when there were valid reasons for suspecting an invasion, and that that invasion would be supported by some powerful internal faction; that the American war could not create such suspicion, as that war was very popular, and the animosities of the people against the Americans matter of notoriety; that the power of calling out the militia even without the concurrence of parliament, together with the immense force by sea and land, and the unbounded supplies of money, gave the crown strength and security enough, for all fair and honest purposes of government; that the bill might not be confined in its operation to American privateers, but extended to the captains and crews of peaceable merchantmen, or to smugglers, who ought not to be considered or punished as pirates; nay, that it might be made to reach English subjects who had never seen the sea, or handled a musket in any cause. They further argued, that the first subjects of the land might become victims to the jealousy, rancour, or arbitrary caprice of ministers; that new and unknown prisons might be crammed with victims left to linger and to rot for long years; that the bill went to create a new method of punishment unknown before in our penal laws, and to give the crown a power of banishment to any part of the globe, attended with circumstances including the most bloody species of proscription. "Who knows," said Charles Fox, "but ministers, in the fulness of their malice, may take into their heads that I have served on Long Island under General Washington? *What would it avail* me, in such an event, to plead an *alibi*—to assure my old friends that I was during the whole of the campaign in England; that I was never in America; or on any other sea but between Dover and Calais; and that all my acts of piracy were committed on the mute creation? All this may be very true, says a minister, or a minister's understrapper, but you are for the present suspected, and *that is sufficient*. I know that you are fond of Scotland; this is not the

* He left Paris, to try his diplomatic talents at Florence, Venice, Naples, &c. in the month of March, a few days before the painter was hanged at Portsmouth.

time for proofs; you may be, and very probably are innocent, but this bill cares not whether you are guilty or innocent; I will send you, under the sign manual, to study the Erse language in the isle of Bute; and as soon as the operation of the bill is over, you will be at liberty to return, or go whither you please. You may then call upon your accusers to prove their charges of treason in America, or of piracy on the high seas; but they will laugh in your face, and tell you they never charged, they only suspected; and the act of parliament will serve as a complete plea in bar: it will answer a double end; it will be at once your redress and our justification." Thurlow endeavoured to show that the bill was only intended to commit and confine persons actually charged or suspected of high treason in America, or of piracy on the high seas; that it was preposterous to suppose it had been framed with the intention of reaching disaffected persons within the realm: but here he added, sarcastically,—that, for his own part, he should scarcely consider it a fault if it did operate in this direction. On the division for committing the bill, ministers counted 195 votes against 43. As, however, several of the majority had acknowledged the propriety of correcting different clauses, several amendments were made in committee; one of which, moved by Sir Grey Cooper, secretary to the treasury, nicely defined the places and the extent of the offence subjecting persons to the operation of the act. The common council of London presented a petition against the bill, praying more particularly that it might be prevented from extending to persons resident in Great Britain. The petition was ordered to lie upon the table. But a clause was forthwith introduced excluding all minor acts of piracy, and enacting that no offence should be construed to be piracy within the meaning of the bill, except acts of felony committed on the ships and goods of his majesty's subjects by persons on the high seas. It was expressly set down, that the bill should in no manner reach persons within the realm. Having consented to all these alterations and explanations, ministers hoped that the new law would now meet with the approbation of all parties. The opposition felicitated the House and the nation on the narrow escape that they had had from at least a temporary state of tyranny, and took credit to themselves for having, notwithstanding their numerical weakness, convinced ministers, shamed them out, and forced them to accept their corrections of so reprehensible and dangerous a bill. Yet, although they had taken the sting out of it, they did not pretend to be satisfied with the spirit of the bill; and they divided again on the third reading 35 against 112. In the House of Lords the bill passed without debate; and only one peer—the Earl of Abingdon—signed a protest against it. A series of debates followed on abuses in the commissariat, in the chartering of transports, in the contracts for supplying the troops in America with provisions, rum, &c.; and it appears to have been pretty plainly proved, that these abuses really existed, and to an enormous extent. Many members of the House of Commons—ruby-faced gentlemen who sat on the ministerial side of the House, sometimes speaking of king and country, but always voting with the treasury bench—had been allowed to get profitable contracts; profitable to them, but slow death to the poor soldiers and sailors who had to eat their meagre, sapless beef, their carrion pork, and their mouldy biscuits. The opposition affirmed that, both at Boston and since, our brave soldiers had been destroyed by unwholesome provisions. Nor was this party invention or exaggeration; the monstrous evil existed, as it had done for ages, and as it notoriously continued to exist down to a very recent date. Another violent debate took place on account of an unexpected demand made by the Landgrave of Hesse for more money; and Lord North had scarcely recovered from this combat, and from a severe fit of illness, when he was compelled—on the 9th of April—to deliver a message from the king, asking for an increase to the civil list. He stated that his majesty had again been obliged to incur debts to the amount of upwards of 600,000*l.*, and that he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons for enabling him to discharge these debts, and for some further provision for the better support of his household and the honour and dignity of his crown. His lordship then laid before the House a number of accounts which had been sent down with the message, and which went to prove that the king had been a loser by his surrender of the hereditary revenue and his bargain with parliament at his accession in 1760. As the demands upon the public purse had been so excessive, and seemed so likely to keep on the increase, a loud outcry was raised. On one division the very unusual number of 114 voted against the ministerial majority of 281. After this division, the House, in a committee of supply, passed two resolutions: 1. That the sum of 618,340*l.* should be granted to enable his majesty to pay his debts. 2. That the sum of 100,000*l.* a-year, over and above the sum already fixed (of 800,000*l.* a-year) should be granted for the better support of his majesty's household, &c. The king's mode of life had continued to be plain, unostentatious, unexpensive, and in some respects almost sordid: if the honour and dignity of the crown depended upon grandeur and magnificence, it was indeed in a degraded state under George III., whose establishment could hardly compete with some of the pettiest courts on the continent. The opposition exclaimed, as they had done before, that the royal revenue was squandered in obtaining that baneful parliamentary influence which swept every thing before it: they said there was no man of any party in the least acquainted with public affairs but had an internal conviction that the king's money was so spent; that not long before this the debts of the crown had been discharged, without proper account given as to how they had been incurred; and that the natural consequence now ensued in another and a

larger demand. They proposed a committee of inquiry; and proposed it again when the House received the report from the committee of supply. The resolution for the payment of the 618,340*l.* was carried without a division; but upon the second resolution, granting the 100,000*l.* a year, being read, an amendment was moved that the words "for the better support of his majesty's household," should be immediately followed by "and for the different branches of the royal family." In the debate that followed, the gentleman who had moved the amendment (Sir James Lowther) was very pathetic upon the distressed circumstances of the two royal dukes, the king's brothers; he described the Duke of Cumberland as living abroad, like a distressed and fugitive prince, exciting the compassion of foreigners, and the Duke of Gloucester, after experiencing the same hard fate abroad, as living in penury at home, in a manner equally unworthy of his merit, and unfitting the rank which he held. This amendment was seconded, but, it being represented that any amendment made to a report was out of order, it was agreed to refer the subject—the claims of the two royal dukes—for future consideration. The second resolution was carried about midnight by a majority of 231 against 109. In the House of Lords the Marquess of Rockingham, with the Duke of Grafton, who was now in full opposition to the court, endeavoured to enforce the necessity of economy, and to show that 800,000*l.* a year, properly managed, would defray all the expenses of the civil list, and furnish every appendage to royalty, except that only of obtaining, through the means of corrupt influence, an unbounded power and control over parliament. They were defeated by the usual large majority; and then they entered their amendment as a protest, which was signed by fourteen peers.* On the 7th of May more money was asked in the commons, for the insatiable Landgrave of Hesse. This was too much even for the country gentlemen; and such of them as were still in town expressed their disapprobation in strong terms. The resolution to pay was nevertheless carried in the committee of supply, though only by a majority of 38 to 20. When the report was brought up the next day the debate was renewed, and the report was finally agreed to only by 50 against 42. It was observed that some zealous courtiers and professed government men avoided voting; and it was thought that, if a few more country gentlemen had remained in town, the minister would have found himself in a minority.* On the same day the speaker (Sir Fletcher Norton), in presenting at the bar of the Lords the bill for paying his debts and augmenting his income, made rather a strong speech to the king; reminding his majesty that it was "a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger," when the people were "labouring under burdens too heavy to be borne:" and that the magnitude of the grant made by the Commons was unusual. "They have not only," said he, "granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue; great, *beyond example*—great, beyond your majesty's *highest expense*. But all this, Sir, they have done, in a well-grounded confidence that you will apply *wisely* what they have granted *liberally*." The courtiers, and all that party that went by the name of the king's friends, were furious; and yet Lord North, in a fit of obliviousness or despondence, allowed the usual vote to pass, returning the speaker the thanks of the House, and requesting him to allow his speech to be printed. Two days after, on the 9th of May, Sir James Lowther, who had been so pathetic on the financial condition of the king's two brothers, moved an address to his majesty, praying for an augmentation of their limited incomes. He dwelt at great length upon the dissensions in the royal family, caused by the marriages of the two royal dukes—a quarrel which had condemned them to their present poverty. His motion was opposed, upon the ground of propriety, and the previous question was immediately moved. It was said that to adopt the motion would be intermeddling with the domestic affairs of the royal family; that these were matters not fit for public discussion; that the king should be left to his own discretion; that no doubt, in proper time and season, he would relent, and give way to the impulses of natural affection. The whole court party voted against Lowther and the Dukes; and the previous question was carried by a majority of 130 against 45. In the course of this short debate the courtiers arraigned the recent conduct of the speaker with unusual vehemence. They declared that he had grossly misrepresented the state of the nation, in a place where nothing but truth should be heard; that his speech had been little less than an absolute insult to the sovereign; and that it did not truly represent the sense of the House of Commons. The speaker, as soon as the division on Lowther's motion was over, stood up in his own defence, caused his speech to be read, and then appealed to the journals for the vote of thanks with which it had been honoured, to show that the sentiments he had expressed were the sentiments of the House. The court party, however, returned to the charge, to the great uneasiness of the minister, who was not then disposed to risk any

* It was to this effect:—"With regard to the further increase of your majesty's civil list revennes, we must decline any concurrence therein, not solely from motives of economy (though at no time more strictly required), but from a dread also of the effect of such an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by vesting such large sums without account in the hands of ministers. When an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting, that your majesty's civil list revenues are employed in creating an undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifest reason, great sums of money out of the property of your majesty's subjects, which are supposed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the representation of parliament; and we beg leave to represent to your majesty, that a further increase of the overgrown influence of the crown would be a treacherous gift from parliament, even to the crown itself, as it will enable the ministers to carry on those delusive systems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if pursued, must lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the distraction, of this once great empire."

* Burke, in Ann. Regist.

needless trial of the temper of the House. The opposition were just as anxious to keep the ball up; and Charles Fox put in his able hand. He observed that the speaker had either misrepresented the sense of the House, or he had not; that the question was fairly at issue, and could be decided only by the House. For himself, he suspected the speaker had not delivered the sentiments of the *majority*. He would now, however, bring the question to a fair decision; and if the motion he was going to make met with a negative, he must be of opinion that the speaker, after being thus publicly deserted, bullied, and disgraced, could no longer sit in that chair. And Fox accordingly moved—"That the speaker of this House, in his speech to his majesty at the bar of the House of Peers, on Wednesday last, and which was desired by this House, nem. con., to be printed, *did* express, with just and proper energy, the zeal of this House for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, in circumstances of great public charge." The speaker then declared that he could not think of continuing in the situation he had the honour to fill if the motion should be rejected; that he had wished and intended to express the sense of the House in addressing the king, and imagined he had done so; that times and circumstances justified all that he had said; that he conceived he had discharged his duty, which belief was confirmed by the public approbation he had received; and he concluded by saying that he would not sit longer in that chair than he was in the free exercise of his duty. Lord North and the regular government party were sorely perplexed at the dilemma to which the heat of the courtiers had brought them, and they tried hard to get rid of the question without bringing it to any division; saying that no censure could be intended—that the speaker might have made some mistake without the smallest blame—that in the hurry of an extempore address he might possibly have said more even than he meant to say; and they earnestly recommended the speaker to rest quiet, and almost implored the mover and supporters of the question to let it drop. Not succeeding, they moved an adjournment. But the opposition maintained that if the motion were not carried the speaker could not safely remain another moment in the chair; that he would on all future occasions be at the mercy of his enemies, and liable to disgrace whenever he fulfilled his duty; that the dignity of the House was at an end if the chair was permitted to be degraded; that the present blow was aimed at the House through the chair, and was an attempt by the court faction to render the representatives of the people despicable in the eyes of their constituents. They insisted that every word that the speaker had said to his majesty was true and highly necessary at this season, and that it was delivered with the strictest propriety: they applauded him for not accepting any compromise short of immediate reparation. The king's friends, who had neither the wish nor the power to drive the speaker from the chair, were now quite as anxious as the minister to finish the discussion. They declared that they had never meant any thing more than to express their own private opinion of the impropriety of some parts of the speaker's address; and that none could be more sensible than themselves of the respect due to the chair. The motion for an adjournment was then withdrawn, and Fox's motion was put and carried without a division. To complete the triumph a member in opposition moved another vote of thanks to the speaker, and this too was passed *nemine contradicente*.*

The rest of the debates of this session related almost exclusively to East Indian affairs, which will be noticed in another part of our narrative. But there was one more grand debate in the House of Lords on the affairs of America. On the 30th of May, the Lords being summoned on purpose, Chatham went to the House to move an address to his majesty for the immediate cessation of hostilities. He was in a weak state of health, but he spoke with all his former fire—his eloquence, like some other men's poetry, improving with age.† It was, as it always had been, better than his political philosophy—for he maintained even now that the Americans might be reclaimed by concessions on our part. The idea of their independence was as odious and horrible to his imagination as ever. "My lords," said he, "this is a flying moment; perhaps but six weeks are left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult, after all that has passed, to shake hands with defiers of the king, defiers of the parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war there is an end to this country! I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health: this is the judgment of my better days—the result of forty years' attention to America. The Americans are rebels; but for what? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights. But their excesses have been great! I do not mean to pronounce their panegyric, but must observe, in extenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed here. The door to mercy and justice has been shut against them; but they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission and petitions. I state to you the importance of America; it is a double market—a market of consumption and a market of supply. This double market for millions, with all its naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now

* Six days after the common council of the city of London resolved, that the speech made by the Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, speaker of the House of Commons, to his majesty, should be entered in the journals of their court; that the freedom of the city should be conferred on him, and be presented to him in a gold box worth 50*l*.

† "I cannot help expressing to you," says his son William, "how happy beyond description I feel in reflecting that my father was able to exert, in their full vigour, the sentiments and eloquence which have always distinguished him. His first speech took up half an hour, and was full of all his usual force and vivacity. I only regretted that he did not always raise his voice enough for all the House to hear every thing he said."—*Letter from William Pitt to the Countess of Chatham, dated May 31; in Chat. Corr.*

carry you to your death, if you do not take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back." We had too many of those mercenaries, but Chatham chose to consider the whole army in America as Germans, and not as disciplined troops, as they really were, but as a set of boors. "You have," said he, "ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but 40,000 German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage—you cannot conquer; it is impossible: you cannot conquer the Americans. You talk of your numerous friends to annihilate the congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army: I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch! But what would you conquer—the map of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. [Looking at Lord Amherst.] What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, they are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises: I know what ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. You have got nothing in America but stations. *You have been three years teaching them the art of war; they are apt scholars;* and I will venture to tell your lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace—too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do they can never respect you. If ministers are founded in saying there is no sort of treaty with France, there is still a moment left; the point of honour is still safe. France must be as self-destroying as England, to make a treaty, while you are giving her America, at the expense of twelve millions a-year: the intercourse has produced everything to France; and England, Old England, must pay for all. I have, at different times, made different propositions, adapted to the circumstances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill is now impracticable: the present motion will tell you where you are, and what you have now to depend upon. It may produce a respectable division in America and unanimity at home: it will give America an option; she has yet had no option. You have said, 'Lay down your arms;' and she has given you the Spartan answer—'Come, take.'" He then read his motion, which was for an address praying his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities, upon the only just and solid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; and so put an end to the horrors of a civil war, which had served only to sharpen resentments and consolidate opposition, and which, if continued, must end in dissolving all ties between Great Britain and the colonies. His lordship still believed that, it was a mere question of money and taxes; and that, if hostilities were stopped, and satisfaction given on those points, the Americans would "try back" and quit the paths of revolution. "My proposal," said he, "is specific: I mean that they should have the redress of all their grievances, and the right of disposing of their own money. This is to be done instantaneously. I will get out of my bed to move it on Monday. This will be the herald of peace; this will open the way for treaty; this will show parliament to be sincerely disposed. Yet still much must be left to treaty." He insisted frequently and strongly on the necessity of immediately making peace with America, before France should become a party in the war. The French court, he observed, was too wise to lose the opportunity of separating America from Great Britain; war with France was not the less certain because it had not yet been declared; it would be folly in France to declare it now, while the Americans were giving full employment to our arms, and pouring into her lap their wealth and produce, which France was enjoying in peace. He was answered or opposed by Lord Gower, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Mansfield, Lord Weymouth, and the Archbishop of York; who all maintained that a separation from Great Britain, with absolute independence, was the primary object of the American congress, and the end at which that party had been aiming for many years; that concessions on our part would now be, not merely useless, but ridiculous, degrading, and encouraging to their designs; and that such an acknowledgment of weakness would assuredly draw down upon us the contempt of our friends and the attacks of our foes, who would believe us to be too weak and spiritless even to defend our own soil and our own homes. Lord Lyttelton, so lately a sort of pupil to the great orator, expressed his astonishment at Chatham's despondency—despondency in one who had formerly inspired the whole nation with the most exalted, warlike, and heroic feelings! Lyttelton asked in what was the state of America calculated to make Britain despair of reducing her to her former obedience? Anarchy, he said, prevailed there, with treachery, cruelty, and oppression practised on the loyal party; every law was trampled under foot by an ambitious faction; every prison was filled with those who would not join the scheme of congress, and other loyal Americans were driven into exile and despoiled of their property: but this could not last—this state of anarchy would swallow up those who had made it. He reminded Lord Chatham and the other peers in opposition how often they had denied the probability or possibility of a declaration of independence; and how often they had declared that, if it should ever happen, they would be the first in endeavouring to compel the Americans to renounce the fatal scheme and return to their duty. The Dukes of Grafton and Manchester, Lord

Camden, Lord Shelburne, and the Bishop of Peterborough supported the motion; and later in the evening Chatham spoke again. Lord Weymouth had expressed some doubt as to his real meaning. "I will tell your lordships very fairly what I wish for," said Chatham: "I wish for a repeal of every oppressive act which your lordships have passed since 1763. I would put our brethren in America precisely on the same footing they stood at that period; and I should expect that, being left at liberty to tax themselves, they would in return contribute to our common burdens, according to their means and abilities. I will move your lordships for a bill of repeal, as the only means left to arrest that approaching destruction which threatens to overwhelm us. I shall, no doubt, hear it objected, why should we submit or concede? Has America done anything on her part to induce us to agree to so large a ground of concession? But I will tell you, my lords, why I think you should concede:—you have been the aggressors from the beginning!" A murmur ran through the House that he was doing his best to encourage the Americans and discourage the people of England. Upon the question being put, the motion was negatived by a majority of 99 against 28. On the 6th of June his majesty prorogued parliament, with thanks to the Commons for the zeal and public spirit they had displayed in granting large and extraordinary supplies; and with the expression of the hope that, under the divine Providence, the vigorous exertions of his great forces would end the war in the present campaign.*

But before the royal speech was delivered some unlucky events had occurred in the seat of war. As the detachment which Lord Cornwallis had led through the Jerseys in pursuit of Washington lay in winter quarters on the left bank of the Delaware, many of the British officers got leave of absence and went to enjoy themselves at head-quarters in New York. It appears also that the men left behind indulged rather too freely in Christmas festivities. Moreover, two faults had been committed; the troops were put in straggling cantonments far apart; and one of the most critical points was entrusted to a body of Hessians, who were wholly unacquainted with the language, customs, and manners of the American people, while their commander, Colonel Rhalle, or Rawle, was a dull, brave, obstinate man—a mere *sabreur* of the old school. The most careless confidence prevailed in all the cantonments, arising out of the belief that Washington's army was entirely disorganized, and that the Americans would neither attack nor wait to be attacked when the annual freezing of the Delaware should enable the British to cross it. Washington, who had spies everywhere, ascertained the situation of our forces, and resolved to try the effect of a sudden attack, which might save Philadelphia, and induce his enemy to fall back from the Delaware. On the 24th of December he collected his regiments on the opposite bank of the river, some higher up, some lower down, but all out of sight of the British and Hessians. He, however, found himself under the necessity of leaving a considerable force at Philadelphia to keep down the royalists, who seemed threatening to rise in arms. On Christmas day he made all his preparations for crossing the river by night; but when the division he conducted in person got to their boats they found the water so obstructed with ice, that they could scarcely force a passage through it, and it was thus three o'clock in the morning before they reached the left bank, a little above Trenton, where Rhalle lay with his Hessians. At the same time General Irvine was crossing the river lower down at Trenton ferry, with orders to secure a bridge below Trenton town, to prevent the escape of the Hessians by that road; and General Cadwallader was passing over at Dunk's Ferry to carry a post at Mount Holly. A trusty spy had told him that he had looked into the houses where the British and Hessians were quartered, and had found them buried in sleep and in Christmas drink.* Washington made sure of sweeping nearly all the cantonments; but Irvine and Cadwallader could not get across their artillery, and would not venture without it: they returned to the right bank, and left the commander-in-chief alone on the *left*. It was four o'clock before Washington could get his own division, which consisted of 2500 of his best men, into motion, and then he had to march eight or nine miles before he came upon the Hessians at Trenton. But those mercenaries slept on, and, though it was eight o'clock and daylight before the Americans arrived, they permitted themselves to be almost

* Just before his majesty pronounced his gracious speech the speaker made another address to him. This time he said nothing of the great burdens of the people, or of the necessity of the strictest economy, but his statement of bills and sums passed was a lesson in itself. "Your majesty's loyal Commons," said he, "have passed five money bills for the service of the current year. The first, a bill for enabling your majesty to defray the extra expenses of the American war, and to make good the deficiency of the gold coin; the second, for raising five millions by annuities, and for establishing a lottery; another, for laying a tax upon servants; another, for laying a tax upon auctions, and upon sales of estates, leases, and goods, by auction; and another for granting to your majesty a certain sum out of the sinking fund, and for appropriating the several sums granted in this session to uses therein provided; to which your faithful Commons, Sir, humbly desire your assent. Your Commons, Sir, in the course of the present session, have applied themselves with all possible diligence to public business; and have done all in their power to procure the ease, happiness, and prosperity of your subjects; and have granted the most ample supplies. They have strengthened the hands of government, and have done all in their power to promote a speedy and effectual reconciliation with America. They are fully conscious how necessary it is that the troubles in America should be amicably settled; and that the legislative authority of this country should be established and maintained over all your majesty's dominions. Your faithful Commons, firmly relying on your majesty's wisdom and true regard to the interest of all your subjects, have strengthened your hands in the fullest manner; and have every right to expect that your majesty's subjects in America will return to a proper sense of their duty, and that disorder and rebellion will give place to peace and reconciliation."

* Stedman on this occasion does not accuse the Hessians of drunkeness, but of something far worse. "The Hessians," he says, "since they had been quartered at Trenton, had given way to a laxity of discipline and an inattention, that proceeded from a knowledge of the enervated situation of the enemy, and of the improbability of their adopting any offensive measures against them. It is not, therefore, wonderful that they neglected the means of securing themselves from a surprise, nor that the Americans were suffered to proceed on their march without molestation. . . . . When Rhalle endeavoured to collect his troops many of his men were absent on pillaging parties, and those who were on the spot were more busily employed in securing their plunder than in putting the town in a proper state of defence."

surrounded in the town before they fired a musket. At the first crash of mingled musketry and artillery—Washington had brought several field-pieces with him—Rhalle ran out into the street, assembled all that he could of his three regiments, and bravely charged Washington's main body; but in the very beginning of the attack he was brought down mortally wounded by an American rifle, and then his men endeavoured to retreat towards Princetown, a place about fifteen miles up the river, where General Leslie was cantoned. But by this time every road was blocked up in force by the Americans, who, in addition to their own artillery, had now got possession of all the field-pieces in Trenton. After a short hesitation and very little fighting—for only about twenty of them were killed—the Hessians, to the number of nearly a thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered. On the part of the Americans two privates were killed, two frozen to death, and one officer and three or four privates wounded. About five hundred Hessians, among whom were a troop of light horse, stationed at the lower end of Trenton towards the bridge which General Irvine was to have seized, got safely off by crossing the bridge and retreating down the river to Bordentown. As that road was open, nearly the whole force might have escaped by it, if the Hessians had had any presence of mind, and had moved from the town in time.* If Count Donop, who commanded another division of Hessians two thousand strong, had not made an absurd movement from Bordentown two days before, he might, by a rapid movement and a march of only six miles, have retaken the prisoners made at Trenton, and driven Washington into the Delaware with the loss of his artillery and of a good part of his men. But Donop, having left only a guard of eighty men at Bordentown, had gone down the river in quest of a phantom,† and was now eighteen miles from Trenton. As, however, even slow Germans might, in cases of emergency, march with bag, baggage, and artillery eighteen miles in twelve hours, as there was a strong division of British at Princetown, about fifteen miles above Trenton, and as Generals Irvine and Cadwallader either could not or would not come to his support, Washington was obliged to think of retreating as soon as he had refreshed his people; and at an early hour in the afternoon he recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, six field-pieces, and all the stores and other booty he had made. The expedition had a surprising effect on the spirit of the Americans, and all pains were taken to make the most of it. Hitherto his raw recruits had looked upon the veteran Hessians with fear and dismay. To break the spell and to convince the inhabitants that his success was not, as many suggested, a mere fiction, Washington dispatched all his prisoners to Philadelphia, and caused them, in their abject state, to be paraded through all the streets of the town. His good fortune, however, made him rash. In the course of a few days the Delaware was completely frozen over, and the ice strong enough to bear his army and artillery. He resolved to recover the Jerseys, and, sending Generals Cadwallader, Irvine, and Mifflin across the ice with between 3000 and 4000 men, he himself recrossed the Delaware on the last day of the year (1776), and took post at Trenton, which had not yet been re-occupied by our arms. When united his whole force must considerably have exceeded 6000 men, for his recent exploit had brought in many recruits, and those whose time of service was up, agreed to remain a little longer upon receiving a bounty of ten dollars per man. But General Grant, with a strong body of British and auxiliary troops, had advanced from Brunswick, and had joined General Leslie at Princetown; and Lord Cornwallis, who had been on the point of sailing for England when news arrived at New York of the affair at Trenton, had rapidly returned to take the command of the Jersey army, was in Princetown on the 1st of January, and had there concentrated all the troops he had on the Delaware river. And on the 2nd of January, some days sooner than the Americans expected him, Cornwallis descended from Princetown, drove the enemy's outposts before him, and by four o'clock in the afternoon reached Trenton. Washington retired across the Assumpinck, a creek, as the Americans call it, which runs through that town. The British attempted to follow him; but, finding the fords of the creek guarded by artillery, they desisted, and began to kindle their fires and spread their blankets. The Americans also kindled their fires and spread their blankets; and then a cannonade was begun, and kept up on both sides till it was pitch dark. Cornwallis resolved, with a full confidence of victory, to bring on a general engagement in the morning: Washington, aware of his intention, resolved to fly by night.* He would have recrossed the Delaware if he had been able; but a rapid, temporary thaw had set in, and the ice was reported rotten and unsafe. In this desperate dilemma he called a council of war, and proposed the only thing that could be done—to leave Philadelphia to itself, and strike across the country by an open and circuitous road, and get into the rear of Princetown, where Cornwallis had not left any considerable force. The plan was of course adopted, the baggage was silently packed up, and sent off, and about two o'clock in the morning, after renewing their

* Capt. Harris's Journal.

† The day before Christmas-day, when he moved in earnest, Washington had sent all the boys and vagabonds he could collect, to appear opposite Bordentown. Donop mistook them for a fighting division of the American army, and, therefore, moved in search of them.

* The movements of the British army were generally betrayed beforehand to the Americans, and occasionally in a way which forces the conviction that there were traitors at our head-quarters. Washington knew the importance of secret-service money, and often employed that means of corruption. Just at this critical moment, when correct intelligence was so important, Mr. Robert Morris raised, on his private credit in Philadelphia, 500*l.* in specie, which he transmitted to Washington, "who employed it in procuring information not otherwise to have been obtained."—*Marshall, Life of Washington.*

bivouac-fires and leaving their advanced pickets and several small parties to guard for a time the fords of Assumpinck Creek, the American army, muter than Quakers, stole away by the road called the Quaker Road. As day dawned they discovered the British regiments—the 17th and 55th—in full march from Princetown to join Lord Cornwallis at Trenton. The morning was so foggy that the English at first mistook the Americans for Hessians. A fierce conflict ensued, and for some time the two British regiments most gallantly resisted the whole of Washington's army. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded, posted them on some rising ground between Princetown and the enemy, sent back his baggage waggons along the road, and dispatched orders for the 40th regiment, that lay at Princetown, to come up instantly to his assistance. When the Americans advanced he opened a heavy discharge of artillery upon them, which did the more execution, as they were huddled together in a most unmilitary fashion, and were absolutely moving without forming into lines. Thus their van was soon thrown into disorder; and then the 17th regiment rushed forward with fixed bayonets and drove them back pell-mell to a ravine which separated them from their rear. In attempting to rally this rabble-rout, General Mercer, described as a valuable officer, who had served with Washington during his campaigns against the French and Indians on the Ohio, was mortally wounded. The van was in fact thoroughly beaten when Washington galloped up to the ravine, got his main body into something like order, and encouraged them by his cheers and his fearless example to cross it and attack the British—who, after all, were only *two* regiments, and those, numerically, not strong ones. But a terrible slaughter ensued before he could get across that line: Colonels Haslet and Potter, Captain Neal of the American artillery, Captain Fleming, and five others of Washington's best officers were killed near the ravine, and he himself had several hair-breadth escapes. The number of his men that fell, killed or wounded, was, as usual, carefully concealed; but it must have been very considerable. It was assumed by British officers—and apparently without much presumption—that if the 40th had come up in time from Princetown they could have kept the Americans in play, blundering at that ravine, until Cornwallis could have taken them in the rear, when the surrender or annihilation of their whole army must have been all but inevitable. But the 40th were slow in moving, and Washington, after several efforts, succeeded in severing the brave 17th from the 55th; and that success got him out of his predicament. The 17th, nevertheless, cut their way through his main body and rear, and marched on for Trenton. The 55th; less brave or less fortunate, fell back to Princetown, and thence retreated with the 40th to New Brunswick; but these two latter regiments lost a great number in prisoners, not so much on the field as in the slow operations of escorting stores and artillery from Princetown, which place was open and untenable. Washington entered it, but could find no rest there, for Lord Cornwallis had discovered his *ruse* and was now close in his rear. As, however, the great object of the English general's solicitude was New Brunswick and not Princetown, and as our troops diverged by a road to the right, Washington was enabled to clear out and to reach and cross Millstone River, breaking down the bridge behind him to stop pursuit. That night Lord Cornwallis lay at New Brunswick, and there he continued to lie for many days, during which time Washington overran the greater part of East and West Jersey, made himself master of the coast opposite to Staten Island, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, and fixed his head quarters at Morris Town, a place naturally strong and difficult of access, situated among hills, with a fine country in the rear, abounding in supplies. We had thus for the time lost nearly the whole of the Jerseys, and had left the inhabitants who had declared for us in a woeful condition. They had been harassed and plundered by the British and by the Hessians, and now they were plundered and harassed by the army of congress. Washington, however, did what he could to stop the rapacious hands and vindictive feelings of his New Englanders, backwoodmen, and Virginians; and, when something like order was restored in the colony, he issued a proclamation mercifully absolving all those who had taken the oath of allegiance tendered by the king's commissioners, and promising them friendship and protection on condition of their taking another oath prescribed by congress. The large majority of the Jersey-men swore as he wished; and, while not a few of them joined his army, others, pretending still to be good royalists, acted as his spies in the English cantonments and even at General Howe's head-quarters in New York. Making every possible allowance for the nature and extent of the country he had to guard, in order to cover the Jerseys, Howe's conduct must still lie open to severe blame. "In all these transactions," says Stedman, "there was something inexplicable to the rational part of mankind, who could not, by any well founded arguments, defend the manner in which the troops were cantoned. They could not account for so slender an establishment being left at the two barriers, Trenton and Bordentown. The neglecting to fortify those posts nearest the enemy, and most in danger, seemed to them unpardonable; the placing the British in the greatest number farthest from the enemy, in the rear of the Hessians; the not retaking, instantly, the posts on the banks of the Delaware, which posts covered the whole province of Jersey;—all these circumstances were generally animadverted on with much severity." * But what was far more extraordinary than all these blunders, was the fact that General Howe, though at only a few miles' distance, with a far superior force, with a good fleet at command,

* History of the American war.

and with all the materials and means of war in abundance, left Washington undisturbed where he was, for several months, to strengthen his positions, to erect forts, mills, and magazines, to receive 20,000 stand of arms and 1000 barrels of gunpowder from France, to reconcile or accustom the people of the country to the dominion of congress, and to distress and cut off the supplies of the British advanced posts at Brunswick and Amboy. It was true it was winter, and the season from the middle of February to the middle of March excessively severe; but, if Americans could keep the field, British and Northern Germans inured to cold, and far better provided with clothes, tents, and comforts, could have done the same; and, as Washington set the example, by beginning a winter campaign, Howe ought to have followed it up, without pause or intermission, till his enemy were crushed or again driven in a helpless condition beyond the Delaware. But such campaigns, as yet, were rarities in the eyes of European routine generals, and Howe was never the man to despise the comforts and luxuries of snug winter quarters. Besides, as we firmly believe, he had no wish to hurry on the war to a conclusion. Something, however, was done on our side during this long season of repose. Several thousand provincial troops, native Americans still ardent in the royal cause, the triumph of which would restore to them their property, their consideration, and all that they had lost, were enrolled and trained, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon, who had been very active in collecting them, and who was now honoured with the rank of major-general of the provincials. An intercourse was kept up with the royalists in other parts of the continent, and Washington was repeatedly alarmed by rumours of movements and insurrections in the two counties of Somerset and Worcester. In the province of Maryland the royalists threatened to rise in great force, in which case they would have been joined by a great number of persons in the county of Sussex and in the Delaware state.* But congress put the committees of safety into operation, and recommended the apprehension and instant removal "*of all persons of influence* or of *desperate character*," within the counties of Worcester and Somerset, to some remote place, there to be secured; and the republican governor of Maryland had troops put at his disposal to carry this recommendation or order into execution. Even in the New England provinces and the back country of the state of New York, which had been so hot, there was now a considerable coolness and heart-failing among the revolutionary party, which gave encouragement to the Tories or royalist party to show themselves. General Gates, who had been stationed by Washington at Albany, was greatly alarmed at what he called "*the amazing increase and plots of the Tories*," in those parts, and was obliged to ask for more troops in order to be able to suppress them.

* Gordon.—Marshall.

When General Howe began to think of bestiring himself, he was assured that Washington's main position, now at a place called the Manor of Courland, among the Jersey hills, was converted into a sort of citadel, with quantities of artillery, provisions, forage, and stores of every kind deposited in it; and that the port through which these supplies were chiefly carried was a place called Peekshill, up the Hudson, and about fifty miles from New York. On the 23rd of March he sent a detachment of 500 men, under the command of Colonel Bird, to ascend the river in a couple of transports, drive the Americans from Peekshill, and bring off the stores. Seven or eight hundred Americans fled from that position as the British approached it; but before they retreated they set fire to their barracks and store-houses; so that Bird was obliged to return without any booty. A month after this exploit Howe sent 2000 men, under the command of Governor Tryon, General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, to beat up the town of Danbury, on the borders of Connecticut, where a large quantity of stores for Washington's army had been deposited. This strong detachment sailed up the East River in transports, under convoy of two frigates, and landed by night at Camp's Point. Thence making a night's march, they reached Danbury early in the morning. The Americans fled out of the town in too great a hurry to burn their magazines, and the detachment entered without opposition. But the stores were too numerous and heavy to be carried off; they had brought no carriages with them; therefore, they set fire to the place, and burned 1600 barrels of pork and beef, 600 barrels of flour, 2000 barrels of wheat, rye, and Indian corn, 2000 tents, and a considerable quantity of military clothing, of which, as of the tents, Washington was in great want. This work of destruction was not completed until the following morning, when the detachment began to march back to their shipping, not expecting to find any enemy on their road. But, while they had been burning and destroying, the Connecticut men had been marching and running in from all quarters, and General Wooster had brought round some field artillery and placed it at the end of a bridge over which he thought the British must of necessity pass. And there was a greater than Wooster in the field—for when the detachment reached the little town of Bridgefield they found General Arnold posted there with a considerable force, and with entrenchments in his front. There was no road but through the town, and, therefore, the word of command was given to force the entrenchments. The British troops rushed on and carried them after a short but terrible conflict, which very nearly put an end to the career of Arnold. That adventurous man had his horse shot under him, and while extricating himself was charged with a fixed bayonet by an English soldier; but the fortune and address of the horse-dealer prevailed, and he shot the man dead with a horse pistol. As the day was on the

wane, and as the British troops were extremely fatigued, having had no sleep for two nights, they formed themselves into an oblong square, and lay upon their arms till morning. When they moved they soon came to the bridge, and there they found General Wooster with his field pieces, and two strong columns drawn up on the river bank. Most fortunately, however, their guide led them to a ford three miles above the bridge, and there they crossed and got between Worcester and their ships. But, though disconcerted by this rapid manœuvre, the Americans followed, fighting or skirmishing nearly all the way to Camp's Point. But the farewell greeting of the English was memorable. Sir William Erskine put himself at the head of 400 men, charged and broke the two American columns, and drove them back across the country like a flock of sheep. They left behind them, dead on the field, General Wooster, several field officers, and a great many men. The loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted to about 200. The rest got unmolested on board their transports and returned to New York.*

About the middle of May the Americans retaliated in kind; for, having learned that we had a quantity of salt beef and pork, forage, and other commodities deposited in a slovenly manner on Long Island, at a place called Sagg's or Saggy Harbour, they resolved to destroy them by a night attack. The expedition was undertaken by one Colonel Meigs, a Connecticut-man, who had been trained under Arnold, and had been present at the attempt to storm the lower town of Quebec. Meigs, with his detachment, crossed the Sound in whale boats, got to Saggy Harbour before the break of day, and immediately commenced an attack upon the place. Though he met with more resistance than he expected from the crews of some English merchantmen and an armed schooner, he succeeded in setting fire to the store-houses and to some of the shipping: he also took about 90 prisoners; and then returned glorious and triumphant to his own fireside at Guilford, in Connecticut. A few weeks later, one Colonel Barton rivalled Meigs in venturousness and rapidity of movement. In the winter of the preceding year, when Washington had fled to the Delaware before Lord Cornwallis, Colonel Harcourt, commanding our light horse, took prisoner Charles Lee, who had deserted from our service, in which he held the rank of colonel, and gone over to the Americans, who conferred on him the rank of major-general. Lee, who was attempting to join Washington with 3000 men, was surrounded by a party of Harcourt's horse. According to a British officer, he behaved in as cowardly a manner in this transaction as he had behaved dishonourably in every other, and, after firing one or two shots from the house, came out and entreated our troops to spare his life.† He told his captors that he had been mistaken in three things:—1st. That the New England-men would fight; 2nd. That America was unanimous; and 3rd. That she could afford two men for our one.* His loss was considered a severe blow to the American cause. Lee had been a soldier almost from his birth, and had seen much service during the last war, in Portugal under Burgoyne, and in America under Chatham's favourite generals. His military knowledge was great, and he had been exceedingly useful in forming and disciplining the revolutionary armies. He was also well acquainted with modern languages and with most of the great countries of Europe, so that he was considered as capable of diplomacy as of war. The British officers who took him boasted they had taken the American palladium.† They expected that he would be shot at once—and, according to the military code and practice of all European nations, a court-martial on a mere identification of his person over a drum-head, would have settled the fate of the deserter. But General Howe and the British government, from mercy or from policy, were *not* disposed to proceed upon these bloody canons, and Lee was kept at New York as a close prisoner in a private house. Washington proposed giving six Hessian field officers, captured at Trenton, in exchange for him; but it was replied that, as Lee was a deserter from the king's service, he could not be considered as a prisoner of war, or be exchanged by cartel. Congress then took up the business, and resolved, that, since Major-General Lee had been committed to the custody of the provost-marshal, "instead of being enlarged on his parole, according to the humane practice that had taken place with officers of the enemy who had fallen into the hands of the American troops," General Washington should be directed to inform General Howe that five Hessian field officers and Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell—the officer who had sailed into Boston with his 300 men after Howe was gone—should be thrown into close confinement, and subjected to precisely the same treatment which Lee should receive. And, as Campbell had been left at Boston, the revolutionary council of that colony were instructed to look to him. That council of fierce New Englanders seem to have rejoiced at the opportunity of wreaking their spite on a brave and gentlemanly officer. They stripped him of his property, of the very necessaries of life, took from him and from all his officers their side-arms and *sold them*, threw him into a loathsome dungeon, in the common gaol of Concord, and decorated his unwholesome apartment with the ornaments of the gallows or

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Marshall.—Carlo Botta.

† Captain Harris's Journal.—Harris adds—"Had he behaved with proper spirit I should have pitied him, and wished that his energies had been exerted in a better cause. I could hardly refrain from tears when I first saw him, and thought of the miserable fate in which his obstinacy had involved him."—Stedman says that Lee, not fancying there was any enemy near him, had proceeded to the distance of three miles from his army, and had stopped at a house to breakfast; and that Harcourt galloped up to the house, surprised the sentinels, forced open the door, and made Lee prisoner, as well as a *French lieutenant-colonel* who was breakfasting with him. Lee was instantly mounted and carried with all haste to New York.

* Captain Harris.

† Gordon.

gibbet.* Washington felt that this was going a great deal too far; and he may also have apprehended retaliation upon his officers who were prisoners in our hands, and who were at that moment more than 300 in number, while the Americans had scarcely more than 50 British officers in their hands. On the 28th of February, after receiving Colonel Campbell's letter, which Howe transmitted to him, he wrote to the authorities at Boston—"You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers that General Howe shows to General Lee, and, as *he* is only confined to a commodious house with genteel accommodations, we have no right or reason to be more severe upon Colonel Campbell, who I would wish should be immediately removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably." On the 10th of July, Colonel Barton, who had belonged to the Rhode Island militia, with several other militia officers and volunteers, chiefly Rhode Islanders, to the number of forty, crossed over by night from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, with the intention of surprising and seizing General Prescot, who had been left in command of the British troops there. Barton no doubt had received good intelligence from the people of the island. Prescot's head-quarters were on the west side of the island, about a quarter of a mile from the shore: he was guarded by only one sentinel at a time, and the nearest body of troops were above a mile off; no patrols were posted on the shore, the general depending solely on a guard-ship that lay in a bay. Barton and his company crossed over in two row-boats, landed at the southern end of the island, lay there till near midnight, and then advancing with great caution, they surprised the sentinel at the gate, took the general in his bed, and, without allowing him time to put on his clothes, they hurried him to their boats and away to the main-land. It is said that they reached the continent before Prescot was missed on the island. That general's imprudence almost merited any thing that could be done to him. The New Englanders announced that they would hang him if Howe shot Lee, and they treated him in the interval with much harshness, in order to press for an exchange—general for general. Congress rewarded Barton by voting him an elegant sword. †

In the mean time Washington, who had been greatly reinforced, had quitted his encampment at Courland Manor, and had taken up a still stronger position at Middle Brook, with entrenchments and well-garnished batteries in his front. In the beginning of June, Howe, who ought to have been in the field at least two months earlier, left New York and crossed the Hudson to the Jerseys. As the American lines at Middle Brook were so formidable—though not so terrible but that they might have been carried at the bayonet's point—it was his object to tempt Washington from them. After trying other expedients he, on the 19th of June, retreated with seeming precipitation from a position he had taken up in front of Middle Brook, evacuated the town of Brunswick, and ordered his main body to retire to Amboy. Washington fell into the snare: he detached large bodies of his troops to pursue Howe, who threw a bridge over the narrow channel that separates Staten Island from the continent, and sent over part of his baggage and a small number of men. Upon this Washington himself moved from Middle Brook, abandoned what had cost him so much trouble to create, and advanced to Quibble Town. The rest of Howe's scheme was well conceived, but by the slowness of his execution Washington was once more allowed to escape the consequences of his rashness. The mass of the British army moved back by different routes, in order to get on his flank and rear, and by intervening between him and the hills to bring him to battle on open ground. Lord Cornwallis had the command of our van, but he could not begin his march till the 26th of June—at least two days too late. His lordship, however, had not marched far when he fell in with Washington's advanced body, who were three thousand strong, advantageously posted, and well provided with artillery. The British, nevertheless, attacked them with such fury that they gave way on all sides, and fled rather than retreated, leaving behind them some of their cannons and two hundred men in killed and wounded. Lord Cornwallis pursued the fugitives as far as Westfield; but, as the heat of the day was excessive, and as there were woods beyond that place, he halted there for the night, and thus allowed the Americans to get back to their old position on the hills. Washington had seen his error, and had quitted Quibble Town and had begun to retreat two or three hours before the engagement. On the 28th of June Howe called in all his detachments, concentrated his army at Amboy, and, on the following day, passed in earnest over to Staten Island, leaving Washington entire master of the Jerseys. He had suddenly altered his whole plan of operation. The fleet, with transports, was collected at Staten Island, and in the hottest season of the year he crammed his troops, both cavalry and infantry, in the holds of these vessels, thereby exposing them to the chances of a greater mortality than they would have run the risk of if they had attacked Washington in his lines. Howe's officers were at a loss to divine what he meant to do. Some knew that he was expected to ascend the Hudson to Albany, in order to co-operate with General Burgoyne, who was moving in an opposite direction

* In a letter to his commander in-chief, General Howe, dated Concord Gaol, the 14th of February, 1777, Colonel Campbell, after stating that he was lodged, in the depth of winter, with the frost and snow in the extreme, in a dirty, unglazed dungeon of twelve or thirteen feet square, and shut out from the adjoining yard by two doors, with double locks and bolts, and mentioning other severities and privations to which he was subjected, too disgusting to be quoted, adds:—"The attendance of a single servant is also denied me, and every visit from a friend positively refused; in short, Sir, was a fire to happen in any chamber of the gaol, which is all wood, the chimney-stacks excepted, I might perish in the flames before the gaoler could go through the ceremony of unbolting the doors; although, to do him justice, in his station, I really think him a man of humanity; his house is so remote, that any call from within, especially if the wind was high, might be long of reaching him effectually."

† Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.

from Canada, with the intention of descending from Ticonderoga towards Albany; and it is assumed that if Howe had proceeded in that direction, or had only detached two thousand men to Albany, the sad catastrophe which befel our army from Canada would never have happened. But Howe apparently thought that Burgoyne might shift for himself, and that the grand object of his own campaign must now be the taking of Philadelphia. To this end he had embarked the mass of his army on the 5th of July; but it was the 23rd before he sailed from Sandy Hook, and it was the 30th before he got round the coast to the Capes of Delaware.* It was the worst time of the year for such a voyage, as the southerly wind at that season usually blows nineteen days out of twenty, and his course was to the southward. His original intention was to have gone up the Delaware from its mouth to Philadelphia; but, deterred by intelligence that the Americans had raised prodigious impediments on that river, he again changed his mind, and stood away for the mouth of the Elk, which opens on Chesapeak Bay. The baffling winds continued, as every one who knew the country predicted they would, so that the fleet did not make the Chesapeak till the middle of August. The soldiers seemed worn out by this long confinement on ship-board—the horses had for the most part become nearly useless. He then proceeded up the river, but it was the 28th of August before his troops were landed and formed at Elk head; and it was the 2nd of September before he put his van in motion on the road leading to Philadelphia. On the 3rd his advanced body fell in with some detachments of the enemy, scattered them, and took post on Iron Hill (their position), which commanded a view of the Delaware river.† Howe followed, and on the 8th of September his whole army moved onward in two columns. On the 11th they got sight of the American army; for Washington had been allowed ten times more than time enough to march from Middle Brook back to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to the Brandywine river, which, on his present line of march, Howe must necessarily cross in order to get at the great object of his campaign. Nay, the Americans had had time to erect batteries and other works at the forks of the Brandywine, and to strengthen positions which were naturally strong, on some rising wooded ground, a little in the rear of the fords. Notwithstanding their formidable position, Howe instantly resolved to attack them; and this time his attack was made both with judgment and celerity. He threw forward, under General Knyphausen, the second division, consisting of two British brigades, the Hessians, and a corps of riflemen or rangers, who marched in a direct line to the principal ford, called Chad's ford, and drove a detachment of Americans into the river. Howe then advanced himself, placed some guns in battery on the bank of the river, and began a well-sustained fire on the American works and lines. The Americans replied, and seemed to think of nothing except defending that ford. But in the mean while Lord Cornwallis had quietly slid off in the rear of Howe, and by marching a few miles round had crossed the forks of the Brandywine, and was now getting on Washington's flank. When Cornwallis fired his cannon—the concerted signal—in that direction, the Americans fell into great confusion, and Knyphausen with his division rushed across at Chad's ford, and drove them from their batteries and entrenchments there at the point of the bayonet. The artillery they left behind them was turned against them. Shortly Lord Cornwallis, after beating Sullivan, who had been detached to keep him in check, driving him back into a wood behind Birmingham, and then out of the wood, came briskly up the Philadelphia side of the river, and another general *débâcle* took place. The Americans fled by all the roads that were open to them, and by many a wood and wild where there were no roads at all. With such men as he could keep together, Washington retreated to Chester. His march was encumbered with baggage and artillery; yet no pursuit was ordered, and he was permitted to pass the night without disturbance in Chester, Howe remaining on the field of battle, eight miles off.* On the following morning Washington marched by Derby to Philadelphia, and there he was allowed two whole days to collect his scattered troops and remove his stores. The Americans suffered considerably in this battle; 300 of them were killed, about 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The British did not acknowledge more than 100 killed and 400 wounded.

It was at Brandywine that the famed Marquis de la Fayette first came into action on the side of the Americans. This warm-hearted and warm-headed young Frenchman had imbibed the political notions of the new school of philosophy, which for some time had been sowing the seeds of revolution in France; and he had been further converted by the adroit representations of Silas Deane, the friend of John the Painter. La Fayette was at that moment (in 1776) scarcely nineteen years old; but he was a marquis, and had money; and it was hoped by Deane that, between the old French animosities against England and the new political philosophy so fashionable at Paris, and the ardent love of war natural to Frenchmen, his example would be followed by other men of rank and property. As La Fayette spoke no English and Silas Deane but little French, a German adventurer called Kalb, who wrote Baron before

* General Clinton was left at New York with seventeen battalions, the loyal American militia, and a regiment of light horse.

† The affair of Iron Hill was rather a warm one. Harris, whose journal is unfortunately very short, was shot through the leg in the attack on the hill.

* "Fugitives, cannon, and baggage crowded without order along the road leading to Chester. . . . In the midst of that dreadful confusion, and during the darkness of the night, it was impossible to recover. . . . If the British had marched on to Derby, our army would have been cut up and destroyed; but they lost an all-important night; and this was perhaps their greatest fault during a war in which they committed many errors."—*Memoirs written by himself until the year 1780, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of General La Fayette, published by his family.*

† Id. Id.

his name, was employed as interpreter.* This Kalb had been sent by the Duke de Choiseul to examine the state of our revolted colonies, and was now applying for service with the insurgents. "When," says La Fayette, "I presented my boyish face to Mr. Deane, I spoke more of my ardour in the cause than of my experience; but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our agreement."† La Fayette con-

La Fayette.
From an anonymous Portrait published in London, 1792.

fided his scheme to his two young friends, Count Ségur and Viscount de Noailles, and invited them to join him; but they had no money independent of their families, who reprobated the scheme and kept them at home. La Fayette had an independent revenue of nearly 200,000 livres—a great fortune for France. Though so young, he was married; but it does not appear that his wife was any serious impediment; although she was, at the time of his departure, in an interesting situation. Preparations were making at the moment to send a French ship to America, but the very bad news which arrived damped the popular or commercial ardour, and defeated the scheme. According to La Fayette's own account, even Silas Deane was despairing of the cause, when he (La Fayette) told him, he would purchase a ship on his own account to carry out arms and officers. The marquis asserts that the ship was prepared and armed in the greatest secrecy; but there are strong reasons to support the belief that *a part* of the French ministry, and many of the under functionaries of the government, were privy to the whole scheme and connived at it. At the end of 1776 Franklin arrived at Paris to assist his brother minister, Silas Deane, in inducing the French government to declare itself openly, and contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the United States. La Fayette corresponded with Franklin through the medium of another American, who was less generally known, and the philosopher encouraged the youth's enthusiasm. At the beginning of 1777—the present year—La Fayette came over to London, where his wife's uncle was residing as ambassador. He says that, on arriving in our capital, he first paid his respects to Mr. Bancroft, an American, and afterwards to his British majesty—that he liked the idea of playing a trick upon the king he was going to fight against—that he danced at the house of Lord George Germaine, the minister for the affairs of America, and at the house of Lord Rawdon, who had just returned from New York—and that he saw at the opera General Clinton, whom he was afterwards to meet on the field of battle. But, anxious to defend his character for honour and sincerity, and to escape the odium which must ever attach to the proceedings of a spy, he adds—"Whilst I concealed my intentions of going to make war in America, I openly avowed my sentiments; I often defended the Americans; I rejoiced at their success at Trenton; and my *opposition spirit obtained for me an invitation to breakfast with Lord Shelburne.* I refused the offers made me to visit the seaports, the vessels fitting out against the *rebels*, and everything that might be construed into an abuse of confidence."* Returning to Paris, he lay concealed for a few days in the apartments of Baron Kalb, saw a few Americans, and then set out for Bordeaux, where his ship was lying ready. After some delays and one or two adventures—the French government *pretending* rather than *intending* to stop him—he got on board his ship towards the end of February, and set sail for America, accompanied by Baron Kalb and a few other adventurers, some French, some Germans, some Poles. He had the good fortune to escape the English cruisers, and, after a seven weeks' voyage, he landed at Georgetown, in Carolina. From that place he travelled by land to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, where he first met Washington, who could not but receive with distinction a rich French nobleman that was come to fight for the infant republic at his own expense. On the 31st of July the congress expressed their sense of his accession to their cause in warm terms, and resolved that the inexperienced young man should have the rank and commission of major-general. He had advanced with Washington to the Brandywine, where he first came under fire, and was shot in the leg. As he was wounded at the moment when the Americans were giving way on all points, he would have been left a prisoner on the field, but for his aide-de-camp M. Gimat, who put him upon his horse. The Baron Saint Ovary, another French volunteer, was made prisoner soon after the action; and De Coudry, a French general, was drowned, or drowned himself, in the Schuylkill. Pulawski, that noble Pole who had formed the plan by which Stanislaus Augustus was carried off to the wind-

* Memoirs written by himself until the year 1780, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of General La Fayette, published by his family.
† Id. Id.

* Memoirs written by himself.

mill near Warsaw, commanded a squadron of American light horse in the battle of the Brandywine. But these Polish patriots, who had been driven from their own country, and could live in no other save by the sword, were not all on one side; for Count Grabowski, whose fall we shall presently have to narrate, was serving under the banner of King George.*

When General Howe put his army in motion, he marched towards Chester and took possession of Wilmington, where he lodged his sick and wounded. He was then only a good day's march from Philadelphia; but the Schuylkill flowed between him and that friendly city; and Washington had not yet relinquished all hopes of barring his way. The Americans loosened the floating bridge over the Schuylkill, posted General Armstrong on the bank of that river, and struck away to the left of the British by the Lancaster road, in the hope of getting on Howe's flank, and repeating the stratagem which had been so successfully executed by Lord Cornwallis. But Howe, who was befriended by the country-people, and fully informed of Washington's movements, extended his line and presented such a front on the Lancaster road that the Americans dared not attack him. Howe's not attacking the Americans is insufficiently accounted for by a heavy fall of rain, which wetted his cartridges and made the roads uncomfortable. On the 17th of September Washington fell back to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek. Howe did nothing but unite his columns. From French Creek Washington detached General Wayne with 1500 men to cross a rough country, and get, if possible, in Howe's rear. But Wayne's movement was discovered also, and on the 20th of September, when he was concealing himself in some woods on the left wing of the British army, he was attacked in the middle of the night by Major-general Grey, who had given strict orders that not a gun should be fired, and that bayonets alone should be used. Wayne was both surprised and signally defeated; Grey's troops rushed upon him in his bivouac and made a dreadful slaughter. Three hundred Americans were killed and wounded, about a hundred were taken prisoners, and those who fled left all their baggage behind them. The very slight loss Grey sustained proves the skill and rapidity of his movement. Washington now gave up the notion of defending the line of the Schuylkill and covering Philadelphia. He retreated so as to leave the road open; and on the 22nd of September General Howe began to cross the Schuylkill. By the following day his whole army was over the river; on the 26th they entered German Town; and on the following day Lord Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia, from which the members of congress had fled only a few days before. They had threatened that they would set fire to the place rather than see it fall into the hands of the British; but they abandoned the terrible design, and no incendiaries were left as at New York. The chief of the loyal quakers, as of the royalists who were not quakers, had been put under arrest at Howe's approach, and about twenty of them had been sent close prisoners to Staunton, in Virginia, before Cornwallis arrived at their city. No threats or persuasions could induce these men to submit to the authority of congress, or contribute to a war which their consciences disapproved. The majority of the people remained in Philadelphia, and were well-affected to the mother country. But the quiet possession of the city did not give Howe the command of the Delaware; and some tremendous works erected on that river prevented his direct communication with the British fleet. Franklin, before starting for Paris in his diplomatic capacity, had acted as an engineer on his native river, and by his direction three rows of chevaux-de-frise, composed of immense beams of timber, bolted together, and stuck with iron spikes, were sunk across the bed of the river a little below the confluence of the Schuylkill. The lower line of the chevaux-de-frise was protected by some works erected on the Jersey shore at Billing's Port; and the upper line was defended by a battery mounting heavy cannon, and situated on a flat marshy island called Mud Island, near the Pennsylvania bank of the river; while on the opposite bank there was a formidable redoubt and intrenchments at a place called Red Bank, and under cover there were fourteen row-galleys carrying each one piece of heavy ordnance, two floating batteries carrying nine large guns each, several rafts with guns upon them, and a number of fireships. Higher up the river the Americans had two frigates and several gondolas or gun-boats; and lower down there were various works and contrivances to obstruct the navigation, which was not by nature an easy one. Two or three days after taking possession of Philadelphia, Lord Howe caused three batteries to be erected on the side of the river. Before they were completed the two American frigates, assisted by the gun-boats and row-galleys, came up and opened a terrible fire, not only on the batteries but upon the town also. The tide retired and left the 'Delaware,' the best of the frigates, aground, to be boarded and taken; the

* On the advance of Lord Howe, La Fayette was carried from Philadelphia, in a boat, to Bristol, where he saw the fugitive congress, who only assembled again on the other side of the Susquehanna. He was conducted to Bethlehem, an establishment of the primitive, peace-loving Moravian Brethren, and there left for six weeks to have his wound cured. He here conceived and endeavoured to get executed certain cunning, treacherous schemes, which do not altogether harmonise with that character for chivalrous honour and straightforwardness which he was always so anxious to assert. We might forgive something to the inexperience and impatience of a stripling, who probably had never read many chapters of the Laws of Nations; but La Fayette gloried in these projects thirty years after their conception, and his family record them with fond affection. We use the marquis's own words:—"The good Moravian Brethren loved him and deplored his warlike folly. Whilst listening to their sermons, he planned setting Europe and Asia in a flame. . . . He wrote to the French commander of Martinique, and proposed to him to make a descent upon the English West Indian Islands, *under American colours*. He wrote also to M. de Maurepas (the French prime minister), and offered to conduct some Americans to the Isle of France, concerting previously with individuals an attack on the English colonies in the East Indies, *also under American colours*." The important French colony, the Isle of France, was, however, to furnish *men* and all the materials of war, and the conquests made in India were to remain to France.—*Memoirs written by himself, in Memoirs, Correspondence, and Manuscripts of General La Fayette, published by his family.*

rest of the flotilla got off in time, and escaped pursuit for the present. A detachment from the British army under Colonel Stirling was thrown across the river to the Jersey shore, to sweep the works at Billing's Port which commanded the first line of chevaux-de-frise. This work was done with great ease, as the American garrison fled at their approach. The works were immediately dismantled; and then Captain Andrew Snape Hammond of the Roebuck, who had ascended the Delaware, broke the chevaux-de-frise, in spite of the fire from the floating batteries and row-galleys, and made a gap wide enough to admit the largest of our ships; but still there remained the two other rows of chevaux-de-frise, with the forts on the banks of the river and on Mud Island.* The British were occupied in making their preparations for reducing these forts, and in covering through a considerable line of country convoys of provisions and stores, when Washington, who was encamped at Skippack Creek, about seventeen miles from German Town, and who had been reinforced by 2500 men, determined to attempt a surprise. Favoured by a thick fog, he, at six in the evening of the 3rd of October, quitted his encampment, and by dawn of day his van made an attack on a body of our troops posted at the head of the village of German Town, which consisted of one long street—said then to have been two miles in length—about six or seven miles from Philadelphia. After a stout resistance our men were driven back into the village; and then Washington's main army, marching in five columns, endeavoured to enter the village at various points, so as to divide the British detachments from each other. But Colonel Musgrave, who had retreated from the head of the village, threw himself into a large stone house, belonging to one Mr. Chew, and, though he had only five companies of his regiment with him, he kept up such an incessant fire of musketry from doors, windows, and roof, that he completely checked the advance of the Americans, and afforded plenty of time to the rest of our troops to get under arms and into line. After making some fruitless efforts to storm the house, Washington ordered a brigade to surround it, and then moved off in another direction. Musgrave was summoned to surrender; but his five companies, snugly under cover, kept up their fire. Four field-pieces were then brought up to batter Chew's house; but before they could produce any effect, General Grey came up to Musgrave's relief; and when Brigadier Agnew followed Grey the Americans were beaten fairly out of the village, and in a very short time all Washington's five columns were either foiled or repulsed. He then retreated to his old position at Skippack Creek, having left about eight hundred killed and wounded, and about four hundred prisoners behind him. Among his killed was General Nash of North Carolina. The loss of the British amounted to about four hundred wounded, and one hundred killed, and among the latter was Brigadier Agnew.

On the 8th of October, Admiral Lord Howe with the mass of the British fleet ascended the Delaware as far as the town of Newcastle, a little above which place the Americans had erected strong wooden piers, to defend the approaches to a line of sunken frames which blocked up the passage of the river. A body of sailors was landed, to assist the troops in erecting batteries to reduce the American works on Mud Island; but the ground opposite to that island was so boggy that our operations proceeded very slowly. Except outposts, our army was now concentrated in Philadelphia, as it ought to have been before the affair of German Town. After the two brothers had concerted measures, a detachment of Hessians crossed the Delaware on the 21st of October, to storm the American redoubt and intrenchment at Red Bank, on the opposite side of the river. The works were uncommonly strong, and care had been taken to reinforce the garrison both there and at Mud Island. After carrying the outer works the Hessians were repulsed, their commander, Count Donop, was mortally wounded, the second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Mengerode was killed, and the number of the men was reduced from 1200 to 800. They suffered as much from the gun-boats and floating batteries upon the river as from the fire of the redoubt; and the inconceivable blunder had been committed of sending the men over without any scaling-ladders. Simultaneously with this attack by the Hessians part of our fleet moved up the river, with orders to pass through the opening which Captain Snape Hammond had made in the lower chevaux-de-frise. The 'Augusta,' 'Roebuck,' 'Liverpool,' and 'Pearl' frigates, and the Merlin sloop got through the gap; but, owing to the artificial obstructions across the bed of the river, sandbanks had been collected, and the 'Augusta' and the Merlin got aground and stuck fast a little below the second line of chevaux-de-frise. It was expected that they would float off at the next rise of tide, but it blew a gale from the northward, the water did not rise to its usual height, and the two vessels lay there immoveable and useless, to be fired at by land batteries, floating batteries, and gun-boats; and all the exertions of our sailors to get them afloat were ineffectual. On the following morning when the Hessians were retreating from the redoubt to Philadelphia, the Americans sent down several fireships in the expectation of destroying the stranded vessels. Our seamen in open boats towed off the fireships to places where

* Stedman.—Marshall.—Capt. Schomberg, Naval Chronology.—Nearly at the same time that this was doing on the Delaware, there were two or three actions far at sea between American ships and ours. On the 4th of September, as the Camel of *20 guns*, with the Druid and Weasel sloops, was convoying the North American trade, a frigate, mounting *38 guns*, bore down to within pistol shot of the Druid sloop, which was to the windward, at some distance from the rest of the convoy, hoisted American colours, hailed, and commanded her to strike to the honour of Congress. This was followed by a terrible broadside upon the sloop, which dangerously wounded her commander and killed her sailing-master. The Druid, nevertheless, sustained the action for an hour and a half, when she was left a wreck, and then the American frigate made off, to escape the Camel, which was beating up from leeward. On the 22nd of September the Alert cutter of 10 guns, 10 swivels, and 60 men, captured, after a hard fight and a hot pursuit, the Lexington privateer of 16 guns, 12 swivels, and 84 men.—*Schomberg.*

they exploded without doing any mischief. But by some accident the 'Augusta' took fire herself, and burned so rapidly to the powder magazine, that several of her crew perished in the flames. The rest were taken out by the other frigates, which hauled off to avoid the explosion. After the 'Augusta' had blown up the English sailors set fire to the 'Merlin,' and the 'Roebuck,' 'Liverpool,' and 'Pearl' went back through the unlucky gap.* It was the 10th of November before our batteries were completed over against Mud Island; and, owing to unfavourable winds and weather, and the labour required to remove the obstructions at Newcastle, it was the 15th before our ships of war could co-operate with these land batteries. But, as soon as the ships got into position, the American garrison, though it had been constantly reinforced, began to quake—some of their guns were presently dismounted—a breach was made in their works—and as soon as it was dark they all fled and left their artillery behind them.† Two days after the fall of Mud Island Lord Cornwallis proceeded against the redoubt on Red Bank with such a force, and with such materials, as should have been employed in the first instance. On his approach the Americans fled as fast as their brethren had fled from the island; and the flotilla—the gun-boats and row-galleys which those land works had protected—were abandoned and burnt. Franklin's ingenious mechanism was then destroyed, and at last a free communication was established, along the Delaware, between the ocean and Philadelphia, between the British army and navy. But it was already the season of short days and cold nights; and Howe, as we have seen, had no taste for winter campaigns. We imagine that he thought the work of the year done, when Washington rather suddenly made a movement in advance that seemed to compel further exertion. Being reinforced by four thousand men from the army of the North, which had certainly done its work by capturing Burgoyne, he quitted his strong position at Skippack Creek, and advanced to a still stronger one at White Marsh, only fourteen miles from Philadelphia, and Howe's head-quarters. On the night of the 4th of December Howe marched out of Philadelphia, and on the following morning took post on Chestnut Hill in front of Washington's right wing. The American position did not tempt an attack in so cautious or slow a commander—there was a valley and a rivulet in its front, and there were abbatis of trees with their top branches pointed and lying outwards, as a sort of natural barricade and chevaux-de-frise—and therefore Howe remained for two days drawn out in line, to tempt Washington to an engagement on ground of his own choosing. But, though the Americans were now numerically stronger than the king's army, they were not inclined to risk a battle in the open country, and, with the exception of a slight skirmish, in which some of their militia ran like a rabble before Colonel Abercrombie and his light infantry, nothing took place. On the night of the 6th Howe again put his army in motion, marched from Washington's right to his left wing, and on the following morning ascended Edge Hill, about a mile from the American left. A strong body of the victorious army of the North were on the crest of that hill, but they were soon driven from it by the British van, led by Lord Cornwallis, and they retreated so rapidly that Washington's left was thrown into some dismay or confusion. This was a favourable moment for trying an attack, and in the course of the morning another good opportunity offered, for General Grey by a rapid movement almost turned their left, and so nearly surrounded another of their outposts, that the men composing it were driven right across the fire of our centre, and suffered very severely. Yet Howe did not avail himself of these advantages, and, after viewing all that side of the encampment, and seeing that Washington was determined not to quit it, he, on the afternoon of the 8th, returned with the army to Philadelphia. Though still more reinforcements had come into his camp, Washington would not stir, and Cornwallis, always in the post of danger, brought off the rear late in the evening without pursuit, and apparently without sustaining the loss of a man. Stedman says most distinctly that if Howe, instead of being satisfied with examining the American wings and front, had gone into their rear, he would have found their encampment accessible, and would have cut off Washington from his baggage and provisions, which lay five miles off. "The American general," he adds, "dreaded this, and was prepared for flight. Our troops notwithstanding retired, to the surprise of all who were acquainted with the ground on which Washington was encamped, and the variety of excellent roads that led round to his rear."* But Howe was evidently determined to risk nothing, and was probably apprehensive that if he took the roads leading to the American rear, Washington might take the road to Philadelphia, though how he could have gone thither if he had been cut off from his baggage and provisions it may be difficult to determine. On the night of the 10th Washington abandoned his position, and began to cross to the west bank of the Schuylkill. Early in the morning, as his van began to form on that side of the river, they were most unexpectedly charged by Lord Cornwallis, who drove them back to their bridge of boats, and took possession of some heights which commanded it. Washington was greatly disconcerted, and, fancying that Howe was in the rear of Cornwallis, he broke up his bridge and moved higher up the river. But Cornwallis was neither supported nor in any force; the American van had fled from what was a mere foraging party; Cornwallis returned to Philadelphia in the course of the day; and in the course of the following night Washington got his army across the Schuyl-

* Stedman. According to Schomberg the Augusta took fire from the wadding of her own guns, and, in blowing up, involved the Merlin sloop in her destruction.—*Naval Chron.*

† This time the attack was made by the Somerset, 70 guns; Isis, 50; Roebuck, 44; Pearl, 32; Liverpool, 28; Vigilant, 20; and Cornwallis galley, 3 guns.

* Hist. Amer. War.

kill. The winter had now set in with great severity; but if he went into winter quarters in Lancaster, York, and Carlisle, the nearest towns capable of accommodating his army, he would have left a wide and fertile country open to the British troops and a population but too well disposed to accept the pardons which the Howes offered. He therefore resolved to keep the field, and to occupy during the whole winter such a position as should keep Howe in check, and the city of Philadelphia in great discomfort. This was one of Washington's brightest inspirations, and the way in which he executed his plan did the highest honour to his steadiness, his perseverance, and wonderful power of command. He selected a strong piece of ground thickly covered with wood at Valley Forge on the west side of the Schuylkill, and not above twenty-five miles from Philadelphia. Tents were scarce in his army, and even if he had been well supplied few men could have braved the winter with impunity under mere canvas; Washington therefore introduced or extended the back-woodman's practice of hutting. His people, with abundance of timber at hand, cut down the trees and built log huts; and to keep them the warmer they filled up the interstices with earth, moss, and a rude kind of mortar, and thus made habitations which were as warm and as comfortable as the homes of most of them. He encouraged his men during their labour and privation by the prospect of a more fortunate campaign next spring, and though many of his unruly, undisciplined host were eager to return to their own towns and villages, he contrived to keep the mass of his army together, exercising and training them in his encampment, and occasionally employing them in sorties and surprises. On the east and south of his encampment he drew an intrenchment with a ditch six feet wide and three or four deep. He began two redoubts, but they were never finished, as he clearly saw that Howe was determined to keep warm and dry in his winter quarters, and that no attack was to be apprehended. His left was covered by the Schuylkill, with a moveable bridge across it; his right was somewhat open and accessible; and, notwithstanding his intrenchment, the centre of his front was contemptibly weak. His rear was, for the most part, covered by an abrupt precipice, at the foot of which flowed Valley Creek, which had a narrow passage through the rocks to the Schuylkill. With reference to the duties of covering the fertile country and harassing Philadelphia, the spot was well chosen; but, as a defensive position, it was weak and bad. An active enemy would have allowed him time neither to dig his intrenchment nor construct his huts; and defeat in such a place must have been attended with the most fatal consequences. But Howe eat his meat, drank his wine, and played his game at cards in Philadelphia, in seeming forgetfulness of there being such a place in his neighbourhood as Valley Forge.*

We turn from the operations of the main British army to our unfortunate movements from the side of Canada. For parliamentary reasons our ministers had thought proper to take the command from General Carleton, who had re-established our supremacy on the Lakes the year before, and to confer it, against the ordinary rules of the service, upon General Burgoyne, a brave man, and in many respects a skilful and excellent officer, but one little acquainted with the country and the manners of its various inhabitants. Carleton, who had long resided in Canada, who knew the country well, and who had an immense personal influence with the people of all classes, felt himself aggrieved, and his disgust was heightened by not being allowed a voice or the shadow of a will in the plans to be pursued. These plans were minutely and absolutely laid down by our ministers at home, who only knew the country through maps that were inaccurate and through reports that were contradictory, and who seem to have been wofully blind to the fact that campaigns are not things to be made by sedentary men in a cabinet, but by generals commanding in the field. Lord North had no taste or talent for war; the war minister, Lord Barrington, entertained notions diametrically opposite to those of his colleagues, and was scarcely consulted; and the authorship of the plans was pretty generally attributed to the joint heads of General Burgoyne, George III., and Lord George Germaine. Carleton sent over his resignation as governor of Canada, but, as he was bound to remain till a successor should arrive, he did what he could, or what he was ordered to do, to assist Burgoyne in opening the campaign and to support him while engaged in it. It is said by some that his co-operation was destitute of heart and spirit; it could scarcely be otherwise; but we have so much confidence in his high sense of honour and patriotism as to believe that Carleton, throughout the unfortunate and vexatious business, did his best. A considerable body of veteran troops being sent out from England, Burgoyne's force amounted to 7200 men, rank and file, exclusive of the corps of artillery. Nearly half of these were Germans. The French Canadians, to the number of 2000 or 3000, were furnished with arms, hatchets, and other implements, and engaged to occupy the woods on the frontiers of the province, to make roads, to complete the fortifications on the river Sorel at Forts St. John and Chamblée, and at the Isle aux Noix; they were also to act as pioneers and scouts, and another body of them were to accompany the army as baggage-men, with horses and carts. In addition to this force, Burgoyne, by the express orders of ministers, had put under arms several nations or tribes of Red Indians, who inhabited the back settlements and the borders of the western lakes, and who were so eager for the war that his only difficulty was in preventing an over-numerous accession. He knew, and every one else in the country knew, that, if we did not engage these savages to fight against the Americans, the Americans would endeavour to engage them to fight against us; but

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Marshall.

GROUP OF CROW, SIOUX, AND PAWNEE INDIANS, IN THE COSTUMES OF THEIR TRIBES, RECLINING IN FRONT OF A CROW WIGWAM. From an Original Drawing by George Catlin, the North American Traveller.

as a man of humanity he exerted himself to check the native ferocity of the tribes, and to teach them to make war like civilised men. He was told, by those who knew more of the red men, that he might as well attempt to change their natural colour by washing them with soap and water. Burgoyne was furnished with picked and experienced officers, among whom were Major-general Philips, Brigadier-general Fraser, Brigadiers Powell and Hamilton, the Brunswick Major-general Reidesel, and Brigadier-general Specht. The first thing he was to do was to take Ticonderoga. The starting point was Fort St. John on the Sorel; and, having detached Colonel St. Leger, with between seven and eight hundred men, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river, Burgoyne set out from St. John on the 16th of June, preceded by the shipping, and attended on the right and left flank by columns of Indians. The Americans were in considerable force at Crown Point, but they retired at the approach of our flotilla, and the troops were safely landed at that point. When this operation was over Burgoyne treated the Indians with a war feast, and again entreated them to relinquish their old and cherished habits. He, however, put into his proclamation or manifesto a terrible picture of Indian ferocity, and threatened such of the insurgents as should continue in their obstinacy with its unavoidable effects. Having erected magazines and some slight defences at Crown Point, Burgoyne, in a few days, proceeded to Ticonderoga. The Americans there had erected several new works, and had, moreover, fortified Mount Independence, a high hill on the eastern shore of the lake opposite to Ticonderoga, to which they had united it by a strong bridge, which effectually prevented any attack by water. But there was another hill, called Sugar Hill, which commanded both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the American general in command—St. Clair—had neither occupied nor fortified it; and there was still another hill, called Mount Hope, which commanded part of their line, and which was equally neglected. Major-general Philips took possession of Mount Hope on the 2nd of July, and on the following day Sugar Hill was occupied. Our troops, with wonderful rapidity, threw up works for investing the place in form; but on the night of the 5th of July the Americans evacuated both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and, putting their baggage and provisions on board of batteaux, they fled by the only road that remained open to them to Skenesborough. The batteaux went along the South River, the entrance to which was defended by bombs and an immense framework of timber, sunk in the water, which was said to have cost the Americans near twelve months' labour; but, as soon as their flight was discovered,* our sailors fell upon these works,

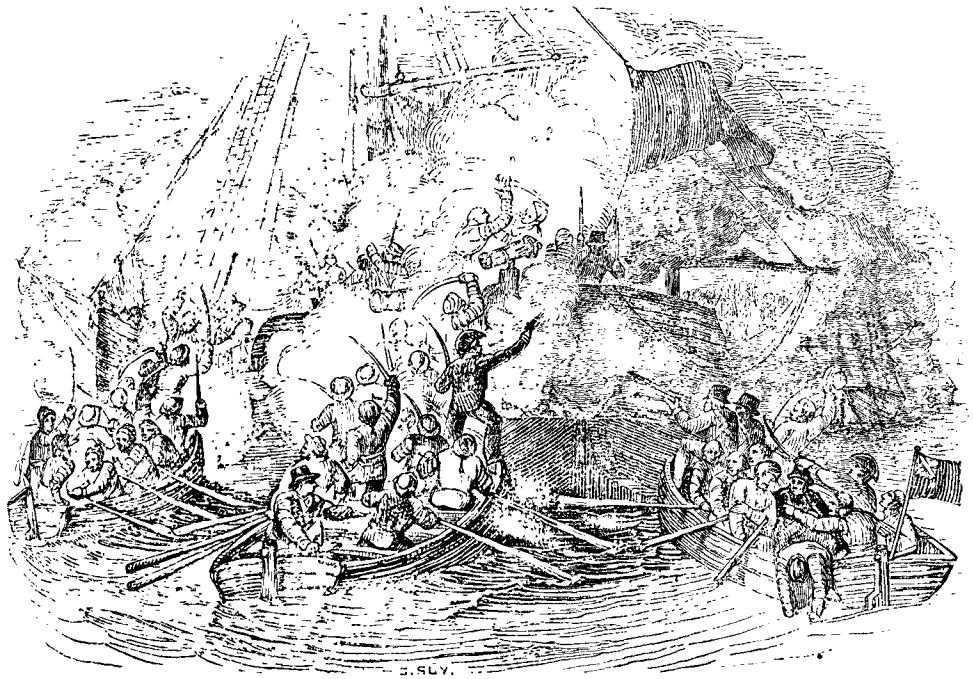
* According to an American writer their nocturnal flight would not have been discovered so soon, had it not been for the indiscipline of the American troops, and their habit of setting fire to the places they abandoned. "In the hope of making considerable progress before

and in the course of a very few hours destroyed them. A brigade of gun-boats then shot into the river, and proceeded with such speed that they overtook the American batteaux, near the falls of Skenesborough. Some large galleys bore down the river to defend the batteaux, but they were beaten, boarded, and taken; and most of the batteaux were destroyed. General Burgoyne, with one part of his army, followed with other gun-boats and two small frigates, while Generals Fraser and Reidesel marched by land after St. Clair. When Burgoyne approached the falls of Skenesborough he was saluted by a heavy fire of artillery, but as soon as he began to land his men the Americans fled from their stockade fort and other works, and left him in quiet possession of Skenesborough, which had remained in the hands of the Americans, like Ticonderoga, ever since the first surprise by Ethan Allen. The Americans, who had occupied the place, retired hastily to Fort Anne; and in the course of the day nearly all the baggage of their army, and a great part of their military stores, were either taken by the British, or burnt and destroyed by themselves.* General St. Clair marched with such headlong haste that he reached Castletown, nearly thirty miles from Ticonderoga, that very night; but his rear-guard, under Colonel Warner, did not move quite so fast, and halted six miles short of Castletown, on some rising ground, partially covered with trees. At an early hour on the following morning they were there discovered by General Fraser, who had been close on their heels the greater part of the preceding day—one of the hottest days in July—but he had now scarcely more than 800 men with him; whereas Colonel Warner was from 1200 to 1500 strong, advantageously posted, and with his men covered with a sort of breastwork, composed of logs and old trees. Fraser, who was as brave as steel, determined, nevertheless, to attack, being confident that the body of Germans, under Reidesel, who had started with him on the pursuit, but had been left behind, would soon come up to his assistance. Warner also had assistance within reach; but two regiments of militia, instead of attending to his summons, turned their backs upon him, and fled to Castletown as soon as they saw the head of Fraser's little column. Fraser led his men up the hill to the breastwork:—a terrible, and, for some time, a doubtful conflict ensued, for the Germans did not come quite so soon as he expected them. But when Reidesel appeared, with a full band of music playing, the Americans conceived that all the German troops were with him—whereas, in truth, he had only a few companies;—and they then abandoned the hill, and fled for Castletown as fast as their militia. Their loss had been appalling: Colonel Francis, several other officers, and above 200 men, were left dead on the field; 1 colonel, 7 captains, 10 subalterns, and 210 privates, were made prisoners; while nearly 600 wounded crawled away to perish in the woods, in a vain attempt to escape to the inhabited country.* Fraser lost Major Pratt, and had about 20 inferior officers and about 150 privates killed and wounded. During this action Burgoyne, with the principal division of the British army, was at Skenesborough, where he halted several days; and the American general St. Clair was at Castletown. The latter now retired in all haste to Manchester, and thence to Fort Edward (on the left bank of the Hudson, about equidistant from Saratoga and from Fort George at the southern end of the lakes) leaving Colonel Long to defend Fort Anne. But Long was overtaken and thoroughly beaten by Colonel Hill, and, instead of defending Fort Anne, he set fire to it, and fled to join St. Clair. At this critical juncture General Schuyler, the commander-in-chief of the American army of the north, who was bringing up reinforcements to defend, as he supposed, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, reached Saratoga, to be overwhelmed by the news of a rapid succession of defeats and disasters. He relied, however, on the rough country which the British must traverse, and, calling in St. Clair and Long, and the wreck of that army, he fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward, broke up the roads and the bridges, blocked up the creeks and rivers, and swept the country bare of live stock and all kinds of provisions. At the same time he implored congress, who were wholly absorbed by the strange desultory movements made by Howe in the beginning of his campaign, to send him reinforcements of regular troops; he called up the militia and the back-woodsmen of New England and New York; he wrote the most pressing letters in all directions; and he succeeded, by degrees, in collecting a numerous though motley force. On landing at Crown Point Burgoyne had addressed the American people in a proclamation, and now, from his head-quarters at Skenesborough, he issued a second manifesto, summoning the people of the adjacent country to send deputies from each township, to meet at Castletown, in order to deliberate on such measures as might still be adopted to save from punishment those who had not yet conformed to his first proclamation and submitted to the royal authority. To counteract this document General Schuyler issued a proclamation, in the name of the Congress of the United States, citing the example of Jersey, to show the treatment the people would receive if they allowed themselves to be deluded by proclamations, and threatening them in the same breath with death, as traitors, if they sent any deputation, or afforded any manner of aid, to the enemy. At the same time Schuyler contrived to make a letter fall into the hands of Burgoyne, so written as to bewilder the English general, and make him hesitate whether he should

his retreat should be discovered, General St. Clair had ordered the troops to observe the most profound silence, and, particularly, to set nothing on fire. These judicious orders were disobeyed; and before the rear-guard was in motion, the house which had been occupied by General de Fermoy was in flames. This served as a signal to the besiegers."—*Marshall, Life of Washington.*

* Marshall, Life of Washington.—Stedman.—Annual Register.

* When Warner joined St. Clair, he had with him only ninety men!

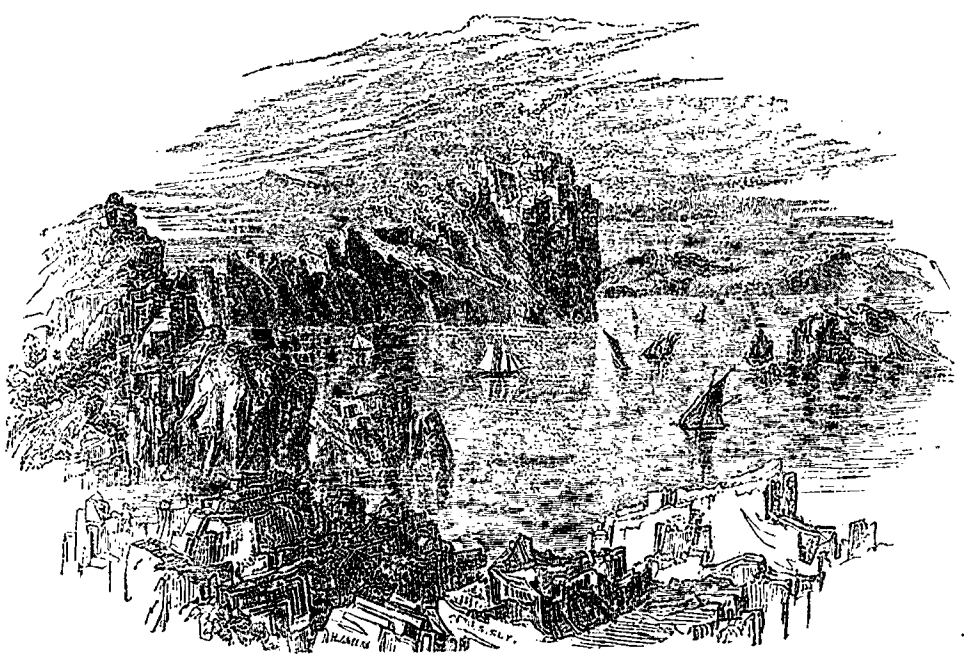


BURGOYNE'S ATTACK ON THE AMERICAN BATTEAUX. From a Design by Jarvis.

advance or retreat. At last Burgoyne resolved to advance, according to the original plan laid down for his campaign, and which plan included about the worst route which he could have pursued. Instead of retracing his steps to Ticonderoga, and embarking on Lake George to proceed to Fort George, whence there was a waggon-road to the place of his destination, Fort Edward, he struck across the country with the mass of his force, and sent General Philips, with a strong detachment, to proceed by Lake George, with the artillery, provisions, and baggage. The land journey was as difficult as the water communication was easy: Burgoyne had to pass swamps and morasses, numerous creeks, ravines, and gullies, over which it was necessary to throw bridges; and he was obliged to consume more time in clearing the roads of the forest-trees, which the Americans had cut down and disposed in such a manner as to intersect each other. The swampy, wooded country abounded with mosquitoes and other insects to a degree almost intolerable to Europeans, and the weather was close and sultry. Nevertheless the men bore all these annoyances and their excessive fatigue with great good humour; and on the 30th of July they reached the river Hudson, near Fort Edward; Schuyler retiring across the Hudson at their approach. If Howe had ascended that river from New York the Americans could scarcely have been in a condition to resist the two united armies; but Howe, a month before, had retreated to Staten Island, and, on the 23rd of July, one week before Burgoyne reached the upper course of the Hudson, had sailed away for the Delaware. It is said that Howe had distinctly given Burgoyne to understand that his plan of operations did not allow him to co-operate on the upper part of the Hudson. Yet his own object, the capture of Philadelphia, was utterly insignificant, if compared to the results which might have been expected from the united operations of the two armies on the Hudson, which must have split America into two, by separating the northern from the southern provinces: but Howe, who had begun late, and who had twice changed his own scheme of campaign, evidently had no affection for the plan for the execution of which another had been appointed in the first place, and the honour of which, if successful, would fall more to Burgoyne than to himself.

As soon as Burgoyne was assured that Howe would not co-operate, he ought to have retreated to the Lakes, for, with a small army like his, he could scarcely occupy forts or positions enough to keep the country in awe, or even to keep the communications open with Canada; and the most that he could hope from the most brilliant success was to make a military promenade through the country to New York, where he was not wanted. Nevertheless, he resolved to continue on the advance, and he merely waited in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward for the arrival of General Philips with the artillery, provisions, and stores, and for the junction of Colonel St. Leger, who had proceeded on a different line of march from the first, and who was now descending from Oswego, the Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek, by the Mohawk River, which falls into the Hudson between Saratoga

and Albany. Unfortunately St. Leger stopped at the upper end of the Mohawk to lay siege to Stanwix Fort—called by the Americans Fort Schuyler—a place strongly situated. Upon receiving this information, Burgoyne, who had already split his army into too many parts, thought it would be necessary to co-operate with St. Leger, and, as preparatory to this step, and in order to get possession of bullocks, waggons, and other things necessary for the journey, he detached Colonel Baum to surprise Bennington, a place between the forks of the Hosick River, about twenty-four miles to the eastward of the Hudson, where the Americans had deposited the supplies of cattle, carts, provisions, and stores they were receiving from the New England provinces. The German troops had many good qualities; but rapidity of motion, which alone can insure success in attempting surprises, was certainly not among the number: they were, perhaps, naturally slower than the English, and they were, moreover, borne down under the weight of the monstrously exaggerated equipments of Frederick the Great, their hats and swords weighing very nearly as much as the whole equipment of our soldiers. "The worst British regiment in the service," says Stedman, "would with ease have marched two miles for their one." Yet, in spite of these facts and the warm remonstrances of General Fraser and other officers of rank, Burgoyne persisted in employing Germans to surprise Bennington. Another capital mistake was, that he sent only 600 men on an expedition that required at least three times the number. On his first day's march Baum, the commander of the detachment, took prisoners a considerable body of Americans, who had assembled in a wood to check his progress. Colonel Skene, the original owner of Skenesborough, who on account of his local knowledge had been appointed inspector-general, insisted that these prisoners ought to be kindly treated, and then liberated, which would have the effect of detaching them from the cause of congress. Poor Baum, who knew little or nothing of the country, the people, or their language, followed Skene's advice; and the liberated Americans went straight to Bennington. On the second day's march Baum captured some cattle and routed a small party near a village called Cambridge. Not far from this place he was brought to a halt by intelligence that the Americans were assembling in great force for the defence of Bennington. Baum applied to Burgoyne for reinforcements, and another *German* detachment, of only 500 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, was sent to his assistance. This Breyman, like most of his school, was a pedant and a formalist, who had no notion of marching even through a rough country except with all the order and precision of the drill-ground: he halted ten times an hour to dress his ranks; and before he came up Colonel Baum was completely surrounded, at St. Coieck's Mill, on Walloon Creek, by General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had with them a force which constantly kept increasing, and which at one moment exceeded 1500 men. Baum, as stanch as he was slow, endured for upwards of an hour a terrible discharge of musketry and rifles from every side, and three several times drove the Americans from some high ground on which they were stationed; but at last he was



Saratoga Lake. From an Original Drawing.

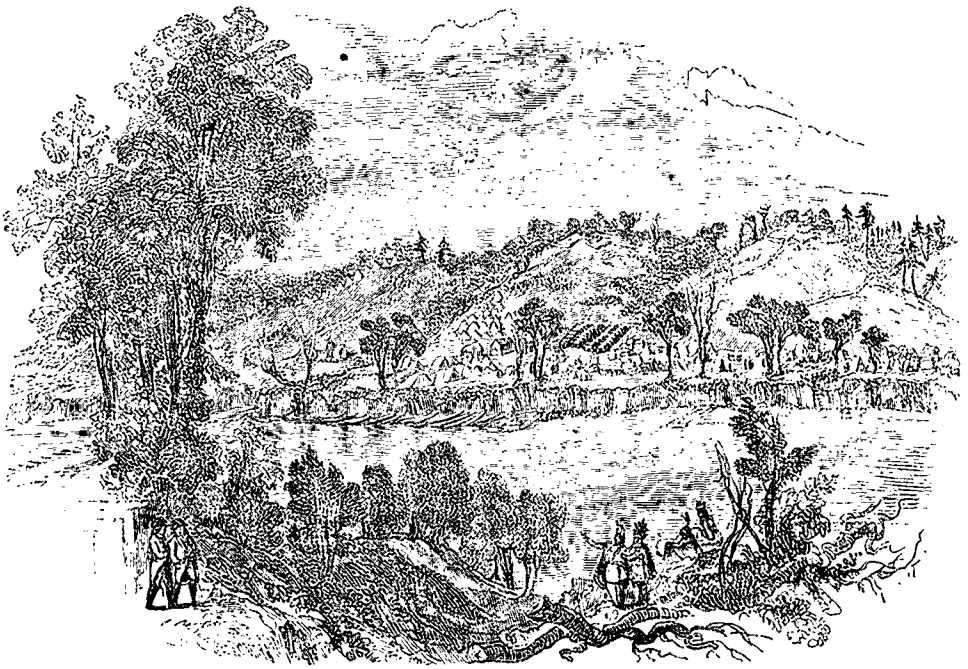
brought down by a rifle-shot, and then the Germans retreated into some woods in the direction of Fort Edward, leaving their commander mortally wounded on the field of battle. At this desperate moment Breyman, who had employed twenty-four hours in marching sixteen miles, came up. Had he been *one little hour* sooner, the fate of the day might have been different; but now he had nothing to do but to put the fugitives of Baum's detachment into some order, and retreat to the place he had come from. Starke and Warner made several hot attacks, and endeavoured to surround him; but he bravely fought his way through and reached Burgoyne's outposts when he had fired almost his last cartridge. It is worthy of note, that the prisoners taken by Baum, and liberated at the instance of Skene, were found among the fiercest combatants at St. Coieck's Mill! Instead of taking Bennington, the bullock-waggons, &c., Burgoyne lost about 500 men in killed and wounded in this ill-judged expedition.

In the mean while Colonel St. Leger, left to himself with his 600 light troops and his tribes of savages, was prosecuting the siege of Stanwix Fort. On the 5th of August he received intelligence that the American General Harkimer was advancing to the relief of the place with 1000 men. St. Leger instantly detached Sir John Johnson with the Indian tribes and a party of regulars into the woods to lie in close ambush. Harkimer, coming on confidently and incautiously, fell into the trap; a fire was poured upon him from behind trees and bushes; his men fell into disorder, and then the savages, rushing from their concealment, made a dreadful slaughter with their spears and tomahawks. Nearly 400 Americans were killed or wounded, and the rest fled back to the Hudson. But as St. Leger had only light field-pieces with him, which could make no impression on the works, the garrison of Fort Stanwix still held out, and the savages, growing weary of the siege, and being informed by some crafty Yankee spies that Burgoyne's army had been cut to pieces, peremptorily insisted upon retiring. To stop this desertion a council of their chiefs was called; but even while it was sitting a large party of the savages folded their blankets and departed, and the rest threatened to follow their example. News also arrived that the daring and active Arnold was approaching with 2000 men and ten pieces of artillery. A retreat was thus necessary; but it was managed so badly that St. Leger left behind him his artillery and stores, and his tents standing. Arnold, who was really advancing up the Mohawk River, did not arrive at Fort Stanwix until two days after the siege had been raised!*

There was much to discourage, and positively nothing to encourage, the advance of the main army; yet, having collected his artillery, and provisions for about thirty days, and having constructed a bridge of boats, Burgoyne, on the 13th and 14th of September, passed his whole army across the Hudson, and then encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. General Gates, who had just taken the chief command of the American army in the North over the head of Schuyler, and who was now joined by Arnold with his 2000 men, was lying on an island near the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, about eight miles above Albany, and called "Still Water," where he had a strong star redoubt and other defences. The place was merely insulated by swamps and shallow water, easily passed by foot. On the night of the 17th, after incredible labour in erecting bridges, to bear their artillery and baggage over numerous creeks and ravines, the British army encamped within four miles of the American army; but between their encampment and Still Water the country was equally rugged and seamed with water-courses, and the whole of the 18th was spent in laying down bridges and temporary causeways.

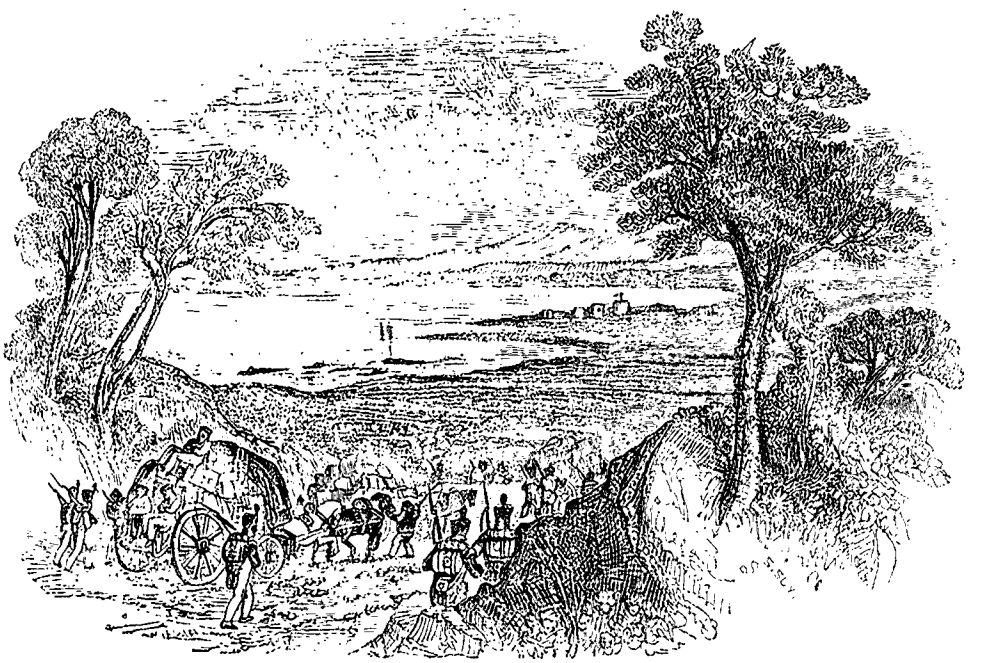
On the morning of the 19th the mass of the British army formed close in front of the American left; our right wing, including part of the Russians, was commanded by Burgoyne, and covered by General Fraser with the grenadiers and light infantry; the front and flanks were covered by Indians and Canadians; the left wing and artillery were commanded by Generals Philips and Reidesel, who stood across the only good road that existed. Instead of waiting to be attacked in his muddy position, Gates threw out 5000 men to attempt turning our right and attacking General Burgoyne in his rear. But a discovery of the strong position of General Fraser, whom they had not seen, made them fall back. Gates's detachment, being reinforced and led on by Arnold, fell upon Burgoyne and the right wing, and a smart engagement began at three o'clock in the afternoon, which lasted till after sunset. Arnold behaved with extraordinary gallantry, but he could make an impression nowhere, although the weight of the action fell on three or four of our regiments, the rest of our right being stationed on some hills, and the Germans occupying a position at some distance. Every time that Arnold was beaten back Gates sent him more men from the star redoubt. Why Burgoyne, who contemplated a decisive action, did not engage in full force, may possibly be accounted for by the nature of the country, and by the circumstances of his being embarrassed by a long train of artillery, which was next to useless, as he could not drag it through bogs and swamps, or get it rapidly into proper positions. As it grew dark the fire of the Americans slackened, and during the night Gates evacuated the ground in front of Still Water, and collected all his troops into, and round, the star redoubt. He had lost two superior officers, a great many subalterns, and from 500 to 600 men in killed and wounded; but Burgoyne's loss was scarcely inferior. The British army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle; and as day dawned they began to erect

* Stedman,—Gordon,—Marshall,—Burke, in Ann. Reg.



West Bank of the Hudson River, with the Encampment of General Burgoyne's Army. Sept. 20, 1777.
From a Print published in London, 1789.

works within cannon-shot of the enemy, with strong redoubts on their right. At the same time the Americans attended to strengthening their positions; and thus the two armies lay from the 20th of September till the 7th of October, an interval of time most fatal to Burgoyne, who consumed nearly all his provisions. Every possible method was taken to inform General Howe of his situation, and the strongest of arguments were employed to induce either a co-operation or a diversion in his favour. Howe, who had just taken Philadelphia, and who had not yet taken and destroyed the forts and strong works on the Delaware, was wholly occupied by Washington and those works, and could scarcely spare a thought on Burgoyne. Sir Henry Clinton, who was in command of the troops left at New York, took the responsibility upon himself, and informed Burgoyne that he would do what he could to effect a diversion, by attacking Forts Montgomery and Clinton, on the lower part of the Hudson. Burgoyne, therefore, agreed to remain where he was till the 12th of October, and hoped that the movement from New York up the Hudson would be made with rapidity and decision. But his Indian followers, disappointed in their hopes of plunder, and annoyed at his endeavours to check their ferocity, began to desert from him, as they had done from St. Leger. Besides, their hunting season was now arrived, which no inducement could make them forego. Their desertion much weakened Burgoyne, who would not, however, think of retreating. On the side of the Americans the delay was attended with all kinds of advantages: Gates, who had proclaimed the affair of Still Water as a great victory, was reinforced every day both from the southern and from the northern provinces; the militia, who had been as timid as hares, became as bold as bull-dogs, and stores and provisions were brought up to him with surprising rapidity. Besides Arnold, General Lincoln had come up to Still Water with a force estimated even by the Americans at 2000 men. He no longer thought of a retreat, and, at the suggestion of Arnold, he adopted a scheme likely to reduce Burgoyne to the hard necessity of an unconditional surrender. He detached a considerable body of New England militia, which had assembled in the rear of the British army, to surprise Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and Fort George, to capture or destroy all the stores there, and to cut off Burgoyne from his supplies and from Canada. The detachment, under the command of one Colonel Brown, got by night to the north end of Lake George, and surprised and took a sloop and the boats that were carrying provisions to Burgoyne. Brown then took possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, and began to attack Ticonderoga. Being repulsed there he returned, in the vessels he had captured, through Lake George, and made another attempt upon Diamond Island, where there was a considerable depôt of stores: being repulsed there also by a handful of men, he hastened to the shore, burned all the vessels he had taken, and returned to his former station in Burgoyne's rear. But he had traced the fatal



BURGOYNE'S RETREAT ON THE HUDSON RIVER. From an Original Drawing.

route, and other and stronger corps of Americans collected between the British army and the Lakes. Burgoyne was now obliged to put his men on half rations; his stock of forage was entirely exhausted and his horses were perishing for the want of it. The red men, who had hitherto remained with him, now began to desert, whole tribes at a time, and the Canadians and loyal Americans lost faith or heart.* No news was heard of Sir H. Clinton's movement up the Hudson, and not a man nor a biscuit was allowed to reach him from the side of Canada. In this predicament he attempted dislodging Gates, and moved on his left wing with a column of 1500 men, his best troops, commanded by himself and by Philips, Fraser, and Reidesel. This column had scarcely formed in front of Gates's left, when the Americans, issuing from their entrenchments, made a desperate attack on the left of the British army, where Burgoyne had left the grenadiers under the command of Major Ackland. As soon as this attack began a body of 2000 men were sent out to meet Burgoyne's column, and Morgan and his rifle corps stole round under cover of some woods, and opened a fire on the flank of the column. Other troops came out from the American entrenchments, and, while some laboured to crush the British left, others endeavoured to throw themselves between Burgoyne's column and his lines. Under the eye and voice of Major Ackland the grenadiers kept their ground most manfully; but Burgoyne, with his 1500, was obliged to abandon six field-pieces he had taken out with him, and to run back to his camp. Morgan and his riflemen were now getting on the flank of our right wing. General Fraser, with the light infantry and the 24th regiment, marched to dislodge them: he succeeded, but fell mortally wounded under the shots of the American marksmen, who were placed behind trees and accustomed to pick out officers. Shortly after Burgoyne's return to his camp, a loose irregular attack was made nearly all along his lines, and, while this was sustained, Arnold, in great force, made a steady concentrated attack upon the entrenchments on our extreme right, and Lieutenant-colonel Brooks made a similar assault on the left. Arnold was repulsed, wounded, and had another horse killed under him; but Brooks was more successful—for, falling upon a part of the entrenchments defended by the German troops under Colonel Breyman, he effected a passage: Breyman was killed, and his men, after much slaughter, which was not all on one side, retreated with the loss of all their baggage and artillery. Night closed on the scene of carnage, but Brooks kept the ground he had won within the line of our entrenchments, as orders given by Burgoyne to drive him back were not attended to. During the day about 200 men and officers were taken by the Americans, and the British loss in killed and wounded was very considerable for so small an army. In losing General Fraser, Burgoyne lost

* "The Indians," says an American writer, "finding themselves beaten in the woods by Morgan, and *restrained from scalping and plundering the unarmed by Burgoyne*—who saw before them the prospect of hard fighting without profit—grew tired of the service, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians and provincials were not much more faithful; and Burgoyne soon perceived that his hopes must rest almost entirely on his European troops."—*Marshall, Life of Washington.*

the bravest and best officer serving with him. On the following morning, before daybreak, Burgoyne changed his position, which was scarcely tenable since the impression made by Brooks; and with great secrecy and silence, and much skill, he removed his whole army, with all their baggage and artillery, to some heights above the bank of the Hudson, extending his right up that river. Gates changed his position also, but carefully avoided an engagement, which the British endeavoured to bring on by repeated attacks on outposts and by several brisk skirmishes right in front of the American line. The whole day—the 8th of October—was spent in this manner; but, in the course of the night and the following morning, Gates, who had received still more reinforcements, sent off a strong party higher up the Hudson to occupy good ground on the right bank, and he threw other strong columns over to the left bank, in order to guard the passages and intercept the retreat of the British—a movement which was now inevitable. Burgoyne, however, discovered the movement on the right bank, and prevented its effect by ascending the river to Saratoga; but the suddenness and rapidity of this movement obliged him to leave all his sick and wounded in the hospital behind him. Gates behaved with much humanity to these unhappy prisoners, who amounted to about 300. Otherwise the retreat to Saratoga was effected without loss and without any obstruction. But on the 10th, when Burgoyne reached the fords of Fish-kill Creek, which lie a little to the northward of Saratoga, he found the Americans collected in force on the opposite side of the creek. The fire of a few guns scattered these men, but they only retired over the Hudson, to the much larger force which Gates had stationed there to obstruct the passage. Burgoyne's present design was to ascend the Hudson by its right bank, and get to Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George; but the roads could not be passed by an army without considerable repairs, and there were numerous creeks and ravines which could only be crossed by erecting bridges—long, toilsome, and desperate operations for worn-out, half-famished troops, pressed upon from all sides by an enemy five or six times more numerous than themselves, and wonderfully elated by their very unusual success. Burgoyne, nevertheless, sent forward a detachment of artificers, under a strong escort, to open the road and repair the bridges. We speak with hesitation and doubt, as not fully informed of all the local circumstances, and of the precise condition of the American divisions which occupied the opposite side of the Hudson; but it seems to us that, if Burgoyne, instead of losing a day in attempting to open these roads, had made a dash across the Hudson, he might possibly have got off with the loss of his rear and artillery. The artificers had scarcely begun their work when they were interrupted by swarms of American riflemen, whom the escort could neither reach nor dislodge. The inevitable consequence was, that workmen and escort were all obliged to retreat. In the course of this unlucky day, Gates reinforced his divisions on the left bank of the Hudson immediately opposite to Burgoyne, and supplied them with abundance of artillery, with which they plied the batteaux on the river that were carrying part of the baggage and the miserable remainder of the provisions of the British army. Many of these frail embarkations were taken, and the regular American troops called continentals and the American militia vied with each other in their eagerness for plunder, and their determination to appropriate to themselves whatever they could take. The militia men, it appears, were more rapacious than the regulars, and inclined to forget all military duty and subordination in their avidity for gain. These fellows, who were chiefly New Englanders, carried their peddling trading spirit with them, and made their quarters a kind of auction mart. It is said that they would often rob the American regulars of what booty they had secured, and sell it on their own account. Irregularities of this kind were carried to such a height, that Gates, in general orders issued on the 12th, declared—"That he saw so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by persons who sought more after plunder than the honour of doing their duty, that it was his unalterable resolution to have the first person who should thereafter be detected in pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy tried and punished with the utmost severity." Unable to retreat to Fort George by the right bank, Burgoyne conceived the now desperate project of ascending the river a little higher, and of crossing it in presence of the American detachments on the left bank. He thought it possible to cut his way through these, and, as he had made up his mind to abandon the artillery, which had so continually embarrassed his movements, and to remove nothing but two or three days' provisions, which the men might carry in their knapsacks, he then hoped to be able to effect his retreat to Fort Edward, whence, by a different route, he might reach the Lakes and the British shipping upon them. In pursuance of this plan he sent a body of men up the river, intending to follow with the rest under cover of night. At this desperate crisis he was well-nigh saved by a capital mistake committed by his adversary. Gates called the general officers of the American army together, and informed them of his having received certain intelligence that the main body of Burgoyne's army was marched off for Fort Edward, and that the rear-guard only was left in the camp. Upon this, it was concluded to advance and attack the British camp, which was now very strongly posted upon some heights beyond Fish-kill Creek. The general officers repaired instantly to their respective commands: General Nixon with a whole brigade crossed the creek, and General Glover was upon the point of following him, and had actually entered the water, when a spy or a British deserter came and met him with intelligence more certain

than Gates's, that the main body was still in the camp, and well prepared to receive the attack. Glover ran back from the creek, but Nixon was not quite so fortunate, for his advance had brought him up to some brushwood, behind which Burgoyne had a line of troops and some artillery, who, when they saw him halting and turning back on the signals given by Glover, opened a terrible fire upon him, and then drove him with considerable loss and still more confusion across the creek.* If the secret had been kept, and Gates's orders had been executed, as he intended, with only some divisions, from the goodness of their position and from the desperate spirit which animated them the British would assuredly have gained a victory, the Americans might have been obliged to call in their detachments on the other side of the Hudson, and Burgoyne might have got to Fort Edward. But the breath of the spy or deserter dissipated this hope—and it was the last!—for Burgoyne had now ascertained that the Americans on the other side of the river had formed an entrenched camp, well garnished with artillery, on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George, and that the only roads he could possibly take were blocked up by troops whom there was now no reason for recalling. The men that had advanced up the river, and had got nearly opposite to Fort Edward, were recalled, and once more demonstrations were made to tempt the Americans to battle; but Gates was sure of his prey without fighting or struggling, and his troops had little inclination to attack desperate men in a strong position. The Americans, therefore, remained in their positions, which were equally strong, and such as could scarcely be attacked by so inferior a force. As an additional curse on this doomed expedition, no news was received by Burgoyne touching the movements of Clinton, even when that general had really begun to move and was sweeping the lower part of the Hudson most triumphantly. Nearly every possible mistake had been committed by their generals and commanders in all directions, but the spirit of the British troops under Burgoyne, as everywhere else, was good, manly, and noble to the last; and, in the words of a foreign writer, whose prejudices were engaged on the other side, these soldiers never said a word in their extremity, or did a deed but what was worthy of firm and valorous men.† And by this time, what with the desertion of Indians and Canadians, and the losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners, Burgoyne's army was reduced to 3500 fighting men, and of these scarcely more than one half were British. A visit to the magazines showed that there was not bread for three days, and that of rations. To advance or to retreat was equally impracticable, though many a soldier, many an officer would still have attempted the passage of the Hudson, and a loose straggling retreat through the wild country to the right of Fort Edward. On the morning of the 13th of October Burgoyne called a council of war, at which not only field-officers, but every captain attended. It seemed to them all, that nothing was left but to capitulate on the most honourable terms which could be procured. Burgoyne, who was as gallant an officer as ever took the field, and who had first gained renown by a bold and dashing movement,* thus described to the secretary-at-war his situation and the result of the council:—"A series of hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army by the total defection of the Indians; the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of any co-operation from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts to 3500 fighting men, not 2000 of which were British; only three days' provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of 16,000 men, and no appearance of retreat remaining, I called into council all the generals, field officers, and captains commanding corps, and by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-General Gates."† It was a bitter step; but early in the evening Burgoyne sent a note to the American head-quarters to say that he was desirous of sending a field-officer with a message to Major-General Gates, upon a matter of high moment to both armies, and that he requested to be informed what hour on the following morning would suit General Gates. The American replied, in the tone of a conqueror, that he would receive a field-officer from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne at the advanced post of the army of the United States at ten o'clock next morning. At the appointed hour Major Kingston appeared at the American advanced post, and delivered the following message to General Gates:—"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified, by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms. Should Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide." To this Gates replied—that, General Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated de-

* Dr. Gordon, the Scotsman with an American heart, tells this story, which, he says, he received from General Glover himself. Marshall, the American biographer of Washington, says that Gordon is confirmed by General Wilkinson, who was serving with Gates as adjutant-general; and that the narrative of Wilkinson varies from that of Gordon only in minor circumstances.

† Carlo Botta, Storia della Guerra Americana.

* See his performances in Portugal, ante p. 18.

† Letter to Lord George Germaine.

feats, by desertion, sickness, &c., their provisions exhausted, their military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, and their camp invested, they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war. To this Burgoyne answered, that his army, however reduced, would never admit that their retreat was cut off while they had arms in their hands. Gates had better information than Burgoyne as to Clinton's movements up the Hudson; he had perhaps little confidence in the militia, who composed the principal part of the forces beyond the Hudson; and he was certainly anxious to hasten the capitulation. He, therefore, gradually moderated the conditions of surrender. At first he demanded that Burgoyne's troops should be drawn up in their encampment, and there ordered to ground their arms. The English general answered that this article was inadmissible in any extremity, and that his army, rather than consent to ground their arms in their encampments—the maximum of military disgrace—would make a rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter. In the afternoon Gates agreed to a cessation of arms till sunset. In the course of the next day—the 15th—the negotiation was continued; but it was not until the 16th that the articles of convention were finally settled. They imported that Burgoyne's troops were to march out of their camp with all the honours of war, and the artillery to be moved to the verge of the Hudson, and there left together with the soldiers' arms, the said arms to be piled by word of command from *their own* officers; that a free passage should be granted the troops to Great Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the present contest; that, if any cartel should take place by which Burgoyne's army, or any part of it, should be exchanged, the foregoing article should be void as far as such exchange should extend; that every care should be taken for the proper subsistence of the troops, till they should be embarked; that all officers should retain their carriages, horses, bat-horses, &c., and their baggage be exempt from molestation or search; that on the march and during the time the army should remain at Boston (the port selected for their embarkation) the officers should not be separated from their men; that all corps whatsoever, whether composed of sailors, batteaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of *whatever country they might be*, should be included in the fullest sense and to the utmost extent of the articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects, whose general had capitulated for them (this was an important article, as not a few of the drivers, independent companies, and followers were American royalists); that all Canadians and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment should be permitted a free return to Canada, should be conducted by the shortest route to the British posts on Lake George, should be treated in all respects like the rest of the army, and should be bound by the same condition not to serve during this war, unless exchanged; that passports should be immediately granted for three officers to carry General Burgoyne's dispatches to General Howe at Philadelphia, to Sir Guy Carleton in Canada, and to the government of Great Britain by way of New York; that all officers during their stay in Boston should be admitted on parole, and from first to last be permitted to wear their side arms; that if the army found it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage from Canada they should be permitted to do so, and have the necessary passports granted them; and, finally, that these articles should be signed and exchanged on the following morning at nine o'clock, and the troops to march out of their entrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon. These were not such terms as are usually granted to conquered armies; but Gates almost heard the thunder of Clinton's artillery and of the British ships on the lower part of the Hudson.* At the appointed hour the convention was most reluctantly signed in the British camp, and on the afternoon of the 17th of October the troops marched out of their encampment, down to the water-side, to a place called the Old Ford, where they piled their arms at the word of command from their own officers. Several of the officers could scarcely pronounce the words, and many of the men wept as they grounded their muskets. Gates was—what many of the American commanders and officers were not—a gentleman in heart and mind, a man of delicate feelings, and of too noble a spirit to revel in the mournful degradation of a brave enemy. He kept away from the spot himself, and it is even said that he would not suffer his own people to be witnesses to the sad spectacle.† Among the fruits of victory that remained in his hands were about 40 pieces of artillery, 4600 muskets, and a not very considerable quantity of powder and ball. The batteaux on the river and what they contained were scarcely to be counted in this category, for the Connecticut men, the Rhode Islanders, the Massachusetts men, and the other militia men who had seized them, or the greater part of them, had set them down to a separate and more private account. As soon as intelligence of the surrender was received on the Lakes, the garrisons of Fort George and Ticonderoga evacuated those important places, and retired by the river Sorel to Fort St. John's and Montreal. Burgoyne had requested Carleton in the most pressing manner to forward a regiment to maintain Ticonderoga; but Carleton, in whose recollection the winter exploits of Montgomery and Arnold were fresh, did not think it prudent to weaken any further the feeble force he had for the

* Marshall frankly confesses this motive for haste and moderation in Gates:—"The situation of the two armies considered, these terms were highly honourable to the British general, and favourable to his nation. They were probably more advantageous than would have been granted by General Gates, had he entertained no apprehension from Sir Henry Clinton, who was, at length, making the promised diversion on the river."

† Stedman.—Carlo Botta.—Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Gordon.—Papers in Almon's Remembrancer.

defence of Canada, and he positively refused to send the regiment.

On the 6th of October, ten days before the capitulation was signed, but twenty days later than Clinton had hoped to commence his co-operation or diversion, that general appeared in force on the Hudson, and began a series of attacks which must have rescued Burgoyne's army if they had been made even only eight or ten days earlier. It does not appear that any particular blame attaches to General Clinton, who, with his 17 battalions, his single regiment of light horse, and his provincial militia, had to defend New York, the great repository of our stores, which was accessible from a variety of points, and which demanded a very considerable force, as, besides General Putnam, who was hovering in the neighbourhood with a small regular army, there were large bodies of cunning and quick Connecticut militia, Massachusett's Bay men, and others, on the watch for opportunities to attack and destroy or carry off stores, &c. Reinforcements, which had been promised from Europe, did not arrive at New York till late in September, and then they consisted chiefly, if not entirely, of a body of recruits to make up losses. Almost as soon as they arrived, Clinton, of his own accord and on his own responsibility, embarked about 3000 men on board of craft of all kinds, convoyed by some ships of war under the command of Commodore Hotham, and proceeded up the Hudson to Verplank's Point, on the east bank of the river, and about forty miles above New York. The place had been previously reconnoitred by Lord Rawdon in a frigate. It is situated upon a peninsula, and the landing-place was then defended by a small battery and a breastwork, from which the Americans fled at the approach of our troops. Clinton landed his men without opposition, and passed the night of the 6th upon the peninsula. This feint completely deceived Putnam, who collected about 2000 men, principally drawn from the forts on the Hudson, and hastened with them towards Verplank's Point, in the idea that Clinton meant to advance into the country and to push through the eastern highlands, in order to co-operate with Burgoyne by the shortest route. On the following morning, at daybreak, Clinton passed 2000 of his men to the western bank of the river to Stoney Point, leaving about 1000 on the peninsula. From Stoney Point to Fort Montgomery was a distance of only 12 miles; but the route which Clinton resolved to pursue, hoping thereby to take the enemy by surprise, was one of the roughest and most laborious that can be conceived:—it was impassable to artillery, and therefore no guns had been brought, though the men were marching against fortified places. It was a path across the Denderberg, a steep mountain whose precipices overhang the river. The path was steep, winding, and so narrow that in many places not more than three men could march abreast. Two hundred resolute Americans posted across the paths, and on the hills and rocks above it, might have checked and even destroyed the 2000 British; but Putnam, wholly misled, was on the other side of the Hudson, and the troops left in Forts Montgomery and Clinton never conceived it possible that a regular army could take so dangerous a road. Our troops thus got to the crest of the mountain and began to descend it on the other side before they were discovered, though they were many hours in performing that toilsome march. At the foot of the mountain our advanced guard stumbled upon an American detachment, which was advancing much too late for the defence of the pass. The Americans fled back to the forts, thus destroying the hope of taking those places by surprise at the approach of night. Clinton, however, resolved to go on and trust to his muskets and bayonets. The two forts he meant to attack stood on too high ground to be battered from the water; they were separated from each other only by a creek which runs from the mountains and empties itself into the Hudson, and they communicated with each other by means of a long wooden bridge. He divided his force into two columns, and, while he advanced in person with one of them to storm Fort Clinton, he dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 52nd with the other column to storm Fort Montgomery. It was arranged that the attack should be made by the two parties at the same instant of time—and about sunset Clinton assailed the one fort and Campbell the other, precisely at the moment and in the manner agreed upon. The garrison of Fort Montgomery, who did not exceed 800 men, were so panic-stricken that they made but little use of their artillery, and fled from their works after a very short resistance, in which, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was killed. Fort Clinton was better defended, and by nature was much stronger: it was built upon a rocky ridge, the only approach to which was over a bare open space about a hundred yards long, with a lake on one side, a precipice and the Hudson on the other. According to their usual plan, the Americans had thrown felled trees right across this space, so that the British soldiers could advance neither rapidly nor in order—and the advance was to be made in the mouth of ten pieces of heavy artillery, while they had not a single gun wherewith to respond or to cover their movement. Nay, those brave men were ordered, for the sake of expedition, not even to stay to fire a musket, but to rush on to the fortifications and enter them by the very embrasures through which the American guns were pointed. And on they went, sometimes on their feet, sometimes crawling all-fours over the trunks of the trees, and all the way under a dreadful fire until they got to the foot of the works, and, there being no ladders, no implement or help of any kind, they climbed on one another's shoulders up into the embrasures, pushed aside the warm cannon, and drove the Americans across the rampart at the bayonet's-point. The garrison, who were about 400 strong, made an

attempt to rally at the head of the rampart, but they were soon dislodged. They then retired to the other side of the esplanade, discharged a last volley of musketry—murderous and useless, and contrary to military honour—and then threw down their arms and cried for quarter. This last provocation is such as troops rarely brook, and the British, and the Germans with them, had besides suffered considerably in storming the fort; yet it is said, on good authority, that there was not a single American put to death except such as fell in the hand-to-hand fight at the embrasures or upon the ramparts. "This fact," says Stedman, "we mention, not only as displaying a most generous moderation on the part of the victors, contrary to what usually happens in such assaults, but as refuting an impudent assertion advanced in some of the French accounts, that the whole garrison had been put to death by their conquerors. We are happy in rescuing from the shade which the magnitude of General Burgoyne's misfortune at the time threw over it an enterprise equally worthy of attention for its boldness and the degree of injury that it did to the enemy." The same competent judge says that in no instance during the whole American war was there more invincible resolution exhibited than in this attack. The loss on the side of the assailants was less than might have been expected, as it amounted only to 140 killed and wounded. The Americans lost about 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, but the prisoners were by far the more numerous class.* It was here that Count Grabowski, the Polish nobleman who was fighting for King George and acting as aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton, was slain.† Captain Stewart, who commanded the grenadiers, and Major Sill, who led the 63rd regiment to the cannons' mouth, both fell upon the spot, and were both pierced with many wounds. The British had advanced to the charge in the dusk of the evening, and by the time they had completed their conquest it was night. But the darkness was soon partially dispersed by a most brilliant illumination which proceeded from two frigates, two galleys, and a sloop, which the Americans had drawn up in a little inlet under the guns of the forts, and to which the crews now set fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the conquerors. Commodore Hotham would have given a different account of this flotilla if it had not been for another exercise of ingenuity and great industry on the part of the Americans. They had contrived to throw right across the Hudson—there 600 yards wide—chevaux-de-frise, and, behind them, a most enormous boom, which was strengthened by vast rafts of timber connected by strong cables and by an immense iron chain. Our shipping were now close at hand,* but it required time to remove these obstructions; and ships on fire, with powder in their holds and their guns shotted, are not to be approached without extreme danger. Thus the American frigates, galleys, and sloop were left to make a brief but magnificent spectacle, and then to blow up into the air between the lofty echoing banks of the Hudson. A few miles higher up the river there was another strong place, called Fort Constitution, built upon a rock; but the Americans there, without any orders from their governor, demolished part of the works, left their artillery behind them, and fled as soon as they learned the fall of Forts Montgomery and Clinton. A new settlement, called the Continental Village, with barracks for 1500 men, storehouses, &c., was destroyed by a detachment of American loyalists, under the command of Governor Tryon. The boom was removed, and Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of small frigates, ascended the Hudson still farther, destroying a number of American vessels on his way. On the 13th of October, the very day on which Burgoyne made his first overture for a capitulation, General Vaughan, under cover of Wallace's frigates, landed a detachment at Esopus Creek, which, going by land, was scarcely 30 miles from Saratoga, the scene of our humiliation. If, instead of this weak detachment, Clinton had come up with his whole force, it appears to us that Gates, even now, might have given Burgoyne a fair chance of retreat, by detaching troops to secure his own rear.† But it is said in excuse of Clinton that he did not really know the true situation of Burgoyne's army. General Vaughan reduced two batteries and a row galley stationed at the mouth of Esopus Creek, and he then ascended the creek about five miles to the town of Esopus, a young but flourishing place, which he reduced to ashes, together with a vast quantity of provisions and stores, collected for the use of General Gates's army. Putnam, whose army had been reinforced by *militia* till it was 6000 strong, now detached General Parsons with 2000 men to protect the banks of the Hudson; and on the morning of the 17th, when Burgoyne's army were all prisoners, Gates was enabled to de-

* The American Governor Clinton, who was in the fort that bore his name, passed the river in a boat, and escaped, as did also General James Clinton, though wounded in the thigh by a bayonet. Lieutenant-Colonels Livingstone and Bruyn, and Majors Hamilton and Logan, were among the prisoners.

† Grabowski had advanced to the storm of Fort Clinton in company with Lord Rawdon (the late Marquess of Hastings), amongst the British grenadiers, but was separated from his lordship among the felled trees, which obliged every man to find a path for himself. Arriving at the foot of the works he fell, after having received three balls. When giving his sword to a grenadier, he conjured him, with his expiring voice, *to deliver it to* Lord Rawdon, and to assure his lordship that he died in a manner becoming one who had shared the dangers of such gallant troops.—*Stedman.*

* *Burke* (in Ann. Regist.) *has made* a strange mistake, which has been copied by Botta and other historians of the war. He said that one of the things which shook the courage of the Americans in the two forts was that our galleys advanced so near as to strike the walls with their oars! The forts stood on precipices at least 120 feet above the level *of the* river, so that it must have required oars almost as long as some people's *bows* (metaphorical ones) to reach them. The flotilla was not, and could not possibly be, of any use until the forts were stormed and carried at the bayonet's point. Schrapnels, congreves, and other rockets and missiles, were then unknown, and the true use of bombs and shells *very imperfectly* known.

† According to Marshall, intelligence of the success of Sir Henry Clinton was received by General Burgoyne on the night after the convention at Saratoga had been agreed upon, but before the articles had been signed and executed; and Burgoyne had serious thoughts of breaking off the treaty.—*Life of Washington.* Wallace's larger vessels could not have gone up quite so far, but vessels of 80 tons might have gone even beyond Albany, which is about 140 miles from New York, and not more than 25 miles below Saratoga.

tach more and more troops to the scene of Clinton's operations. The English general, therefore, recalled Vaughan and Wallace, destroyed all the places he had taken in order to leave the river open to future operations, reimbarked his men, and returned to New York, having swept the Hudson, and proved how effective the campaign might have been if General Howe had gone up that river to Albany in the month of July or August.* The damage that Clinton's small force had inflicted was immense, and was melancholy inasmuch as it fell in part upon a helpless agricultural population. It should seem, however, that the American armies, who so very frequently lighted up their retreats by burning every house they fancied to belong to the royalists, who paid so little regard to the gentlenesses and delicacies of war, and who had acted invariably as if this were to be a *guerre à outrance*, had but little reason to reproach the British for violence and devastation. Such were the disjointed, random, inglorious, and unsuccessful operations of our armies in America during the year 1777. How the winter was passed at head-quarters, and how the commander-in-chief and his staff feasted and revelled in the city of Philadelphia, to the astonishment and scandalization of the Quakers there, will be related under the inglorious year that followed. For the present we recross the Atlantic.

The British parliament assembled on the 18th of November, with one great care, which all regarded, or was directed to, the western world. The king, however, had neither lost any of his firmness nor abated any of his hope as to the final result of the expensive and deplorable contest. In his speech from the throne he expressed his great satisfaction in being able to have recourse to the legislature at a conjuncture which demanded the most serious attention. He assured them that he had faithfully employed the means intrusted to him for the suppression of the revolt, and that he had just confidence in the conduct and courage of his officers commanding in America; but still, he intimated, it would be necessary to prepare for such farther operations as the contingencies of war and the obstinacy of the rebels might render expedient. He again repeated the hollow unmeaning note about the friendly assurances of foreign powers, adding, that as the armaments of France and Spain, nevertheless, continued, he had thought it necessary to augment considerably his own naval force, being firmly determined never to disturb the peace of Europe, yet always to guard faithfully the honour of the British crown. He expressed his hope that "the deluded and unhappy multitude in America" would yet return to their allegiance, and that the remembrance of their former happiness, and the sense of their present misery under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, would rekindle their old spirit of loyalty and attachment to their mother country, and finally, that they would enable him, with the concurrence of his parliament, to accomplish the greatest happiness of his life and the greatest glory of his reign—the restoration of peace, order, and confidence to the American colonies. In the Lords, the Earl of Coventry, who had made a very remarkable speech during a preceding session, opposed the address, and recommended the immediate withdrawal of our fleets and armies, and our instant recognition of the independence of America. But even this, his lordship chose to say, would be only a temporary preservation, and he predicted, as a thing as certain as any law of nature, that the fall of Great Britain and the transfer of the seat of empire to the other side of the Atlantic must follow or accompany the independence of America. "Attend," said gravely the noble prophet, "to the vast extent of the one and the diminutive figure of Britain; to their domestic situations; to the increase of population in the one, and the inevitable decline of it in the other; the luxury, dissipation, and all the concomitant effects in this country, and the frugality, industry, and consequent wise policy of America. These, my lords, were the main grounds on which I presumed to trouble you from time to time on this subject. I foresaw then, as I continue to do, that a period must arrive when America would render herself independent; that this country would fall, and the seat of empire be removed beyond the Atlantic. Nay, my lords, so firmly persuaded am I of the event, that I always held it as a certain and natural consequence of the connexion between both countries." No wonder that the proposal of giving up the contest was as yet generally regarded as a crochet not worth listening to, when it came attended with speculations of this description. When Lord Coventry sat down Chatham rose upon his crutch to move an amendment, which he had previously submitted to Rockingham and the other lords in opposition.* The first part of the address related to a family event which was of very frequent occurrence in the reign of George III. "No man," said Chatham, "feels sincerer joy than I do on every accession of strength to the Protestant succession; I therefore join in every congratulation on the birth of another princess and the happy recovery of her majesty. But I must stop here; my courtly complaisance will carry me no farther: I will not join in congratulation on misfortune and disgrace: I cannot concur in a blind and servile address, which approves, and endeavours to sanctify, the monstrous measures that have heaped disgrace and misfortune upon us—that have brought ruin to our doors. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment! It is no time for adulation. The smoothness of flattery cannot now avail—cannot save us in this rugged and awful crisis. It is now necessary to instruct the throne in the language of truth. We must dispel the delusion and the darkness which envelop it; and display, in its full danger and true colours, the ruin that is brought to our doors." He asked whether the

* Gordon,—Stedman,—Burke,—Marshall.

* Letters in Chat. Corres.

minister of the day could presume to expect a continuance of support in this ruinous infatuation? Whether parliament could be so dead to its dignity and its duty as to be deluded into the loss of the one and the violation of the other? Whether they could continue to give an unlimited credit and support to the government for its steady perseverance in measures dictated and forced upon them, measures which had reduced this flourishing empire to ruin and contempt. The arrival of his ci-devant friend Benjamin Franklin at Paris, and the great attention which had been paid to him, had wounded and irritated the great orator in an uncommon degree. "*But yesterday*," he exclaimed, "and England *might have stood against the world: now none so poor to do her reverence.* I use the words of a poet; but, though it be poetry, it is no fiction. It is a shameful truth that not only the power and strength of this country are wasting away and expiring; but her well-earned glories, her true honour and substantial dignity, are sacrificed. France, my lords, has insulted you; she has encouraged and sustained America; and, whether America be wrong or right, the dignity of this country ought to spurn at the officious insult of French interference. The ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels and enemies are in Paris; in Paris they transact the reciprocal interests of America and France. Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it? Do they presume even to hint a vindication of their honour, and the dignity of the state, by requiring the dismissal of the plenipotentiaries of America? Such is the degradation to which they have reduced the glories of England! The people, whom they affect to call contemptible rebels, but whose growing power has at least obtained the name of enemies; the people with whom they have engaged this country in war, and against whom they now command our implicit support in every measure of desperate hostility; this people, despised as rebels or acknowledged as enemies, are abetted against you, supplied with military stores, their interests consulted, and their ambassadors entertained, by your inveterate enemy! and our ministers dare not interpose with dignity or effect. Is this the honour of a great kingdom? Is this the indignant spirit of England, who, 'but yesterday,' gave law to the house of Bourbon? My lords, the dignity of nations demands a decisive conduct in a situation like this. Even when the greatest prince that perhaps this country ever saw filled our throne, the requisition of a Spanish general, on a similar subject, was attended to and complied with; for, on the spirited remonstrance of the Duke of Alva, Elizabeth found herself obliged to deny the Flemish exiles all countenance, support, or even entrance into her dominions; and the Count le Marque, with his few desperate followers, was expelled the kingdom." At the moment neither Howe's victory at the Brandywine and his consequent occupation of Philadelphia, nor Burgoyne's surrender, was officially known. It was only suspected that the situation of the latter general was exceedingly critical. Chatham said, "The desperate state of our arms is in part known: no man thinks more highly of them than I do; I love and honour the English troops; I know their virtues and their valour; I know that they can achieve anything except impossibilities; and I know that the conquest of English America is an impossibility. You cannot, I venture to say it, you cannot conquer America. . . . . What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst, but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps total loss of the Northern force (Burgoyne's), the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by Sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines; he was obliged to relinquish his attempt, and, with great delay and danger, to adopt a new and distant plan of operations. We shall soon know, and in any event have reason to lament, what may have happened since." There was some of the exaggeration of oratory in this sketch of military affairs, for, though a British army had been two years in Boston before the active operations of the present year, there had been in fact but one campaign, which had not begun before the month of June. It was, however, quite true that Howe had retired from before Courland Manor, and had lost the Jerseys, rather than attack Washington on his woods and hills, and it was natural that his strange conduct on this occasion should be construed into defeat and humiliation. The Hessians, as we have seen, had been guilty of some excesses on the country near the Delaware, but the orator represented them in a more horrible light than was justified by the facts. Continuing his vaticination that the struggle, however prolonged, must end in our defeat, he exclaimed—"You may swell every expense, and every effort, still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little pitiful German prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince: your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to over-run them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never." He affirmed that our own army was infected with the contagion of these illiberal allies, and that the spirit of plunder and of rapine was gone forth among them. But when he came to speak of the employment of the wild Indians with our army—though he himself, nineteen years before, had employed Indians in the same manner against the French and the Canadians—his tone was still more loud

and indignant. "But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to these disgraces and mischiefs of our army, has dared to authorise and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? To call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman savage of the woods; to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights; and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment; unless thoroughly done away it will be a stain on the national character—it is a violation of the constitution—I believe it is against the law. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired: infected with the mercenary spirit of robbery and rapine—familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathise with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war, 'that make ambition virtue!' What makes ambition virtue?—the sense of honour. But is the sense of honour consistent with a spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives, or can it prompt to cruel deeds? Besides these murderers and plunderers, let me ask our ministers what other allies they have acquired? What *other powers* have they associated to their cause? Have they entered into alliance with the *king of the gipsies?* Nothing, my lords, is too low or too ludicrous to be consistent with their counsels." He then proceeded to speak on the great question of disseverance and independence, and on this subject no new light had broken in upon him. He avowed now, as he had done all through the quarrel, that our supremacy must be maintained or our ruin inevitably sealed. As his course had all along been to attribute every blame to the British government, and to applaud both the spirit and the intentions of the Americans, so he pretended to assert even now that the Americans, or a very considerable part of the colonists, were still full of affection for the mother country, were only declaring independence in moments of anguish and despair, and were still in their hearts inclined to return to their old political condition. Nay, he would not even admit that our power of regulating their trade ought to be abolished or abridged. "My lords," said he, "no man wishes more for the due dependence of America on this country than I do: to preserve it, and not confirm that state of independence into which your measures have driven them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire; it is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots; but, contending for independency and total disconnexion from England, as an Englishman, I cannot wish them success; for, in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America. She derived assistance and protection from us, and we reaped from her the most important advantages: she was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power. It is our duty, therefore, my lords, if we wish to save our country, most seriously to endeavour the recovery of these most beneficial subjects: and, in this perilous crisis, perhaps the present moment may be the only one in which we can hope for success; for, in their negotiations with France, they have, or think they have, reason to complain: though it be notorious that they have received from that power important supplies and assistance of various kinds, yet it is certain they expected it in a more decisive and immediate degree. America is in ill humour with France on some points that have not entirely answered her expectations: let us wisely take advantage of every possible moment of reconciliation. Besides, the natural disposition of America herself still leans towards England—to the old habits of connexion and mutual interest that united both countries. This *was* the established sentiment of all the continent; and still, my lords, in the great and principal part, the sound part of America, this wise and affectionate disposition prevails; and there is a very considerable part of America yet sound—the middle and the southern provinces: some parts may be factious and blind to their true interests; but, if we express a wise and benevolent disposition to communicate with them those immutable rights of nature, and those constitutional liberties, to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, by a conduct so just and humane we shall confirm the favourable, and conciliate the adverse. I say, my lords, the rights and liberties to which they are equally entitled with ourselves, but no more. I would participate with them every enjoyment and freedom which the colonizing subjects of a free state can possess, or wish to possess; and I do not see why they should not enjoy every fundamental right in their property, and every original substantial liberty, which Devonshire or Surrey, or the county I live in, or any other county in England can claim; reserving always, as the sacred right of the mother country, the due constitutional dependency of the colonies. The inherent supremacy of the state, in regulating and protecting the navigation and commerce of all her subjects, is necessary for the mutual benefit and preservation of every part, to constitute and preserve the prosperous arrangement of the whole empire." He dwelt upon the insincere nonsense in the royal speech about the friendly assurances of foreign courts; he spoke of the interests and of the passions of the French, and he showed that no foreign power was really friendly to Great Britain. He might have been told that the irritated pride, the jealousy and the eagerness of the French to brush from their laurels the tarnish of the last war, were,

in no inconsiderable degree, attributable to his own councils, and to the military glory which he had acquired during that contest, and of which he was so proud. Without this incentive it is quite possible that the French would have been disposed to interfere, and to take advantage of the embarrassments of England: their old rivalry, their new political philosophy, their proneness to war, would have led them in this direction; but the sore recollection of their defeats, and Chatham's trophies, hurried them on at an accelerated pace. In continuation, he proclaimed that we were leaving ourselves naked to the attacks of the whole house of Bourbon at home, and wasting all our strength and money in America—that there were not 5000 troops in England, and hardly 3000 in Ireland—that we had scarcely twenty ships of the line fully or sufficiently manned—and that in this deplorable state nothing was left but to try the gentle roads of conciliation. "You cannot," said he, "conciliate America by your present measures: you cannot subdue her by any measures. What, then, can you do? You cannot conquer, you cannot gain; but you can *address*,—you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into an ignorance of the danger that should produce them. But, my lords, the time demands the language of truth: we must not now apply the flattering unction of servile compliance, or blind complaisance. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the right or honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it; but in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means, and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort, or a single shilling." And yet this war, as we trust we have clearly shown, had most indisputably for its object, and from the very beginning, that independence and separate sovereignty which Chatham had sworn he would never recognise. The fact was this:—the blindness to the truth was his, and unfortunately our other great men saw no clearer than he. He next attacked the ministry more personally than before, and seemed to be astonished at their daring to remain in office. "I do not," said he, "call for vengeance on the heads of those who have been guilty; I only recommend to them to make their retreat. Let them walk off; and let them make haste, or they may be assured that speedy and condign punishment will overtake them." After dwelling again upon our weakness, and our calamities foreign and domestic, and declaring that ministers were making the constitution itself totter to its foundations, he said—"Since they had neither sagacity to foresee, nor justice and humanity to shun these calamities,—since not even severe experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their stupefaction,—the guardian care of parliament must interpose. I shall therefore propose an amendment to the address, to recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power." But few or none that heard him believed that anything of the sort was in our power, unless we recognised their independence; and some doubted whether an instant recognition would have the effect of procuring lasting peace and good will between the two countries. In their most depressed state the Americans had displayed an eagerness for conquest, and it was the fundamental principle of Congress, and an article of almost religious belief with the patriots, that the whole of Canada and Nova Scotia should be incorporated in their republic. As, on every occasion when no force had been employed against them, they had attributed every concession to our weakness and fears, could they be expected to do less when considerable armies had been in the field for many months? Their triumph would have known no bounds; all Europe would have joined them in the confident belief that the lion of England had become a timid, helpless lamb; their foreign negotiations, their leagues with the French, would not have been broken off by any treaty with us; and, even if inclined for a time to moderation themselves, they would have been heated and impelled by their new alliances. The natural antipathy between the natures of Frenchmen and Americans may have been as extreme as Chatham represented it;* but we place little reliance on his repeated assurances of the unalterable affection and homogeneousness of Americans with Englishmen: fourteen years of constant bickering, and two years of actual war, had diminished an affection which was not very ardent before, and now, in the language of the American patriots, there was not a more accursed race on the face of the earth than the stock to which they owed their origin and their language. Among the lords who replied to Chatham was Sandwich, who still remained at the head of the Admiralty, and who declared that the navy of Great Britain was never in a better condition. Sandwich thought that, if the great orator's speech were shorn of its rhetoric, it would be found of little worth. He said that both by land and sea we had obtained advantages that might more than balance our reverses; that the British navy was competent to meet the united forces of France and Spain—a union which he thought not likely to take place. In reply to the denunciation that ministers had not dared to remonstrate with France, he declared that they *had* remonstrated, and that their remonstrances had been attended to, inasmuch as the French court had issued ordinances, forbidding American privateers to enter their ports, and had compelled the restitution of prizes, &c. It was possible that France had committed various infringements of the laws of nations, and of her treaty of peace, but the time would come for demanding full reparation. He, too, was for conciliation; and, as Lord Chatham's proposition

* In his present speech he said—"America and France cannot be congenial: there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen!"

involved as a *sine qua non* the continuance of our supremacy, and our right of regulating the trade and navigation of the Americans, he would gladly meet him upon that ground, if he were not convinced that the Americans would never treat upon such conditions, unless reduced by force of arms. Lord Camden declared that if the war were prosecuted to the issue of this alternative—shall America be subdued, or shall she render herself independent?—he would wish for independence, because the subjugation of America, by force of arms, must be followed by the enslavement of England! There was a great diversity of opinion among these opposition lords, but not one of them had the prophetic eye to see what would be the real and, on the whole, very beneficial consequences of the disseverance of the two countries. Chatham's brother-in-law, Earl Temple, was of opinion that,

LORD TEMPLE.
From a Painting by William Hoare.

whether conqueror or conquered, this great country was verging, by rapid strides, to her ruin, yet that the war ought not to be abandoned until we had obtained decisive victories in America.* They even differed as to the propriety of offering terms of concession at this moment, and they were not at all agreed as to what the terms, if offered, should be. The majority, however, were decidedly of opinion that we must retain our supremacy, and our right of regulating the American trade. On one single point which offered matter favourable to oratory, they were united, and that was the odiousness of employing the wild Indians against a Christian people. The Duke of Richmond, who credited the very apocryphal stories of Indian cannibalism, said that those savages would not only torture and kill (which was true), but would literally eat their prisoners,—that our engaging them would call down the vengeance of Heaven,—that our soldiers, acting with them, would become as ferocious as they, and would on their return to England be prepared to perpetrate any atrocity, any attack on the liberties of the country, that ministers might command. Lord Suffolk, one of the secretaries of state, undertook the defence of the employment of the Indians, contending that, besides its policy and necessity, the measure was also allowable upon principle; as in this war, which we had not provoked, "it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature put into our hands." This drew forth one of the most splendid and most frequently quoted of Chatham's bursts of eloquence—and, in the inspiration and *furor divinus* of the moment, he no doubt forgot how he had himself employed "the Indian scalping-knife," and "the hell-hounds of savage war." "I am astonished, he exclaimed, "shocked, to hear such principles confessed, to hear them avowed in this House or in this country; principles equally unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian. My lords, I did not intend to have trespassed again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty. My lords, we are called upon, as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions, standing near the throne, polluting the ear of majesty. That God and nature put into our hands!—I know not what idea that lord may entertain of God and nature—but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, *eating*—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity; and, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and a detester of murderous barbarity. These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, those holy ministers of the gospel, and pious pastors of the church,—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn, upon the learned judges to interpose the purity of

* Letter from Temple to Chatham, dated September the 28th. In a subsequent letter to his sister, the Countess of Chatham, (dated October 21st) Temple says, with much feeling, "However animating your expressions may be of feeling for the public, the past, the present, and the future, it is impossible to look to that dreadful scene, without every depression which can sink the mind of a zealous friend to *this* country. I am no party to the war, nor am I the cause of it, which I think my greatest happiness; but, engaged as we are in, I think, a most just cause, I cannot but wish victory to dear, dear England: reconciliation, founded in the independence of America, makes me rather choose to treat with a beaten enemy; at the same time I confess I see no promising solution any way. I hope the kind hand of omnipotent fortune at last may, somehow or other, bring two friends (himself and Chatham, who had widely disagreed) o be able to act or think together."—*Chat. Corres.*

their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country! In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion, the Protestant religion of his country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose amongst us, to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child—to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? Against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—hell-hounds, I say, of savage war! Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example of even Spanish cruelty: we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, —endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My Lords, this awful subject, so important to our honour, our constitution, and our religion, demands the most solemn and effectual inquiry; and I again call upon your lordships, and the united powers of the state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to stamp upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. And I again implore those holy prelates of our religion to do away these iniquities from among us:—let them perform a lustration—let them purify this House and this country from this sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and my indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, or have reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles." The effect of this fervent oratory was materially injured by the recollection that the great orator had done the very same thing in the former war carried on in Canada by his authority, and under his own immediate superintendence. Chatham's amendment to the address was rejected by a majority of 84 to 28; and only two peers signed the protest. In the Lower House a similar amendment was moved by the Marquess of Granby and seconded by Lord John Cavendish. The opposition had by this time found out the folly of seceding, and now attended in full force; there also seemed to be on all sides rather a general desire for peace, even upon humble conditions; but Lord North still kept together his numbers on divisions.* The opposition, though animated, were quite as much divided in opinion as to the course to be pursued as in the other House; and the amendment was negatived by 243 to 86. On the 27th of November a great meeting of the opposition was held at Lord Rockingham's house, in Grosvenor-square, to decide whether motions should now be made in both Houses for taking the state of the nation into consideration on the 2nd of February next, to be followed up with motions for papers, &c.; or whether it might not be sufficient for notice to be given in each House, that upon the 2nd of February the motion would be made for a committee on the state of the nation, and to desire that the Lords should be summoned, and that there should be a call of the Commons; or, finally, whether no immediate step should be taken in this business. The Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Grafton, Charles Fox, and several others, were very desirous of adopting the first mode of proceeding; Lord Camden and others were not inclined to this mode, as thinking it would require a closer attendance in the House than they could engage for at that season; and Lord Shelburne was not very anxious either way, but wished to be guided by the judgment of Chatham, who had not attended the meeting.† On the same day Shelburne wrote to request Chatham "to be so good as to consider how to point" a vast variety of motions which the Duke of Richmond was very earnestly occupied about.‡ Chatham recommended that notice should be given in the Lords on the very next day,—Friday, the 28th of November,—that on Tuesday next—the Monday being a kind of holyday on account of the christening of the infant princess—a motion would be made for a committee on the state of the nation; and the notice was accordingly given on Friday by the Duke of Richmond, who at the same time desired that the House might be summoned. In the speech by which he introduced this notice, Richmond intimated that all kinds of papers would be called for; and, at a meeting at his own house that same evening, the opposition deliberated upon what papers and accounts it would be necessary to move for, so as best to expose the expense of both blood and treasure occasioned by this unhappy war. Chatham was again consulted by letter, and the course he recommended was again followed.§ On the appointed Tuesday—the 2nd of December—the Duke of Richmond made his motion in the Lords, and the great orator was there to support it. His grace once more proclaimed to the House, and to the whole world, that the nation was in a rapid process of decay, and could no longer support a war where success was hopeless. He said that the inquiry into the state of the country ought to be as extensive as it could possibly be made, and he proposed the 2nd of February for the discussion, hoping that all the papers

* Gibbon, Letters.
† Letter from the Marquess of Rockingham to Chatham; in Chat Corres.
‡ Id.
§ Chatham Corresp.

called for might be laid before parliament. As had been foreseen, ministers did not refuse the committee. To begin his call for papers, Richmond then moved for the returns of the army and navy in America and Ireland. Upon this occasion Chatham made another brilliant speech. He expressed great alarm as to the actual state of those two important fortresses Gibraltar and Minorca, which, he said, were left to chance and the pacific dispositions of France and Spain. He dwelt upon his own great care of those bulwarks of our Mediterranean trade when he was in office, and said, that, though carrying on the most extensive warlike operations in all the four quarters of the globe, he had never weakened the garrisons of those places nor intrusted their defence to foreigners. He affirmed that he had never trusted Gibraltar to a garrison of less than 6000 men, and that he knew that at present there was not a second relief in case of an attack—that there were not men sufficient to man the works while those fatigued with service and watching went to refresh, eat, or sleep,—and that the garrison were *only* Hanoverians. He attributed all the difficulty of procuring British troops to the hatred the country entertained of the ministry and of this present war. He took occasion to extol the Americans, calling them "Whigs in principle and heroes in conduct." The motion was agreed to. On the same day in the Commons, Fox, who had also given notice of his intention on the Friday, moved that that House should, on the 2nd of February, resolve itself into a committee to consider of the state of the nation. The motion was at once assented to by ministers; but, when Fox followed it up by a call for papers, Lord North opposed this demand as one which must lead to disclosures, and to the making public to the enemy many things which ought to be concealed in a time of war. This drew down upon his lordship's head a series of very odious comparisons. Burke compared him to the "pigmy physician" appointed to watch over the health of Sancho Panza, in the government of Barataria, who had placed before him a table most plentifully provided, but saw every dish snatched away on various pretences, by the order of that functionary, before he could get a mouthful. North said, with his usual impassibility, that, whatever effect this pleasant anecdote might have on the House, he should adhere to his former opinion. Dunning treated the impropriety of divulging the actual state of our army and navy, with all the particulars of where we were strong and where we were weak, with contempt, and supported Fox's call for papers. Attorney-General Thurlow was replying to Dunning when intelligence was circulated, in a whisper, that the House of Lords had agreed to the Duke of Richmond's motion for the returns of the army and navy in Ireland and America. When this was noticed by Mr. T. Townshend, Lord North, the premier, the real holder of the keys that were turned upon those papers, declared, with some warmth, that it was disorderly to mention the decisions of one House to influence the determination of the other. Fox said that the only argument brought against his motion was certainly invalidated by the decision of the Lords; and that, now, he would not recede from that motion. In the course of his speech Fox fell upon the chief manager of American affairs; and, as Burke had compared the fat and good-natured North to the court physician of Sancho Panza, Fox compared the haughty, starch, and imperious Lord George Germaine to Dr. Sangrado. "For two years," said he, "that a certain noble lord has presided over American affairs, the most violent, scalping, tomahawk measures have been pursued. Bleeding has been his only prescription. If a people deprived of their ancient rights are grown tumultuous—bleed them! if they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection—bleed them! if their fever should rise into rebellion, —bleed them! cries this state physician: more blood!, more blood! still more blood! When Dr. Sangrado had persevered in a similar practice of bleeding his patients, killing by the very means he used for a cure, his man took the liberty to remonstrate on the necessity of relaxing in a practice to which thousands of their patients had fallen sacrifices, and which was beginning to bring their names into disrepute. The doctor answered, I believe we have indeed carried the matter a little too far, but you must know I have written a book on the efficacy of this practice; therefore, though every patient we have should die by it, we must continue bleeding for the credit of my book." * Governor Pownall, speaking more like a man of business than like a professed wit, argued that the production of the papers could answer no good end. He declared that he was as little influenced by party spirit now as he had been nine years before, when he had foretold the progress of American resistance. He said that he could now tell the House and government that the Americans would never again return to their former allegiance —that our sovereignty was abolished—our Navigation Act annihilated—and that, until we should be disposed to treat with the United States as an independent people, no schemes, no plans of conciliation would be of any avail, and all talk and all orders and correspondence about them a mere waste of time. Fox's call for papers was negatived by 178 to 89.

On the next day—the 3rd of December—the mournful news arrived of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, and was whispered about town, though without any particulars. This, it was concluded, must drive ministers from their posts, and make room for those who had been so long and so loudly struggling for them. Accordingly, in the afternoon, Colonel Barré rose in the House of Commons, with a severe and solemn countenance, but hardly, as we believe, with sad-

* We are not aware that Lord George Germaine had written a book; but he was no inconsiderable pamphleteer. It will be remembered that he was one of the reputed authors of Junius's Letters.

ness of heart, and asked Lord George Germaine what news he had received by his last expresses from Quebec; and called upon him to tell him, upon his word of honour, what had become of General Burgoyne and his brave army. The haughty secretary was constrained to confess that he had received the unhappy intelligence; adding, however, that it was not official, and had not yet been authenticated. It had been brought, he said, by express from Quebec, where it had been received from Ticonderoga, to which place it had been carried by the reports of deserters. It was, he observed, a most unfortunate affair,

Lord George Germaine. From a Painting by Romney.

but he expressed a hope that the House would suspend their judgment; declaring, in a cold, self-satisfied tone, that, if he had been in fault in planning the expedition, he was there to answer for it. Barré, who well knew the part that the hero of Minden had taken in framing the scheme, said that the man who planned so rash and incoherent an expedition was alone to blame. Charles Fox, Burke, and others continued the attack, and revelled in descriptions of the loss and disgrace we had sustained. The solicitor-general, Wedderburn, came to the rescue of his official superiors: he represented that the greatness of the national character particularly showed itself in rising above a temporary misfortune; that victory had often followed defeat; that this was not the first time a British army had been reduced to such hard extremities; that, during the war of the succession, General Stanhope had been compelled to surrender himself and his whole army prisoners of war in Spain; and that the disgrace only served to raise an enthusiastic ardour which soon effaced the stigma and achieved glorious successes. Lord North brought back the attention of the House to the business of the day, which was, to vote supplies; observing that these were indispensable whether we were to look to peace or to the prolongation of war. On the next day—the 4th of December—the Marquess of Rockingham, the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, and Lord Shelburne met and agreed that a motion should be made in the Upper House for the production of Burgoyne's instructions; and they hoped that Chatham's health would enable him to come to London on the morrow to make it. The Duke of Grafton and several other opposition lords were out of town before the sad news arrived.* On the 5th Chatham was in his place to make the motion. He began a long and powerful harangue by criticising the king's speech at the opening of the session, which, he said, contained an unfaithful, delusive picture of the state of public affairs. Not one noble lord in administration would dare arise and contradict him. That royal speech had a specious outside—was full of hopes; yet everything within and without, foreign and domestic, was full of danger, and calculated to inspire the most melancholy forebodings. It was customary, he said, to offer an address of condolence to his majesty upon any public misfortune, as well as one of congratulation on any public success. There never was a time when condolence was more seasonable or necessary than at present. If what had been acknowledged in the other House were true, he was astonished that some public notice had not been taken of the sad, the melancholy disaster! He then lamented the fate of Burgoyne in pathetic terms; and said that that gentleman's character, the glory of British arms, and the dearest interests of this undone, disgraced country, had been all sacrificed to the ignorance, temerity, and incapacity of ministers. He said that Burgoyne might or might not be an able officer; but, by everything he could learn, his fate was not proportionate to his merit: he might have received orders it was not in his power to execute. He had denounced ministers already; but, now, he said that he would not condemn them without evidence:—they might possibly have instructed Burgoyne wisely; Burgoyne might have executed his instructions faithfully and judiciously, and yet he might have miscarried. There were many events which no human foresight could provide against; and it was on that ground he meant to frame his motion. The fact was acknowledged—the general had miscarried: it might not have been his fault—it might not be the fault of his employers or instructors. To know where the fault lay, he was desirous of having the orders given to General Burgoyne laid before the House. He added, that enough of the plan had, however, transpired to justify him in affirming that the measures for that campaign were founded in weakness, barbarity, and inhumanity. Savages had been employed to carry ruin and devastation among our subjects in America: the tomahawk and scalping-knife had been put into the hands of the most brutal and ferocious of the human species! He then turned from the field of war to the court, and laid *there* the blame of all the evils that had happened. "Within the last fifteen years," said he, "the system has been introduced at St. James's of breaking all connexion, of extinguishing all principle. A few men have got an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy;

* Chatham Corresp.

by the executive powers of the state being at their command they have been furnished with the means of creating divisions. This has brought pliable men, not capable men, into the highest situations; and to such men is the government of this once glorious empire now entrusted. The spirit of delusion has gone forth; the ministers have imposed on the people; parliament has been induced to sanctify the imposition; false lights have been held out to the country gentlemen—they have been seduced into the support of a most destructive war, under the impression that the land-tax would be diminished by means of an American revenue. The visionary phantom, thus conjured up for the basest of all purposes—that of deception—is now about to vanish." The oration was rather rambling. Returning to Burgoyne, he paid that general some very high compliments—saying his abilities were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, he had suffered none of the accidents which sometimes supersede the most wise and spirited exertions. What, then, was the great cause of his misfortune? And, forgetting his preceding declaration, that he would not condemn ministers without evidence, he answered his own question by affirming that the great cause of the calamities was want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers! He laid the whole blame upon ministers, and told them that they ought to submit to all the obloquy till the general had an opportunity to justify himself in person. Notwithstanding the correction he had so recently received as to his own employment of the Indians, he again dwelt upon the horror of the scalping-knife and tomahawk, saying that, if he had been serving in the army, he believed he would rather have mutinied than consent to act with such barbarians—that such a mode of warfare was a pollution of our national character which all the waters of the rivers Delaware and Hudson would never wash away! He was almost as severe upon German bayonets as upon Indian scalping-knives. The only thing to be done to preserve America in our dependence was to disband the Indians (they were disbanded long before this), recall the Germans, and withdraw our own troops entirely. He again declared himself an avowed enemy to American independence, saying that he was a Whig, and that, while he abhorred the system of government attempted to be established in America, he as earnestly and zealously contended for a Whig government and a Whig connexion between the two countries, founded on a constitutional dependence and subordination of America upon England. These colonies, he said, had made our riches, had raised the value of estates, given employment to our manufacturers and wealth to our merchants. With the independence of America all these advantages must vanish and pass to our enemies. He told the country gentlemen—always so sensitive on those points—that they would, in that event, find their land-taxes doubled and their rents decreased by one-half. In the course of his speech he severely animadverted on the high Tory doctrines maintained in print and in that House by a most reverend prelate,—Dr. Markham, archbishop of York,—and hoped that he should yet see the day when such pernicious doctrines—the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel—would be deemed libels, and treated as such. As a Whig he could never endure them; and he doubted not that all such authors would some day suffer that degree of censure and punishment which they so justly deserved. In concluding, he moved for the production of copies of all orders and instructions sent to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. The motion was negatived by a majority of 40 to 19. It had been previously agreed to make demand after demand, motion after motion; and Chatham himself next moved for copies of all instructions relative to the employment of Indians in conjunction with the British troops. In opposing the motion Lord Gower asserted that the noble lord himself employed savages in the operations of the last war. Chatham accused Lord Gower of quibbling; and told him that, at the time he alluded to, he was too inexperienced, thoughtless, and dissipated to know anything of public affairs—was immersed in pleasures and indulgences to which young noblemen were too much inclined! Gower, after replying to these personalities with equal heat and bitterness, produced from the journals of the House the recognition of a treaty with the Indians, who were engaged to make war upon and destroy the French in Canada. Chatham poured out a fresh volume of words. Ministers then offered to produce, from the depository of papers in the secretary's office, documents written by himself to prove the charge. The dispute grew still hotter; and at length Lord Amherst, Chatham's general, who had commanded our troops in that Canadian war, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that he found himself compelled to acknowledge that he had followed the example of the French in employing savages, which he would not have done without express orders from government at home. He even offered to produce the orders, if his majesty would permit him. Lord Shelburne argued that the orders to employ the savages might have proceeded from the Board of Trade; but Lord Denbigh, who, rather happily, called Chatham "the great oracle with the short memory," said that this was impossible; that Chatham, when in office under George II., had guided and directed everything relating to the war, had monopolised functions which did not belong to him, and had been excessively jealous of any interference by others, whether boards or ministers. The Lords in opposition now seemed inclined to lay the question by, as far as it concerned Chatham's veracity or correctness of memory, and only insisted upon the difference between the two wars,—the one having been against our old enemies the French, the other being against our fellow-subjects. They also contended that, since the French had certainly begun the practice

so justly abhorred, we were, in Chatham's time, in a manner under the necessity of retaliating, and employing the red-men in the same way. But ministers might have urged—and they probably did urge—that, in the present instance, the Americans had set the deplorable example. Arnold took with him into Canada the very savages whose services we had refused. One of the first cares of Congress was to secure the alliance of the Six Nations; and it was understood by all that the treaty was not to stop at neutrality, but to engage those Indians as auxiliaries in the war. Want of money and means, united with certain inveterate animosities existing between the Indian tribes and their American neighbours of the back settlements, as also with a kind of traditional reverence for the name of King George, had prevented the success of congress; and English muskets, blankets, gewgaws, rum, and money, being supplied in far greater abundance than the Americans could afford, secured the services of the savages on our side—services which would otherwise have been bought by the general congress or by the separate provincial conventions. Lord Dunmore, the expelled governor of Virginia, declared that no doubt existed as to the attempts of the revolutionary leaders in that colony to forestall us in the market, and engage the savages in their pay,—that conferences had taken place between their agents and some Indian chiefs, one of whom had declared that he would never fight against the great king over the water, who, in the last war, had sent such large armies and so much money to America,—and that the Virginians, disappointed in their hopes, had dressed up some of their own people as Indian warriors to terrify the royalists. His lordship added, that the cruelty of the Christian colonists themselves equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the heathen Indians. Dunmore had suffered too many insults and too many grievous injuries to be a cool or impartial judge of the conduct of Americans; but he adduced many circumstantial proofs in support of his assertion; and there is an accumulation of evidence to the same effect from other quarters innumerable. The army of independence included a large proportion of men who, in becoming pioneers of civilization,—as the backwoodsmen are called,—had lost half of their own European civilization, and had contracted half of the barbarism and ferocity of the savage tribes that lay beyond them, and with whom they were almost constantly in a state of war at one point or another. The practice of employing the savages remains, with its sad consequences; but, as the Americans had tried to avail themselves of it, and had been the first actually to adopt it, it required a great strength of countenance to recur to the high principles of morals and religion, and to denounce the British government, as they did, as heinously guilty of a breach of those principles. When Lord Bute, in his close retirement, heard what passed in the House of Lords, and how Chatham had denied his having employed the red-men, he exclaimed, with astonishment, "Did Pitt really deny it? Why, I have letters of his still by me, singing *Io Pæans* over the advantages we gained through our Indian allies!" * Chatham's present motion was negatived by a majority of 40 to 18. His party still continued to think, or to affect to think, that there was a vast difference between American Christians and French Christians, and that this difference justified whatever he had done in the former war.

The number of seamen for the ensuing year was fixed at 60,000, and that of the troops to be employed in America alone at 55,000. After these and other estimates had been passed—which did not happen without many and vehement debates—the government thought the time was come for an adjournment, for which they were the more anxious, as the opposition never relaxed their fire of motions. On the 10th of December, rather earlier than usual, Lord Beauchamp moved in the Commons an adjournment till the 20th of January. Burke proposed, as an amendment, to adjourn for one week, instead of six; but ministers said they had already gone through their usual business; that nothing new was likely to occur during the recess; and their motion was carried by 155 against 68. In the House of Lords Chatham opposed the adjournment in a long speech, it having been previously settled by Lord Rockingham and others of the opposition, that nothing should be omitted which tended to fix blame and censure on those who directed both king and parliament.† They were astonished at the adhesiveness of Lord North to his seat. "Shall we," said Chatham, "trust, during an adjournment of six weeks, to these men, who have brought such calamities upon us, when, perhaps, our utter overthrow is plotting, nay, ripe for execution? Ten thousand brave men have fallen victims to ignorance and rashness. The only army you have in America may, by this time, be no more. This very nation remains safe no longer than its enemies think proper to permit. Events of the most critical nature may take place before our next meeting. Will your lordships, then, in such a state of things, trust to the guidance of men who, in every single step of this cruel, this wicked war, have proved themselves weak, ignorant, and mistaken? A remonstrance, my lords, should be carried to the throne. The king is deluded by his ministers." He then contradicted Lord Sandwich's statements as to the good condition of our navy; spoke of our land forces at home as contemptible, and described the country as being in a most helpless condition, inviting invasion from France, and incapable of resisting it. He next turned to the American war, and ended his speech with some excessive exaggerations about the invincible valour, the gentleness, moderation,

* Lord Brougham, Statesmen of the Times of George III. His lordship says that he was indebted to the kindness of "a most accomplished and venerable person, the ornament of a former age, and fortunately still preserved to enlighten the present," for this interesting anecdote.

† Letter from Rockingham to Chatham, in Chat. Cor.

and magnanimity of the Americans, and the profligacy, cruelty, and barbarity of the royal troops, or rather of the ministers, who prescribed the rules for their conduct. The adjournment was, nevertheless, carried by 47 against 17.

A.D. 1778.—During the recess extreme efforts were made both by the government party and by the opposition. The notion of ending a ruinous and vilely mismanaged war by recognising the independence of the United States was certainly now entertained or debated by a few practised politicians; but Chatham shrunk from it as from a monster too hideous to contemplate. Lord Shelburne expressed himself as being entirely of Chatham's opinion, and the mass of the opposition continued to talk and to act as if we should neither make war upon the Americans nor submit to their high pretensions of separate sovereignty. The vast majority of the nation, hurt in their pride, and eager to blot out the recollection of Burgoyne's disgrace, were as warm for the war as Wedderburn had predicted they would be; and some of our great cities, which suffered and lost most by the stop put to their trade with the colonies, were the most warlike of all. Liverpool raised a regiment at her own expense; Manchester raised another; as did also Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several independent companies were raised without cost or charge to government in the principality of Wales. The corporations of London and Bristol, being more under Whig influence, rejected proposals to co-operate; but private subscriptions were opened, large sums were given, and 15,000 soldiers were raised by these various means.* Many of the maritime towns armed ships to cruise in the Channel, where American privateers and Frenchmen with American colours were now rather numerous. On the other side, the oppositionists set on foot subscriptions for the American prisoners of war, who received no succour from their own country, government, or families, and who were represented as suffering great hardship and cruelty from their English gaolers. The opposition generally chose to consider that the conduct of Liverpool, Manchester, and of the other towns and individuals who had raised regiments at their own expense for the service of government, was highly reprehensible; and the conduct of ministers in accepting their aid most unconstitutional and dangerous. This was one of the first subjects discussed on the re-assembling of parliament. On the 22nd of January Sir Philip Jennings Clerke moved for an account of the number of troops so raised, with the names of the commanding officers. In the debate which followed, ministers were accused of having incorporated 15,000 men without consent of parliament, and of entertaining designs dangerous to the liberties of the country. Lord North said that the extent of these private and spontaneous exertions proved that the people felt the insults and injuries offered to their king and country—proved that the American war was popular—proved that the country was not in the helpless, impoverished state in which a jealous and impatient faction represented it as being. He readily agreed to grant the account required. On the 27th of January the Earl of Abingdon moved in the Lords that the twelve judges should be consulted on the legality of raising troops without the authority of parliament; but this motion was not pressed to a division. On the 4th of February Sir Philip Jennings Clerke fell again upon these new troops, some money being demanded for their uniforms, &c.; and the debate was prolonged through the next day. The opposition treated all the levies with little grace or courtesy, but were most severe upon the two Scots regiments, which were represented as composed of vile mercenaries, by nature slaves and willing tools of despotism. It was further maintained that the whole practice of raising troops and money in this way by private subscriptions and corporation votes was a breach of the coronation oath, and that all who subscribed their money were promoters and abettors of perjury. Putting aside the emergency of the case, the practice may be regarded as not free from objection; but Lord North could justify himself by precedents. Regiments and independent companies had been raised precisely in the same manner in the troublous year 1745, and again in the year 1759, when Chatham was minister. So far from considering the practice dangerous and unlawful, Chatham had then publicly and solemnly thanked those who raised the troops for the honour and glory of their country. Yet now "the great oracle with the short memory" joined in the outcry; and on the 4th of February, while Sir Philip Jennings Clerke was haranguing in the Commons, the Earl of Abingdon made a specific motion in the Lords for a resolution that the grant of money, in private aids or benevolences, without the sanction of parliament, for the purpose of raising armies, was against the spirit of the constitution and the letter of the law; and that, to obtain money by subscription, for such purposes, was not only unconstitutional and illegal, but a direct infringement of the rights, and a breach of the privileges, of parliament. The motion, however, after a warm debate, was negatived by 90 against 30. Later in the session John Wilkes moved in the Commons to bring in a bill for preventing the dangerous and unconstitutional practice of giving or granting money to the crown, as a private aid, loan, benevolence, or subscription, for public purposes, without consent of parliament. He was supported by Burke; but the motion was negatived by 72 against 40.

At this time a very considerable party in the country entertained the idea that Chatham, who had been so successful a war-minister, ought to be recalled to the helm; and there were some few who seem to have fancied that his return to office was not an improbability. There were many flying reports that the king himself had become

* History of Lord North's Administration

convinced that the country could be saved only by means of Chatham, and that Lord Bute emphatically recommended his instant recall to office. Nay, some even said that Bute himself was ready to take office with him! Thomas Coutts, the celebrated banker of the Strand, who had close connexions with some of the highest people in the country, wrote a curious letter on the 21st of January to the Countess of Chatham. The epistle began with an extract in these words:—"As no peace with America can ever be made by the present administration, I apprehend the king would be very glad, at the present moment, to receive a proposal from the only person who it is possible should *now* succeed in a point so essential, not only to the welfare, but even to the existence of Great Britain as a powerful nation; providing it was accompanied with an offer to allow of one nobleman being in the cabinet who may be called, in the language of politics, *his friend*. Lord Rochford, I apprehend, would be satisfactory to his majesty, and less objectionable and more popular than any other." The banker then continued to say, in his own person, that, having had some opportunity of hearing the sentiments of various ranks, he was very much struck with the above opinion; and, as he saw so plainly the danger to every man of any property from the present unhappy system, and the probability of Lord Chatham's abilities being still and only able to save us, he could not avoid enclosing it; and should feel happy, indeed, if he should have suggested a practicable mode of bringing about a better system of government. The countess replied, that her lord desired her to say, that the suggestion contained in Mr. Coutts's letter was marked with the kind and friendly intention that always actuated his proceedings towards him; but that his lordship felt, that, "to rescue a falling country from the last consequences of their own fatal errors, until those errors were fully perceived, and, from a conviction, sincerely renounced, was a work too dangerous for presumption itself to undertake unbidden and uncommanded; that to obtrude ideas now, perhaps in any case too late, would be folly, as well as presumption—courting extreme danger to no good end; and, being but too likely to sink under the load of the faults of others, that nothing short of commands could be a motive to act in desperate cases."* Some three months before this, Capability Brown, who was on a very familiar footing with the king, who consulted him in his gardening, as well as with Lord Bute, who so constantly employed him, intimated by letter to the Countess of Chatham, that he had had "very favourable conversations with his majesty about her lord, no acrimony nor ill-will appearing." To this he added that he had shown the king one of her ladyship's letters, and had ventured to repeat after her, that he was very sure that Chatham intended nothing but the dignity of the crown, the happiness of his majesty and the royal family, and the lustre of the whole empire; that some people had very much injured Lord Chatham, in calling him an *American*, because he (Brown) knew, after forty years' experience, that no man loved his country better. And to this, he said, the king had answered, "that Lord Chatham had too much good sense to wish harm to his country." The countess, answering for her lord, replied, that he was very sensible of Mr. Brown's kind friendship and animated conversation with royalty; that he derived real comfort and happiness from the assurance of his having been heard favourably and without acrimony; that his lordship was actuated in all he did, or meant to do, by the purest motives of disinterested concern for the king and for the country; that his views of things now told him that ruin was at our door, if not immediately prevented; and that the ardent wish of his heart was, that the past might be redeemed by happier councils—*i. e.*, by a new ministry. The reports of the king's disposition, and the probability of Chatham's return to power, reached the ear of Earl Temple, who was, moreover, waited upon by Capability Brown brim-full of the subject. On the 6th of February Temple wrote to his sister, the Countess of Chatham—"Amongst the monstrous heap of stories, which are hourly circulating in this metropolis, and to which I pay no attention, I select the following. Our friend Brown came, the other morning, piping hot from Lord Bute, who was outrageous in his expressions on the indispensable necessity that the king should not lose a moment in sending for Lord Chatham, and this in terms and with a violence which convinced him of his lordship's sincerity and apprehensions. I likewise learn, with an assurance of certainty, that yesterday morning Lord Mansfield went to Lord Holderness, and, with tears in his eyes, said that the vessel was sinking, and that Lord Chatham must be sent for. From a variety of circumstances it appears that the tide runs strongly that way; but whether veering with its ebb it may not leave the channel dry, I cannot say. Lord Bute was very copious on the circumstance of the letter to Lord Rockingham, and *the very handsome proceeding of making a firm stand for the sovereignty and restrictions of trade*. I think it would be advantageous to this view of things, if Lord Chatham shall be able to show himself."* Just at the same nick of time Dr. Addington (father to the present Viscount Sidmouth), who was physician to Chatham, as well as to the court, was deluded by the warm assurances of Sir James Wright, a great friend of Bute's, into the belief that the proud and indolent recluse of Luton was really anxious to patch up a cabinet with Chat-

* Chat. Corresp.

* Chat. Cor. In a postscript, Temple adds, that great distinction had been shown at court to his nephew, George Grenville, though he voted with the opposition, to Mr. Thomas Pitt (afterwards Lord Camelford), and to his niece, Lady Mary, likewise. The letter to Rockingham alluded to by Temple was a very earnest epistle from Chatham *to the marquess, who was among those public men that* were beginning to think that, in the choice of evils, our sovereignty might be renounced and the independence recognised. It would be curious to know *who* showed this letter to Bute; as also, whether *Chatham himself* did not *intend* it to meet the eyes of royalty.

ham; and the physician, anxious to promote the scheme, communicated to Chatham all that Sir James Wright had told him. Chatham, nothing doubting Wright's communications, and that Bute was desirous of returning to power, dictated a civil answer to Dr. Addington, but stated that nothing save "new councils and counsellors—a real change and not a palliation—could prevent the public ruin." This answer, as the physician reported to Chatham, was coldly received by Sir James Wright, because it seemed to point to the exclusion of Lord Bute from the new arrangements. Upon this, Chatham instantly wrote a short, angry, and contemptuous letter to the doctor. "The conversations," said he, "which a certain gentleman has found means to have with you are, on his part, too insidious, and to me too offensive, to be continued. What can this officious emissary mean by the nonsense he has at times thrown out to you? Let him remember, the next attempt he makes to surprise your integrity by courtly insinuation, that his great patron (Bute) and your village friend (Chatham himself) differ in this: *one has ruined the king and kingdom; the other still endeavours to save it.*" Sir James Wright and the other go-betweens had been over zealous, and had mistaken Lord Bute's private wishes to see Chatham in the administration, for a regular political overture of coalition. When Chatham's first and civil answer to Dr. Addington reached Bute, and before Chatham had written his second harsh note, Bute had desired Sir James Wright to state to the doctor, that, "observing by the expression, *real change*, that Lord Chatham seemed to imagine Lord Bute had some influence in the administration, he wished Lord Chatham to be informed that ill health and family distresses had accustomed him to a perfectly retired life, to which he hoped to adhere as long as he lived; that his long absence from all sort of public business, *and the many years which had intervened since he saw the king*, prevented his knowing more of public affairs than he gathered from general conversation and the newspapers; that this total ignorance, notwithstanding his zeal for the country, love for the king, and very high opinion of Lord Chatham, put it out of his power to be of the least use in this dangerous emergency; but that from his heart he wished Lord Chatham every imaginable success in the restoration of the public welfare." It has been conjectured, as he firmly adhered to the principles of denying independence, and supporting our sovereignty and restrictions of trade, that Chatham, had he only lived a few weeks longer than he did, would really have been brought into office by the king, in order to see whether his abilities and influence could have effected a reconciliation with the Americans upon those principles. We doubt the correctness of these surmises, *because* we know that the harangues and taunts of Chatham, and his strange neglect of all business when holding the privy seal, had sunk deep into the soul of George III., and because we know that the king had learned to consider Chatham rather as an orator than a man of business, and was led by his plain common sense to see, that any such attempt at conciliation must end in failure and ridicule. And it would have been a task, compared to which the making ropes of sand were a hopeful and profitable employment!

On the 9th of February, two days after Chatham's quietus to poor Sir James Wright, Temple told his sister that he thought a step into court at this time not only perilous, but desperate; that the court had no insolence in their hearts, their pulse beating too low for any such fever; but that what might be wanted in insolence would be *fully made up in treachery;* that confusion was growing every hour worse confounded. "The falsehoods," adds his lordship, "concerning the man in bed (Chatham was laid up with the gout), and propagated by his *dear friends*, exceed all belief. I have spent much breath in blowing them away; but no flight of locusts ever exceeded them in destroying, or rather attempting to destroy, the whole harvest of honour and spirit." The Duke of Richmond, that untiring mover of out-voted motions, by this time began to agree with the Marquess of Rockingham, that, if negotiations were to be commenced with the Americans, we must begin with something like a recognition of their independence. When Lord Mahon, who had married one of Chatham's daughters, asked Richmond whether he could blame Lord Chatham for desiring to keep the parts of the empire together, and for attempting to prevent a disgraceful and fatal dismemberment, his grace mildly replied, that, so far from blaming Lord Chatham for wishing to prevent this separation, he highly applauded him for it, "*if he had any kind of reason in the world to think that the thing could be rendered practicable by any means whatever.*" His grace added, that, if Lord Chatham thought it right to attempt putting an end to the war without recognising the independence, and without giving up the control of trade, he would certainly be the first to support him in such attempt; but, if the experiment should fail, in order to put an end to this war he would be contented with getting less, it being out of every body's power to get more; and would leave the Americans their independence, &c.* Yet Richmond himself at the opening of the present session had pledged himself in the House of Lords to those views which sought to retain the substance of the laws of trade and navigation, and to promote a re-union between the two countries under one government, such as had existed from the formation of the colonies downwards. This union of America with England he had called "the true British family compact, that would be able to defy all the family compacts in the world!" Now he talked—though not very decidedly, but rather as a man wavering between two opinions—as if he would renounce and nullify this family union rather than prolong the war another campaign.† Hence,

* Lord Mahon to Chatham; in Chat. Corres. † Id. Id.

and from Lord Rockingham's previous insinuations, the opposition, divided before, felt the embarrassment of still wider disagreements. Shortly after expressing these opinions in private to Lord Mahon, Richmond was attacked in the House of Lords by the Earl of Hillsborough, who, after denouncing the Declaratory Act and those who passed it, called personally upon his grace to declare in what manner he meant England to crouch "to the vipers and rebels in America." Was it to be by giving up the *sacred* right of taxation?—was it to be by repealing all the late acts of the British parliament?—was it to be by yielding to America all her absurd pretensions about her charters?—or was it to be *by declaring the thirteen provinces independent?* Richmond, who had been concerned with Chatham in getting up the Declaratory Act, now said that the only reason that ever weighed with him in favour of that act was that it enabled him to obtain the repeal of the Stamp Act; that many people of principle could never have been brought to repeal the Stamp Act without it; that he had voted for the Declaratory Act with regret, never liking it, but looking upon it as a piece of waste paper, that no minister would ever have the madness to revive! He said he was ready to move its repeal; but with respect to the queries put to him, as to the mode of negotiating with America, his grace spoke with much caution and hesitation. He would not announce the broad and fundamental principle of recognition of independence; he would not say what plan or system of reconciliation would be the best; he was extremely unwilling to specify and declare how far he would, or would not, go, to obtain peace. He said that he ardently wished to get for Great Britain the best terms he could; that he should probably not agree with the noble lord, what were good or advantageous terms; that he would not enter into any minute details of the terms proper to be offered, but that, for his part, he would give full and entire satisfaction to America for the unjust treatment she had met with from this country; that he would not explain further, but would leave the rest to a treaty. Here Lord Mansfield cried out repeatedly, "Hear him! hear him!" The duke then went on to observe that the conferences at Staten Island, between the king's commissioners and Franklin and his brother commissioners from congress, had broken off before any business could be entered upon, because Lord Howe would not recognise the independence; but that he, for his part, would have removed that obstacle by treating with them upon that footing—that was to say, upon the footing of equality; that he did not mean thereby, really to admit the independence, but that he was of opinion that a treaty so begun might have ended perfectly well for England, and have been finally concluded upon the ground and footing of dependency. If his grace did not mean that Lord Howe and General Howe should have exceeded their commission, and have eaten their own words and denied the strokes of their own pen afterwards, we are at a loss to know what he meant. Lord Howe, at the least, would have put a pistol to his own head rather than incur the dishonour of a trick, which must have been as useless as vile; and the astute Franklin was about the last man in the world to have been duped by any *pretended* concession, and the first to have exposed the attempt, and to have obtained moral strength from the exposure of it. If the Howes had given the acknowledgment as a preliminary, how difficult would it have been to have retracted it afterwards! It would have been instantly followed, on the part of the American commissioners, by the demand of an entire freedom of trade and total exemption from all our restrictions and regulations; and as the mind, neither of the British government nor opposition, neither of professed politicians nor of our merchants and the nation at large, was made up to renounce the Navigation Act and the other cherished laws of that nature, the negotiation must have dropped and ended there, and Franklin would have gone back to congress with the recognition of independence in his pocket. Nothing would then have remained to the royal commissioners but the humiliating confession that they had exceeded their instructions, and that they had acknowledged independence only to enter upon a treaty which was to terminate in strict dependence. Many faults were committed in the course of this unhappy contest, which were calculated to sink the national character; but this strange course would have been the meanest, the most shameful, the worst of them all. It is clear that his Grace of Richmond was embarrassed and perplexed in the extreme, and, like the rest of the opposition, had neither a compass to steer by, nor any rational, decided opinion as to the proper port to steer for. Overawed by the great name of Chatham, he did not dare to express his half-formed private opinion, that the independence of the colonies was preferable to a prolongation of hostilities. The Marquess of Rockingham was bolder and franker. After defending his own conduct with respect to the declaratory act, which had asserted in the broadest and most emphatic terms our sovereignty over the colonies and our right of regulating their trade, he asked what was meant by the word so frequently used. "What do you mean," said he, "by dependency? Do you mean taxation? There is no lord in administration but must have made up his mind to the abandoning all idea of taxation. Do you mean the power of sending troops? This is, if possible, more absurd. Do you mean governments in America? The Americans will never endure the *idea* for an instant. Do you mean governors without force? This is equally ridiculous and impracticable. If your lordships at any time mean reconciliation, you must first make up your minds to the Americans never being asked to consent to give this country any power or direct authority within that continent." The Duke of Richmond, who had been privately informed that a treaty of alliance had certainly been concluded

between America and France, spoke very despondingly, and said three several times, in the course of the debate, that he was very much afraid that this country was actually undone! Lord Derby said that General Burgoyne, who had now arrived in England, would certainly insist upon the strictest inquiry into his conduct.* In the mean time, on the 2nd of February, on the order of the day being read for the House resolving itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation, Fox, in the Commons, had moved that no more troops should be sent out of the kingdom, and the Duke of Richmond had made a similar motion in the Lords. In both Houses the opposition represented immediate war with France, to be followed in a brief space by a war with Spain and the whole House of Bourbon, as inevitable; questioning at the same time the efficacy of our fleets to defend our coasts from invasion, and speaking contemptuously of our militia, and of all our internal means of defence. The motions were rejected, in the Commons by a majority of 259 against 165; in the Lords by 91 against 34. On the 6th of February Burke introduced a motion for papers relating to the military employment of the Indians by a magnificent speech, which seems to have kept attention alive, though it lasted *three hours and a half*, a length of time which no orator in the House except Burke had ever ventured to occupy. Quite as much from his rich and teeming fancy as from facts, he drew a most striking and ghastly picture of Indian warfare, and of the horrors committed by our savage auxiliaries—horrors which had certainly been prevented to the very utmost of his power by Burgoyne, who, in the moment of his greatest difficulty, had lost the services of the red men by restraining their ferocity. Strangers were shut out from this debate, and the speech, apparently, was never fully reported. It seems to have abounded with touching stories and very pathetic episodes, and to have greatly excited those whose minds were otherwise prepared for excitement.† Colonel Barré offered, if it were published, to nail the speech on every church door by the side of the king's proclamation for a general fast. Governor Johnstone thought it very fortunate for the two noble lords (North and Germaine) that the galleries had been cleared, as the indignation and enthusiasm of strangers might have excited the people to tear them to pieces on their way home from the House. Sir George Saville said, that the speech was the greatest triumph of eloquence within the memory of man. The motion, nevertheless, was negatived by a majority of 223 against 137. During the debate, Burke resorted to the same arguments for defending the conduct of Chatham, in relation to the Indians, which had been employed by the opposition lords in the other House. On this same day the Lords, in committee on the state of the nation, were employed in examining witnesses to prove the consequences of the maritime war. The opposition were provided with a number of merchants, who proved that they had sustained ruinous losses; the administration were provided with other merchants, to prove that new sources of commerce had been opened, and that a vast number of prizes had been made at sea. In both Houses fresh and numerous calls were made for papers, but in every case the ministerial majorities, on a division, prevailed over the opposition in the proportion of two to one. We may add that in nearly every case the production of the papers called for would have let the enemy into dangerous secrets, and would have been extremely injudicious when we were actively engaged in hostilities with one power or people, and certainly threatened with war by France.

In the course of a debate in the Commons, on the 11th of February, Mr. George Grenville (nephew of Earl Temple and the Countess of Chatham) took occasion to say that there was only one person who could possibly save the kingdom from destruction—and that was his noble and near relation, Lord Chatham. On the 17th of February Lord North produced a conciliatory plan, which, he said, he hoped would yet prove effectual, and moved for leave to bring in two bills—one for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies in North America—the other to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America. His lordship said that he had been uniformly disposed to pacific arrangements, and that he was by nature a friend to peace; that he had tried conciliatory means before the sword was unsheathed, and would gladly try them again. He had thought the former propositions to the Americans equitable, and capable of forming a happy and lasting union between the mother-country and the colonies—and he thought so still; but unfortunately, through a variety of discussions, a plan originally clear and simple was made to appear so obscure as to go damned to America. Congress had taken occasion to represent it as a scheme for sowing dissension and introducing a worse kind of taxation than had existed before; and hence they had rejected it. Apparently oblivious of his former words of comfort to the country gentlemen, he declared that he had never expected to derive any considerable revenue from America—that few taxes there would pay the expenses of collection—that even the Stamp Act, the best, in his opinion,

* The account of this debate, which took place on the 11th of February, is abridged from a letter from Lord Mahon to Chatham, in Chat. Corres.

† Burke elaborated the affecting fate of Miss M'Rea or M'Crea, who was barbarously murdered by one of the savages serving with Burgoyne's army. In the Annual Register for the year 1777, he says—"Every circumstance of this horrid transaction served to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth and bloom of beauty. Her father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause; and, to wind up the catastrophe of this odious tragedy, she was to have been married to a British officer on the very day that she was massacred."

ever proposed, would have produced next to nothing. He reminded the House that *he* had originated no taxes—that he found America already taxed, when, unfortunately for his own peace of mind, he came into administration. As for the act which had led to the Boston riots, the act enabling the East India Company to send out teas with the drawback of the entire duty, it was a relief rather than an oppression—it was actually giving the colonists their teas at a cheaper rate than before;—but the disaffected, and all those who had been previously engaged in the contraband trade, had too successfully endeavoured to give it another colour. The first of the bills he now proposed was designed to quiet the minds of the Americans on the subject of taxation; to dispel all fears, real or pretended, that parliament might attempt to tax them again; and even to renounce the right itself. This, he said, would be far better than repealing, as the Americans had once seemed to desire, all acts passed since the year 1763, as among those statutes were several granting bounties and premiums, or relaxing former regulations and statutes expressly intended for the benefit of the colonists and the promotion of their trade. By his second bill he intended to grant the royal commissioners powers far more ample than those formerly entrusted to Lord Howe and his brother; to authorise them to treat with the congress as if it were *a legal body*, and competent by its acts and negotiations to bind all the colonies. Further, he intended that they should be empowered to treat with the conventions or provincial assemblies, or colonial congresses,—with individuals in their actual civil capacities or military commands, without any cavil as to allowing them, and addressing them by, the rank they held under congress—to treat with General Washington or any other officer—to suspend hostilities, intermit the operation of laws, grant pardons, immunities, and rewards, restore charters and constitutions, and nominate governors, judges, magistrates, &c., till the king's pleasure should be known. The bar or stumbling block of independence he got over in a much better style than the Duke of Richmond. Instead of admitting the claim in the first instance, to combat it and refuse it afterwards, he proposed that a renunciation of independence by the Americans should not be insisted on *in limine*, nor debated till the treaty had received final ratification by the king and parliament. The commissioners were to be instructed to negotiate for a reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when reunited; but they were by no means to insist on this slight contribution as a *sine qua non*. He contended that these concessions ought not to be considered as the tardy result of defeat or of weakness; as they were substantially the same as he should offer in the height of victory. He allowed that the events of the war had not corresponded to his expectation; but he denied that there was any truth in the jeremiads of the opposition. England, if not split by faction, was as vigorous as ever, and as fertile in resources; she was in circumstances to prosecute the war, to raise new armies, and to increase her navy, which was never in a better condition. According to Burke, "a dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation from any description of men, or any particular man in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear overclouded the whole assembly." This colouring is, perhaps, too strong; but the utter renunciation of the right of taxing, and the acknowledging of congress as a *legal* body, were highly distasteful to the country gentlemen and to the whole Tory party; and the opposition held that, when they had proposed a similar plan, at a season at which it might have succeeded, it had been rejected by the majority, and reprobated by the minister, who was now following it, when too late. Fox sarcastically congratulated North on at length becoming a proselyte to the doctrines delivered by his honourable friend (Burke) three years ago. But the time, he said, was now gone by, the plan was useless. (We are convinced it would have been quite as useless if it had been adopted when Burke recommended it, or rather when he recommended something like it.) Fox attributed all the mischief that had happened to Lord North's total ignorance. In the course of his speech he informed the House, that a report had obtained, that within the last ten days France had actually signed a treaty with the Americans, acknowledging their independence, and entering into a close alliance with them. The minister remained for some time totally silent. The question was put to him, whether he had been apprised of the important fact; and several gentlemen called upon him for an answer. As North continued mute, Sir George Saville pressed him in so direct and positive a manner, that at last he confessed that he had received the same intelligence; but he added, that he had not received it officially, and that therefore he could neither affirm nor deny its authenticity. The opposition proclaimed generally that North's plan was intended not to pacify America, but to amuse and delude the people of England, and suspend for a time the popular vengeance which was hanging over the heads of ministers. They again furnished the Americans with specious arguments to justify their contempt and hatred of Great Britain. They affirmed that weakness and fear were now the active feelings in the breast of Lord North, and they asked whether the Americans, after resisting and baffling our utmost efforts, could be expected to put up their victorious swords, to negotiate with men who had laid the foundations of war in perfidy, and built upon that with cruelty. About the usual majority agreed, however, to the motion, and the two bills were brought in. On the first reading some of the Tory members expressed their strong disapprobation of our wholly renouncing the right of taxing; and the minister declared clearly that the not exacting the renunci-

ation of independence by the Americans was by no means to be understood as implying that we intended to yield the point; that the commissioners should not be empowered to concede that point, and that the Americans would be expected to treat as subjects, and not as a sovereign state. On the next day a clause was inserted in the first of the bills, which respected taxation, repealing specifically the act for taxing tea. On the third reading—on the 2nd of March—the opposition mustered in full strength, and John Wilkes appeared, charged with sarcasms, ribaldry, and drollery—he, unfortunately, not being the only member that could turn a tragedy into a farce, and waste his time in passages of wit, when the state of the nation called for the most serious exercise of the judgment, for candour, coolness, and circumspection. The ex-lord mayor, who had not yet attained to the comfortable, tranquillising post of chamberlain to the city, but who was engaged in constant manœuvres to escape out of the purgatory of duns, or to draw more money from the purses of private friends, told the minister that no manœuvres in the world, that nothing but an immediate cessation of hostilities, would save General Howe from the fate of Burgoyne. Other men had been converted before—Washington and Gates had proved powerful apostles—but the minister had not been converted until he knew the success of the American negotiations with France. He said that the whole world was full of admiration of the firmness, fortitude, and military prowess of the Americans; that the zeal of France had reached its highest pitch; and that Great Britain might repeat to America the verses of Horace:—

"Te eadè gaudentes Britanni
Compositis venerantur armis."

The third reading of both bills, however, was carried without any division. When the bills were brought up to the Lords, the opposition was renewed. The Duke of Richmond read the Declaration of Independence, and asked ministers whether they meant to subscribe to the assertions contained in it, such as, that the king was a tyrant, the admiralty courts a grievance, that the king's tyranny justified their withdrawing from his allegiance, &c. His grace maintained that these bills, instead of recovering the affections of the Americans, would sound the trumpet of war to all neighbouring nations—*that the Americans, as a wise and sagacious people, would discover that the bills were merely intended to delude them*—and that it was only the knowledge of the French alliance that had induced ministers to moderate their tone. He stated as a positive and notorious fact, that they had sent over persons to Paris to tamper with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, and that those envoys of the new republic had rejected their offers, including the two new bills, with scorn. He further stated, as a report or conjecture, that Franklin, whose opinion was absolute with the majority of congress, had forewarned that political body of the insincere and contemptible plan of reconciliation which the British cabinet was now going to offer, and had told them that, since the conclusion of the treaty with the French, it was impossible even to listen to them, or to enter upon any treaty whatsoever with Great Britain. Earl Temple condemned the bills, but upon very different grounds. He execrated them as mean and truckling, and as tending to prostrate the king, the parliament, and the people of Great Britain at the feet of Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, to whom, he said, ministers had paid

SILAS DEANE.
From a Picture by Du Simetiere.

homage in sackcloth and ashes! The people had recovered from the shock occasioned by Burgoyne's reverses; their spirit had been raised by the voluntary offers of regiments, by the new levies, by the assurances that the navy was in a state to maintain its ancient reputation; and now the opposition were going to depress this spirit by succumbing to an arrogant enemy. His lordship now said that America had been aiming at independence from the very beginning; but that a recognition of their claim, though even temporary, would for ever end the glory of England. Lord Shelburne, who obeyed more immediately the dictates of Chatham, opposed the two bills, because their tendency was to separate the two countries. He said that he would never consent that America should be independent of Great Britain! He endeavoured to explain the grand theory of sovereignty without taxation, coercion, or intermeddling; yet in his vague explanation he could not leave *money* out of the account. He said that his idea of the connexion between the two countries was, that they should have one friend, one enemy, *one purse*, one sword; and that Britain, as the great controlling power, should superintend the interests of the whole—that both countries should have but one will, though the

means of expressing it might be different. And he was confidently of opinion that this *summum bonum* (we confess for our own parts we know not what it means) might have been obtained long ago without bloodshed or animosity. He repeated that he would never, while he had the use of his reason and the feelings of an Englishman, consent to the separation of America from the mother-country, and that, whenever such separation took place, Great Britain would cease to be rich, powerful, respectable. Both bills were passed without a division, and the protest entered against them was signed by only one peer—Lord Abingdon, who evidently considered that he had a genius for protesting. On the 12th of March, in the Commons, Mr. James Luttrell moved, that, if the king's commissioners should find that the continuance in office of any particular minister, or ministers, gave such jealousies to the Americans as might obstruct the happy work of peace, the commissioners might be empowered to promise the instant removal of such minister or ministers. This strange and humiliating proposition caused some blushes; yet it was pressed to a division, and 35 members voted for it, in the face of 150 who voted against it. A wiser motion, and one which ought to have been supported by better arguments, was made by Mr. Powys, for enlarging the powers and giving further instructions to the commissioners. In the debate upon it one or two members hinted at the propriety of conceding independence; but the mass of the opposition joined the treasury benches in crying down so unnational and monstrous a notion: and the committee broke up without dividing.

By this time Lord North had received official information of Franklin's success at Paris. On the 17th of March he delivered in the House a message from the throne, stating the receipt of information from the French king, that he had concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with his majesty's revolted subjects in North America; in consequence of which offensive communication the British ambassador at Paris had been ordered home; and that his majesty now fully relied on the zeal and affection of his people to repel the insult and maintain the reputation of the country. The note of the French ambassador—the uncle of La Fayette's wife—was laid before parliament. A more curious document has not often been presented, even in diplomacy. It was to this effect—"The United States of North America, who are in full *possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the 4th of July*, 1776, having proposed to the King of France to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty (the French king) being resolved to cultivate the present good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain by every means compatible with his dignity and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French nation, and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London the king is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the same friendly sentiments, will equally avoid everything that may alter their good harmony, and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his (French) majesty's subjects and the United States of America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two courts of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the undersigned ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British minister that the king, his master, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, has, in consequence, taken effectual measures in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America." It required some periphrasis to express with a semblance of decency so irregular a proceeding as recognising the revolt of the provinces of a friendly power, and concluding a treaty with states which were not *de facto* independent, but which were only struggling for independence—a condition they did not arrive at until four years later, and at which they might not have arrived for a quarter of a century if it had not been for this French treaty, and the assistance and co-operation which followed it. Franklin rejoiced at the indirect wording of the ambassador's notification; and Washington said, that, though it was not an actual declaration of war, it must certainly lead to one.* After delivering it the French ambassador went off for Paris—"not," says Gibbon, "without some slight expressions of ill-humour from John Bull." In fact, the people were greatly enraged, and, if the war with America was popular before, it became doubly so after the French had joined the quarrel; and the animosities and antipathies which had gradually been growing stronger and stronger against America now obtained their full height. When the French notification was read in the House, Lord North moved an appropriate address to the king. The opposition moved an amendment requesting his majesty to dismiss the ministry! But the original address was carried by a majority of 263 against 113. In the course of the debate Governor Pownall pretended to give the history of the origin and progress of the American negotiations with France; but we now know from American documents that

* Washington's Letters.

the account he gave was widely incorrect. He said, for example, that the idea of the treaty had not existed six months in the minds of the Americans, and that the negotiations had not begun more than three months ago. Now, the idea had been uppermost in the minds of Jefferson, Jay, Morris, Franklin, and the other leaders, for at least two years; it had been proclaimed in congress two years ago; Silas Deane had been at Paris, attempting to negotiate, nearly two years; and Franklin had been there with the same object nearly twelve months. It was not owing to the Americans and their agents, but to the scruples and misgivings of the unhappy Louis XVI., who, in signing it, built up part of the guillotine scaffold on which he was to perish, that the treaty had not been concluded *twenty* months earlier. Governor Pownall was, however, perfectly right in stating that the French at the first had tried to drive a very hard bargain, in the persuasion that the Americans were deplorably weak; and in saying that it was the news of the surrender of Burgoyne's army which made them lower their demands and hurry on such a treaty as congress desired. Pownall even stated that during the last summer or autumn, when the latest packets from America were those which brought intelligence wholly unfavourable to the cause of congress, the French court was so high and yet so cold, and Franklin and Silas Deane so depressed in spirits, that they attempted through *his* (Governor Pownall's) means to open a treaty with Great Britain; declaring that, although they considered the recognition of their independence a *sine qua non*, they would, upon that as upon all other points, use their best endeavours to save the honour of their parent-country. Pownall said that he had executed their commission in causing the government to be apprised of their overtures, and that he had received for answer that the basis of the treaty was inadmissible. In concluding his speech Pownall declared that the Americans must be independent, and that the only way of procuring peace was to acknowledge their independence—that it was *possible*, if parliament would go that length, the Americans might in return agree to a federal treaty, offensive, defensive, and commercial, with us. He added, however, that, in treating, one of the first demands of the Americans would assuredly be a reimbursement of expenses and losses sustained by them during the war; and that, as to pay them in money would be impossible, the British government must sacrifice Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Newfoundland fishery! This, he knew, *would be insisted on by congress!* The vast majority of the House seemed to feel that the entrance of France into the quarrel rendered all present thought of negotiation an absurdity and a meanness; that no future friendship could be hoped from a people who, though descended from us and bound to us by the usually strong ties of community of descent, language, and religion, had united themselves with the most ancient, inveterate, and most powerful of all our enemies. Men were, as usual, divided in opinion as to the proper course to be pursued, but they were unanimous in holding that what ought never to be submitted to was the dictation of France. This feeling, this old national passion, reproduced for a moment more unanimity than had been known for many years. But the opposition could not think of a French war without thinking of Chatham; and he was again named as the real scourge of the proud House of Bourbon—as the proper man, at such a crisis, to occupy the post held by Lord North.* In the House of Lords the same amendment to the address was proposed as in the Commons, but it was negatived by 68 against 25. Addresses were also returned to a royal message intimating his majesty's intention of calling out the militia, and in both Houses without division or debate. There had already been several sharp debates on the state of our navy, and now that a war with France was certain, they were renewed with great acrimony. After the opposition had proposed in the House of Lords the recalling all our troops from America—in which they were outvoted by two to one—Lord Howard of Effingham, on the 12th of March, moved a series of resolutions explaining the condition of the navy during the last eight years; the number of ships broken up, built, or repaired; the precise condition and expense of the ordnance, &c. His lordship spoke of the necessity of economy, and accused the first lord of the admiralty of gross mismanagement. Sandwich, who was sorely assailed during the whole of the session, made an able defence, dwelling in generals, and not descending to inconvenient particulars about money. He said that the British naval force consisted at this moment of 373 ships of all rates, which was a force double what we had half a century before. Some noble lords threatened him with the vengeance of the people, who would rise and tear him to pieces, as the Dutch had treated

* Coutts to the Countess of Chatham, in Chatham Corresp. Thomas Coutts had not yet lost all hope of the great political advent. On the 21st of March he wrote again to the Countess of Chatham, hoping to hear favourable accounts of her lord's health, which was becoming "every day more interesting in the present desponding state of the people." "Every rank," continued the great banker, "looks up to him with the only gleam of hope that remains; nor do I meet with any one who does not lament and wonder that his majesty has not yet publicly desired the only help that can have a chance to extricate the country." He then mentioned a conversation he had just had with the Earl of Rochford, whom he calls one of the most active men of rank he ever knew. The substance of the conversation was, that his lordship would be happy to take any part in the executive portion of Chatham's plans for the good of his country; that he had nothing to wish for himself, but thought the country in imminent danger, from which only Chatham could rescue it. Lord Rochford had been ambassador at Madrid, where he had displayed some ability, and detected Choiseul's scheme for burning our dockyards. In replying to Coutts, Lady Chatham said that her husband always entertained sentiments of esteem and regard for Lord Rochford; but that "the uncertainty and indecision of things in the present strange crisis, was an inexplicable riddle which would puzzle an Œdipus." On the 25th of March Coutts wrote once more to the countess, to inform her that he had waited on Lord Rochford, who had repeated his anxious wish to see Lord Chatham at the head of the ministry, and his cheerful readiness to co-operate under so able and persevering a statesman. The banker expressed his joy at hearing favourable accounts of Lord Chatham's health, and said that it was a melancholy reflection that every hour the king delayed to submit the guidance of the nation entirely to his lordship would make the task more difficult. The countess said in reply—"The inexplicable riddle of delay is to be solved only one way now—*by direct treachery and corruption*."

De Witt. But Lord Howard of Effingham's motions were all negatived. After various debates on the *iniquities of contractors*, and the badness of the rum and provisions they furnished, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke introduced a bill for excluding contractors from the House of Commons unless their contracts were public and obtained by public competition. In the debate ministers were coupled with these publicans and sinners; and Lord George Gordon, who was not quite so mad as he became a session or two later, declared that Lord North was the greatest of all contractors—a contractor for men, a contractor for parliament, a contractor for the representatives of the people! Lord George expressed his earnest wish that this sad minister would think of saving his country and his own life—would call off his butchers from America—retire with all the rest of his majesty's evil advisers—and turn from his wickedness and live. After some struggle, and the carrying of the first and second reading by two pretty close divisions, the motion for committing the bill was on the 5th of May negatived by a majority of 115 to 113, and the bill was consequently lost.

During this session some laudable measures were adopted for the relief of Ireland, and a committee was appointed to revise the trade-laws which affected the sister kingdom. Ireland was much indebted at this moment to the genius and abilities of her eloquent son Edmund Burke, who, on the 6th of May, laid before the House the great capabilities of his native country, and the injury and injustice she had been made to suffer by English jealousy and anti-commercial regulations. He and his friend Lord Nugent proposed that the people of Ireland should be permitted to export all articles of Irish manufacture, woollen cloths and wool excepted, in British bottoms, to the coast of Africa and other foreign settlements, and to import from the same all goods except indigo and tobacco; and that they should be further allowed to export to England, duty free, cotton yarn, Irish sail-cloth, and cordage. Resolutions to this effect having been passed, two bills founded upon them were introduced. Partly through the injurious effects which our commercial restrictions had produced in America, and partly, perhaps, through some trifling progress made in the science of political economy, both sides of the House seemed to agree in the propriety of adopting these measures; but the commercial body took the alarm, and, during the Easter recess, a number of counter-addresses and petitions were prepared in various parts of England. The great trading city of Bristol was furious against Burke, and called upon him, as her representative in parliament, to correct his commercial heresy, and support her views and interests. Burke manfully refused, and continued to co-operate with Lord Nugent in his praiseworthy task. "If," said he, "from this conduct I shall forfeit their suffrages at an ensuing election, it will stand on record, an example to future representatives of the Commons of England, that one man at least has dared to resist the desires of his constituents when his judgment assured him that they were wrong."* His conduct lost him the next election, the "gentlemen traders of Bristol" not being as yet very liberal and enlightened, or capable of comprehending the axioms which he endeavoured to explain to them—that restriction and monopoly were not so advantageous as free trade, and that the gain of others is not necessarily our loss.† Other members, who would not so readily forfeit their boroughs and places, took up the jealous cry of the English traders and manufacturers, and swamped the House with their lachrymose petitions. Sir Cecil Wray declared it to be the duty of every independent man to resist the bills, because they were sanctioned by the minister; other members thought it monstrous to give to Irish Papists what was in the hands of good English Protestants; and a strong inclination was shown to reduce the relief to a very minimum. The second reading of the two bills, however, was carried by a considerable majority. The petitioners then claimed to be heard by counsel. This was granted; and such was the weight of the pleadings of the close-trade interest that the supporters of the bills found themselves obliged to enter into a sort of compromise, which considerably diminished the amount of the benefit conferred on Ireland. While these bills were under discussion, another measure was proposed, in which the majority of the Irish people were deeply interested. A very loyal and flattering address had been presented to the king by the Roman Catholics;‡ and the occurrences in America, and the attempts made by Americans to excite insurrection, forced on men's minds the urgent necessity of tranquillizing and attaching the Irish people. Accordingly, when Sir George Saville brought in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by repealing certain penalties and disabilities created by the 10th and 11th of William III., entitled an Act for preventing the further growth of Popery, ministers gave it their countenance, Thurlow spoke eloquently in its support, and it was carried through the House rapidly and unanimously. In the House of Lords the Bishop of Peterborough spoke of the great danger to the Anglican church of removing the law which took away the estate from the elder brother and gave it to the younger, if the younger brother only professed himself a Protestant; but the opposition was slight, and the bill was passed there also.

On the 19th of March, in the committee of the whole House on the state of the nation, Charles Fox moved a resolution of censure on Lord George Germaine, as the chief author of Burgoyne's calamity. This proposition was rejected by 164 against 44; whereupon Fox indignantly tore to pieces a paper containing another proposition, and declared that he would make no more motions.

* Speech in the House.

† Burke's Works, Letters to Gentlemen in the City of Bristol.

‡ It was signed by nine Roman Catholic peers, by Lord Surrey, heir to the ducal house of Norfolk, and by one hundred and sixty-three commoners of wealth and consideration.

The solicitor-general then proposed that the House should specifically exonerate the noble secretary: a vote was carried that the failure of the expedition from Canada was not caused by any *neglect* in the secretary of state; but the resolution was not reported. By this time Burgoyne himself, who had gone through several campaigns in the House of Commons, and who was no mean debater,* was in his place to speak for himself. The Americans had given him leave to return home upon parole; but, in bold defiance of the convention Gates had signed, they still kept Burgoyne's troops as prisoners of war! On the 26th of May a motion was made in the House for a select committee to consider the transactions of the northern army, the convention of Saratoga, and the means by which the general had obtained his release. Burgoyne rose to support the motion and to speak in justification of his own conduct. He explained the employment of the Indians; he denied that any great cruelties had been perpetrated; and, as a man of honour, he dissipated by a breath many strange narratives which had been told in the House and all through the country.† He thought that the services that the savages could render in the field had been over-rated, but that when united to a regular army and kept under control, as he had kept them, there was no moral enormity in employing them. He said that, during his whole progress from the river Sorel to the Hudson, no ravages had been committed, and that the only place set on fire was by accident. He complained bitterly of fabrications, which injured his own honour and the honour of the brave men serving with him. Those men he said had been as generous and merciful in the hour of victory and success as they proved firm in adversity. He also denied that there had been any disagreement as to the conduct of the campaign between him and Generals Phillips and Fraser—the eyes and hands with which he conducted all his operations. He most bitterly complained of his treatment in parliament during his absence, and of his treatment generally since his return.‡ He would not, however, excuse himself one jot by accusing his gallant army; if there was really any crime he alone was guilty, and he solicited a full inquiry, putting his fortune, his honour, his head, almost his salvation, on the issue. Out of doors Burgoyne had given a wider latitude to his tongue; he had accused Lord George Germaine of being his personal enemy, and had attributed the failure of the campaign to his lordship, and to the want of co-operation by Sir William Howe.* The noble secretary now said in the House, that the proper tribunal to decide upon the compaign would be a court composed of military men. Mr. Temple Luttrell brought up the story of the court-martial which had sat upon Lord George himself, after the battle of Minden, and then drew a comparison between the brave and enterprising Burgoyne and his lordship, accusing the latter, not merely of the proved fact of disobeying orders in the field, but also of hiding himself from danger. Lord George, in a paroxysm of rage, said he would for once descend to a level with the wretched character and malice of his despicable assailant—that, old as he was, he would meet this fighting gentleman and be revenged. It might have been the blindness of anger, but some men, who would no more believe in Lord George's courage than they believed in Luttrell's virtue and patriotism, thought that he had no wish to fight, and that he had purposely taken the proper means of avoiding the necessity of challenging. The speaker bent his heavy brow and reprimanded both members. Lord George made a prompt apology; but Luttrell attempted to escape out of the House, and would not apologise or give the pacific assurance expected on such occasions, till the sergeant-at-arms was called in.

In the mean time the great leaders of opposition had rather openly and angrily disagreed as to the course to be pursued in debate with respect to America. Nothing is more clear than that the whole thing was, as it had been all along, a fight in the dark. The Duke of Richmond and the Marquess of Rockingham at length took a more decided part, and became convinced that the only possibility of detaching America from France and avoiding both wars was by acknowledging the independence of the colonies. In arriving at this conclusion they did not, however, pretend that the independence of America would be anything else than a curse to the mother-country. Chatham thought that this curse was to be avoided at all hazards: he remained firm in his old high doctrine, and, to avoid unpleasant collision with his own party, he staid away from parliament. Lord Shelburne sided with Chatham, as did also Lord Camden, who was of opinion that the grant-

* Stedman says that his parliamentary qualities had obtained for him the command of the unfortunate army. "Sir Guy Carleton would have been more aware of the difficulties to be encountered, and better prepared for surmounting them. But General Burgoyne was a member of parliament, and it was one of those miserable expedients which the minister substituted for grandeur of design, to bestow some of the most important employments, both military and naval, on men who were in the habit of opposing the measures of administration. By this pitiful policy he was enabled to secure himself against parliamentary attack, and to carry his measures more easily in the House of Commons."—*Hist. Amer. War.*

† It gives but a mean idea of the candour or intellect of Monsieur le Marquis de Lafayette, to find him inserting in his autobiographical sketch the following childish ogre story:—"Two Americans were actually eaten up by the Seneeha Indians, *and a colonel of the English army was a guest at that horrible repast.* 'It is thus,' was often said to the savages by the English whilst drinking with them at their war-councils, '*it is thus we must drink the blood of rebels!*'"—*Memoirs.*

‡ The king had refused to receive him at court, and had asked why he had abandoned his army?—why he had left his officers and men behind him?

* "The unfortunate Burgoyne," says Stedman, "endeavoured to lay the blame of his miscarriages upon Sir William Howe, for not having sent a force for co-operation up the North River to Albany; on Lord George Germaine, the British secretary of state, *for having tied up his hands by orders positive and unqualified, in instances where latitude should be given to a general to act according to circumstances;* and on the slowness with which the Germans had marched to Bennington, the centre and source of his misfortunes. But it was urged, in answer to all the general's excuses, *that the force put into his hands* for the intended march through Canada was nearly, if not fully, equal to what he himself had demanded; that he ought not, on any doubtful prospect of a co-operating army from New York, to have given up his communication with the Lakes; and that his conduct, in sending so small a detachment to Bennington, and this consisting of foreigners—*and of all foreigners the slowest in their motions*—was an absurdity bordering on infatuation."

ing independence to the Americans, however wise before, would be useless and disgraceful now that the French had joined them. But Camden was not very decided in his opinion, and was much discouraged by seeing how little hope there was of a new Chatham administration. The Duke of Richmond strongly expressed his regret at Chatham's not attending business in the House, and at the appearance of a want of union and confidence between them. His grace endeavoured, by letter, to explain his notion, and to convert the orator. He hoped that the differences of opinion were rather apparent than real, and arose only from want of opportunities to communicate and to explain. "For," said he, "as I believe your lordship and those I have the honour to act with were agreed as to the impracticability of compelling America to subjection by war, I think the difference could only be as to the more or less sanguine expectations we might form of what could be obtained by their consent. The circumstances are much changed of late, and may possibly now make our degrees of hope more similar." In this letter he enclosed the draught of a motion, which he intended to make two days after, and which had been somewhat altered at the suggestion of Lord Shelburne in the design of making it more agreeable to Chatham. "I shall be happy," added his grace, "if it meets with your approbation, and still more so if your lordship's health should enable you to honour it with your support." This letter was written on the 5th of April. On the 6th Chatham, using the hand of his eldest son, Lord Pitt, returned thanks to the Duke of Richmond for the great honour of the communication of the motion intended to be made by his grace. The rest of the short note ran thus:—"It is an unspeakable concern to him, to find himself under so very wide a difference with the Duke of Richmond, as between the *sovereignty* and *allegiance* of America, that he despairs of bringing about successfully any honourable issue. He is inclined to try it before *this bad* grows worse. Some weakness still continues in his hands; but he hopes to be in town to-morrow." On that morrow—the 7th of April, 1778—Chatham appeared in the House of Lords for *the last time*. Sickness and age had done their work: he came into the House leaning upon two friends, wrapped up in flannel, pale and emaciated. Within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose, and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity.* The Duke of Richmond made his motion, which was for an address to the king, recapitulating the expense, loss, and misconduct of the war, and entreating his majesty to dismiss his ministers and withdraw his forces by sea and land from America. Lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, opposed the motion; and then Chatham replied to the opposition—his own party—with far more effect. He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day—to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm; I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House." The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House was most affecting: if any one had dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in a very low and feeble tone; but, as he grew warm, his voice rose, and was as harmonious as ever: oratorical and affecting, perhaps more than at any former period.* "My lords," said he, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy! Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the Princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest,—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada,—now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, inveterate enemy—'Take all we have, only give us peace?' It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men. I wish for none of their employments; nor would I co-operate with men who still persist in unretracted error;—who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honour, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men!" As Chatham was sitting down, his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, who was equally averse to the recognition of American

* Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons.

* Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons.—These particulars were furnished to Mr. Seward by a friend who was in the House of Lords at the time.

independence, said to him, "You forgot to mention what we talked of; shall I get up?" Chatham replied, "No, no; I will do it by-and-by." The Duke of Richmond rose again, and, after replying to some of the arguments used by Lord Weymouth, he attempted to answer Lord Chatham. He professed the greatest veneration for the orator, yet was evidently disconcerted and irritated by the line he had taken. Wonders, he said, had been done when that great man directed the war, but the name of Chatham could not perform impossibilities or restore the country to the state it was in when *he*, in the vigour of his life, was called into office. *Then* our finances were in the most flourishing condition, the result of the eminent abilities of that great man and able financier, Mr. Pelham; *then* our navy was in an admirable condition, under the direction and care of a most able officer, Lord Anson; *then* the influence of the crown had not reached its present alarming and dangerous height. We had, for the greater part of that war, only France to contend with; and when Spain commenced hostilities France was reduced to the lowest ebb, having already lost her navy and the best of her colonies. *Then* America fought for us; but *now*, instead of Great Britain and America against France and Spain, France, Spain, and America would be united against Great Britain. Lord Chatham himself had failed to point out the means of sustaining so unequal a contest—had confessed he knew them not. No person, his grace continued, wished more earnestly than himself for the perpetuation of American dependence; but being convinced of its impracticability, he wanted to retain the colonies as allies, because, if they were not gratified and secured in friendship with us, they must throw themselves into the arms of France; and if we declared war against the French on account of the late treaty between them, the Americans would consider themselves bound in honour to assist and adhere to their new allies. He would join the noble earl in calling to a severe account those who had caused the heir apparent the loss of a part of his inheritance; but it was in vain attempting to recover those possessions by force of arms. To moderate the animosity against France, he reminded the House that that great sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, had abetted the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands; and that Philip II., though then the most powerful prince in Europe, had not deemed it necessary to declare war instantly against her on that account. When the Duke of Richmond sat down Chatham again attempted to rise, but the violence of his indignation overcame him; his strength failed him, and he fell backwards in a kind of fit or swoon, and he would have fallen to the floor but for the prompt support of some friendly arms. The whole House was agitated—every one pressed round him with anxious solicitude—and the debate was closed without another word. His youngest son, John Charles Pitt, a youth of seventeen, was very active in the assistance he rendered. His lordship was carried to Mr. Sargent's house, in Downing-street, and from thence, on the following day, he was carried home to Hayes, and put to his bed, from which he never again rose. He lingered, however, rather more than a month, expiring on Monday the 11th of May, in his seventieth year. On the evening of that day, his friend and disciple Colonel Barré announced the sad event in the House of Commons, and moved for an address to the king, to give direction that the remains of the illustrious statesman should be interred at the public expense in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Rigby, who continued to do the small work of the court in the House, and who probably fancied that a public funeral would not be agreeable to the king, suggested that a monument to his memory would be a better testimony of the public gratitude or admiration. Dunning caught at the words, and said that what would be best of all would be to agree to have both the monument and the public funeral; and he proposed tacking to the original motion—"and that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter's, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this House will make good the expenses attending the same." At this moment Lord North entered the House in great haste, and declared his happiness in arriving soon enough to give his vote for the motion, which he hoped would be passed unanimously. His lordship lamented that he had not breath enough, from the hurry in which he had come down, to express his respect, and all he wished to say on such an occasion. The amended motion was carried without one dissenting voice. A funeral and a monument were thus secured to the great orator; but Chatham had been expensive in some of his habits and negligent in money matters, and, notwithstanding places and pensions, and the 10,000*l.* left him by the Duchess of Marlborough, and the large fortune bequeathed him by Sir William Pynsent, he had died in debt. On the 13th, Lord John Cavendish made an appeal to the gratitude of parliament and the nation, which he hoped would not stop short at what had been done. His lordship eulogised the exemplary virtue and disinterestedness of the deceased statesman, who, notwithstanding his great opportunities of amassing wealth, had left his family destitute of a provision suitable to their rank and his merits. His lordship trusted that the House would take their case into consideration, and not suffer the descendants of that great man to remain in such a situation. Lord North continued to give his assent: Burke and Fox both paid their tribute to the memory of Chatham, who, they said, had raised his country's glory to an unrivalled pitch; and the whole House seemed to participate in the anxious desire of voting money to the family. Colonel Barré, who, notwithstanding the sacrifices he had made, entertained a very high sense of the importance and value of money, delivered a long harangue,

in which he applauded Chatham as the greatest of war-ministers, and as one that possessed the faculty of giving an increase of courage even to the bravest of warriors. He drew rather a curious and inconsistent comparison between the hero of Blenheim and Chatham. The Duke of Marlborough, he said, had obtained for his first great campaign a ducal coronet and 5000*l.* a-year, clear money; for his victory of Blenheim, the manors of Woodstock and Wotten, and wherewith to keep up his splendid palace. When Marlborough's eldest son, the Marquess of Blandford, died, his generous queen caused an act of parliament to pass, settling the family titles on his heirs female and their heirs, in order to secure to his posterity the 5000*l.* a-year that had been voted to go with the title, which the descendants of the Duke enjoy to this day. But, according to Barré, Lord Chatham, to whom England was not less indebted than to the Duke of Marlborough, had only received a paltry nominal pension of 3000*l.* a-year for all that he had done in the course of his noble life. The 3000*l.* a-year granted previously to the Countess of Chatham was not taken into this account, which was meant more especially to contrast the liberality of Queen Anne and the parsimony of King George. Lord Nugent applied to the deceased orator and patriot the lines which had been addressed by Pope to Lord Cobham,* the uncle of Chatham's wife; and quoted his dying advice to his eldest son, Lord Pitt, who had again entered the army, and who was about to join his regiment in garrison at Gibraltar. According to Lord Nugent, Chatham had said—"Go, my son, go whither your country calls you; let her engross all your attention; spare not a moment in weeping over an old man, who will soon be no more." It was said, by one of the greatest of modern wits, and most adroit of politicians,† that a great orator, who had all Chatham's fire and eloquence, but few or none of his private virtues ‡, "*dramatised his death*," though it was attended with the acutest physical anguish; and, notwithstanding our innermost conviction that Chatham had an English pride and a real and passionate love for the glory of his country, we are not disinclined to believe that he may (more than half unconsciously) have *dramatised* some of his last sad scenes. He was an orator of fifty years' standing; the habit of his profession had become a part of his nature; and there was never yet a great orator but was a great actor. Backed by nearly the whole House of Commons, Mr. Thomas Townshend moved an address, beseeching the king "to make such a lasting provision for the family of the late Earl of Chatham as his majesty should think fit, as a mark of the sense the nation entertained of the services done to the kingdom by that able statesman." The motion was unanimously agreed to. On the same day (the 13th of April) Lord Shelburne moved in the Upper House, that the peers should attend the public funeral; but this was overruled by a majority of one, a proxy; the numbers being 16 present and 3 proxies for the motion, and 16 present and 4 proxies against it. More than two years and a half before his death Chatham had endeavoured to get the pension he enjoyed settled in reversion on his second son, William Pitt, a few years after this prime minister of the empire; and the proud old man had condescended to employ the good offices of Lord North to bring about the desired end. The king, in reply to Lord North's application, wrote the following sharp, severe, and characteristic words—"The making Lord Chatham's family suffer for the conduct of their father is not in the least agreeable to my sentiments: but I should choose to know him to be totally unable to appear again on the public stage before I agree to any offer of that kind, lest it should be wrongly construed into a fear of him; and indeed his political conduct, the last winter, was so abandoned, that he must, in the eyes of the dispassionate, have totally undone all the merit of his former conduct. As to any gratitude to be expected from *him or his family*, the whole tenor of their lives has shown them void of that most honourable sentiment. But, *when decrepitude or death puts an end to him as a trumpet of sedition*, I shall make no difficulty in placing the second son's name instead of the father's, and making up the pension 3000*l.*"* The high-sounding and noble-toned trumpet was now silenced for ever; and, besides, the last reveillé it had played was grateful to the royal ear; the king raised no obstacle, and the annuity bill settling 4000*l.* a-year upon the heirs of Lord Chatham, to whom the title should descend, was carried through the House of Commons without the least opposition, as was also the grant of 20,000*l.* to pay off his lordship's debts. Mr. Thomas Pitt, as a near relation, warmly expressed the gratitude of the family for all this liberality. "They are placed," said he, "through your liberality, above the temptation of interest; and, if they should ever for a moment forget what they owe to the blood they spring from, the reflection of what has passed this day will be sufficient to recall them to their duty. They are in a peculiar manner the children of your adoption, the children of the public; and to the service of that public I trust they will devote themselves as long as the name endures amongst us." The Lords, however, were not so unanimously generous, and the annuity bill was rather violently opposed in the Upper House. The Duke of Chandos called it an unwarrantable lavishing of the public money, *in times of* great distress; and condemned it as a dangerous precedent. Grants in perpetuity, or to descend from generation to generation, were taxes in perpetuity, and as such ought to be cautiously ratified by parliament. His grace urged that the families of many other distinguished servants of the public, who had not died rich, might

* "And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath,
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past;
'Oh! save my country, Heaven!' shall be your last."

† The late Prince de Talleyrand. ‡ Mirabeau.

* Lord Brougham: Statesmen of the Times of George III.

put in their claims on the strength of this precedent. On the other hand the extraordinary merits of Chatham were extolled, as justifying an unusual degree and length of liberality to his descendants; and some bitter things were said against men, like the Duke of Chandos, who could hold sinecure places themselves, and begrudge the nation's bounty to the family of so illustrious an ornament of the British name. The debate ran out into a critical review of Chatham's political character and performances. Some noble lords, including the chancellor, severely censured nearly the whole of his political conduct, and laid to his charge almost all of the troubles which now beset the nation. The friends of the family were under the greatest anxiety lest this opposition should have been secretly set on foot and abetted by some powerful part of the court; but this was not the case; and, according to Lord Camden, "it turned out to be a very puny and contemptible effort of a few, and those of no note or consideration."* The bill was warmly supported by the whole Rockingham party, and it was carried by a majority of 42 to 11. A short protest was entered against it by only *four* peers—the Lord Chancellor Bathurst, the Duke of Chandos, Lord Paget, and the Archbishop of York, who possibly had not forgotten or forgiven the deceased orator for calling his sermons and writings libels, and for comparing him to Sacheverel. The mayor, aldermen, and common council voted a magnificent cenotaph and statue to the deceased orator to be erected in Guildhall, and agreed upon an inscription, which, like most compositions of the kind, exceeded the truth. Before this, the common council had petitioned the House of Commons and the king for the honour of receiving his remains and interring them in St. Paul's; but the application was unsuccessful, as orders had already been given for the interment in Westminster Abbey. The common council then petitioned to be allowed to attend the funeral *in their gowns;* but they took offence at something said or done by their old antagonist, the lord chamberlain, and let that matter drop. The body lay in state two days in the painted chamber, and after that scarcely commendable exhibition it was interred in the Abbey, apparently with less pomp than had been expected. Gibbon, the historian, says—"Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with an ill grace."† The death of the great orator seemed to leave a void in the political world, and there were some so enthusiastic in their admiration as to conceive that we had lost, not merely the greatest of our speakers, but the greatest of our statesmen—that in Chatham had perished the last of Englishmen! The reader may form a pretty accurate idea of his character and conduct from the copious details of facts which we have given; but no adequate idea can be formed of his genius as an orator, from the defective and garbled reports of his speeches; and the voice of tradition is now becoming mute or valueless, as few are left alive that witnessed his magical displays. As a private man, Chatham appears to have been most exemplary and amiable. We quote the tribute paid to these better qualities by a great living orator:—"His disposition was exceedingly affectionate. The pride, bordering upon insolence, in which he showed himself incased to the world, fell naturally from him, and without any effort to put it off, as he crossed the threshold of his own door. To all his family he was civil, kindly, and gentle. His pursuits were of a nature that showed how much he loved to unbend himself. He delighted in poetry and other light reading; was fond of music; loved the country; took peculiar pleasure in gardening; and had even an extremely happy taste in laying out grounds."*

CHATHAM'S MONUMENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The debate on the Duke of Richmond's motion, which was interrupted by Chatham's illness, was resumed on the following day, when the Earl of Shelburne advocated the principles laid down by his dying friend, and vehemently opposed the noble duke. Shelburne, like Chatham, declared that the moment Great Britain recognised the independence of America her sun was set, never to rise again: he held—as nearly all men now did—that a war with France was unavoidable; and he

* Letter to the Countess of Chatham; in Chat. Corres.
† Letter to Sheffield.

* Lord Brougham, Statesmen.

reasoned that, in these circumstances, nothing could be so unwise as to spread despondence through the country by making a confession of weakness or betraying a disposition to purchase peace by abasement. He expressed his own intimate conviction that Great Britain, with her immense resources properly managed, was powerful enough to defy America, France, and Spain; and that our fleets would not fail of supporting the glory they had gained in so many conflicts. The Duke of Richmond would not doubt of our ability to cope with France and Spain, but he said that America must be our ally, or at least remain neutral; and he therefore proposed the immediate concession of independence. The whole Rockingham party had at last made up their minds to this concession; still considering it, however, in no other light than in that of a dire necessity. Upon a division, 33 voted with the Duke of Richmond, and 55 against him. The season was now far advanced, yet in both Houses motions were made to put off the prorogation. But these motions were lost, and on the 7th of July his majesty terminated the session. In so doing, he declared that his desire to preserve the tranquillity of Europe had been uniform and sincere; that the faith of treaties and the law of nations had been his rule of conduct; and that it had been his constant care to give no just cause of offence to any foreign power. "Let that power," said he, "by whom this tranquillity shall be broken answer to their subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war!"

During this session the secretary-at-war (Lord Barrington) repeated his earnest desire to retreat from that difficult and unthankful post, in the duties of which Lord George Germaine was evidently permitted to interfere much more than became him. Barrington, moreover, was heartsick of the House of Commons; and he implored rather than requested Lord North to allow him to resign his seat as soon as the army supplies had been voted. North said he would mention his request to the king. The army estimates were voted on the 3rd of December, but upon that very day the news of Burgoyne's surrender arrived; and then Barrington felt that it would be dishonourable to retire and leave his colleagues in the lurch. "The next morning," says his lordship, in an account of his conduct drawn up by himself, "I went to Lord North and told him I had intended to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds the day following, but that I felt such an hour of distress and difficulty was not proper for me to withdraw myself voluntarily from any business." On the 7th of March, when these parliamentary difficulties were over, Barrington again requested North to provide him a successor. The prime minister was anxious to keep him a little longer both in the House of Commons and in office, and earnestly entreated him to remain. On the 21st of May, when Barrington fancied he had done all the business that was required of him, he again importuned Lord North to give him the Chiltern Hundreds. North said he would mention the matter to the king, but on the Sunday following, when Barrington met him at court just as he came out of the closet, his lordship said he had forgotten to mention the request, and hoped Barrington would mention it himself. This the noble secretary-at-war did immediately. He told the king that he would willingly sacrifice his own inclination to the least wish of his majesty; but that things were come to such a pass that he could no longer reconcile his conduct in parliament to his honour and duty;—that, disapproving many of the measures of administration as he did, he could not support them with a good conscience, or oppose them without affecting his honour, ministers being men who meant well, and with whom he had long served and acted; and that in these circumstances he hoped his majesty would allow him to inform Lord North that he had his full and free consent to vacate his seat in the Commons. The king graciously assented, and, on the 24th of May, Barrington got the Chiltern Hundreds; but the king was still anxious to retain him at the war-office, and his lordship reluctantly consented to continue there until his majesty should find what he considered a proper successor.* We believe Lord Barrington to have been an excellent man of business, and truly zealous in the discharge of the duties of his office; but we know that business is rarely conducted with spirit when the functionary is sighing and groaning for retreat, and when the widest differences exist between him and his colleagues in office. Barrington too must have felt every moment the confirmation of his first sound and incontrovertible opinion, that the war with America ought not to be carried on by land, and that our armies, never great and always divided, ought not to be exposed on that vast continent.

The Americans and the war party in France, which was highly popular in spite of the miserably impoverished state of that country, exerted themselves to the very utmost to induce, not only Spain, but also Austria, Prussia, Russia, and the other despotisms, to become the allies and protectors of the young and free republic. Arthur Lee, who had been a resident agent from the colonies at London, and who had presented, with Penn, the famous Olive Branch (a piece of mockery and deceit), had repaired to Vienna in the spring of 1777, and, under the favour of the French ambassador at that court, he had obtained access to some of the Austrian ministers or understrappers of government. Lee had no credentials, and scarcely ventured to propose more than that Austria should permit the Americans to purchase warlike stores in her dominions. But in the autumn he returned to Vienna as a diplomatist accredited by congress, having taken Dresden and Berlin on his road, and having at the latter capital made certain overtures to the great Prussian soldier and despot, who had never forgiven England for stopping her subsidies at the

* Polit. Life of Viscount Barrington, by his brother, Shute Bishop of Durham.

end of the last war, and who now was in the constant habit of accusing George III. of monstrous tyranny and obstinacy. Prince Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, still considered Lee as a mere adventurer; and, notwithstanding the importunities of the French ambassador, he would never honour him with more than a proud and silent bow. In the course of the year 1777 the Emperor Joseph visited his sister, the fair and unfortunate Marie Antoinette, and passed some time in France. He discovered that that country was in an uneasy and unsatisfactory state, and that his brother-in-law, Louis XVI., was, in reality, neither desirous of war nor prepared for it. Joseph, moreover, was dissatisfied with the French ministers, who seemed to him to unite the rather opposite qualities of extreme rashness and extreme duplicity; and he learned, from better sources of information than French gazettes and the reports of the speeches of our opposition orators, that England was in a flourishing and improving condition, with means and resources that were truly gigantic. On the 30th of December, 1777, Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, died childless, and the potentates of Austria and Prussia lost sight of all other political considerations in their anxiety to get possession of his inheritance. The Emperor Joseph revived the old claims of his house; the Great Frederick affected to set himself up as the defender of the liberties of the Germanic body, and the disinterested opposer of the usurpations and encroachments of the House of Austria. A war ensued between the two great powers, which was not concluded till the 13th of May, 1779, when the treaty of Teschen was signed, by which the electorate of Bavaria, after some slight parings, was left in possession of the Duke of Deux Ponts, a branch of the family of the late Elector, Maximilian Joseph. At one stage of the contest a liberal vote of English subsidies might have induced the Emperor to prolong the struggle and to declare war against France, who secretly favoured his opponent, Frederick the Great. After all, the American negotiators of Paris had made little way until the arrival of Franklin. But the avatar of the republican philosopher blew up the French enthusiasm and sympathy into a blaze, and nothing was heard in the French capital but the name of Franklin, and hyperbolical encomiums of his genius, his republican simplicity, and more than patriarchal integrity and single-mindedness. It was what the French call an *engouëment—une rage!* Everything about him, from the old-fashioned cut of his wig and coat down to the homely buckles of his shoes, became matter of admiration to the Parisians. All classes ran after him, and paid him homage. He was as much courted in saloons and gay assemblies, and by beauty and fashion, as in scientific academies, where there were men who could properly appreciate his philosophical discoveries, or in political conciliabules, where there were other men who already aimed at trying the great American experiment in government in old France.* If these hot Philo-Americans—this mélange of petits-maîtres, fashionable ladies, philosophes, and sucking republicans,—had been ministers of state, and had only been able to overcome the scruples and cooler judgment of Louis XVI., there would have been a declaration of war at once, without any diplomatic message or prelude whatsoever, and without any attention to the means of carrying it on. But the French ministers, rash as some of them were, were not quite ready for this madness. For many months the question of war or peace had been discussed in the cabinet, and had been submitted to the studious consideration of the great and good Turgot—a statesman far too good and wise to be properly appreciated in the France of that period. Turgot had considered the whole question as a Frenchman, yet still as a great political philosopher; and he had announced the healing doctrines, which now seem so easy and so indisputable, but which were then a matter of doubt with the foremost statesmen in the world—that colonies, when they attain a certain growth, must become independent of the parent state; and that their independence, instead of being ruinous to the mother-country, would be beneficial to both, through a liberty of trade. As early as the month of April, 1776, Turgot had said to the ministers of Louis XVI.—"The supposition of the absolute separation between Great Britain and her colonies seems to me infinitely probable. This will be the result of it: when the independence of the colonies shall be entire and recognised by the English themselves, a total revolution will follow in the political and commercial relations between Europe and America; *and I firmly believe that every other mother-country will be forced to abandon all empire over her colonies, and to leave an entire freedom of commerce with all nations, to content herself with partaking with others in the advantages of a free trade, and with preserving the old ties of friendship and fraternity with her former colonists.* If this is an evil, I believe that there exists no remedy or means of hindering it; that the only course to pursue is to submit to the inevitable necessity, and console ourselves as best we may under it. I must also observe, that there will be a very great danger to all such powers as obstinately attempt to resist this course of events; *that after ruining themselves by efforts above their means, they will still see their colonies equally escape from them, and become their bitter enemies, instead of remaining their allies.*"† As, at this point, it was held by French statesmen that Spain must join in the war, Turgot wisely and honestly added—"Our Spanish allies must, from this moment, fix their reflections on the possibility of this event, and familiarise themselves beforehand with a total change of system in the adminis-

* French Memoirs of the Revolution.

† Mémoire de M. Turgot, à l'occasion du Mémoire remis par M. le Comte de Vergennes sur la manière dont la France et l'Espagne doivent envisager les suites de la querelle entre la Grande Bretagne et ses Colonies. In "Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les Règnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI." Par L. P. Ségur l'aîné.

tration of their commerce, and in their relations with their own vast colonies."* But Spain was not prepared for this high philosophy; she looked upon the independence of her own colonies as the greatest calamity that could befall her; and, to avoid the danger of encouraging revolt in South America, she was still hanging back from a treaty which was to consolidate revolution and colonial independence in North America. And so far were the self-confident charlatan ministers of France from taking Turgot's great lesson to heart, that they were actually contemplating, as the first achievement of this unprovoked war, to obtain more colonies for themselves in the western world by force of conquest, and at a necessarily vast expense of money; and this, too, when their treasury was empty and their country in a state of irremediable discredit and insolvency! Turgot, who was, at the moment, comptroller-general of the finances, knew better than any one the broken reed upon which these men were resting; and he shuddered at the idea of the cost of war, and the train of national miseries that must follow. He clearly showed that the state in which Louis XVI. had found the finances on his accession, and the condition of the forces both by land and sea, called imperatively for delay and caution; that any premature attempt would prolong the actual state of weakness; that every branch of administration must be regenerated before France could go to war with safety and honour to herself; that the actual deficit would render any sudden and great exertion perfectly ruinous. "The king," said he, "knows the situation of his finances. He knows that, in spite of all the economy and improvement introduced since the beginning of his reign, there is a difference of twenty millions of livres between our annual receipts and expenditure. The goodness of the king and his love of justice have made him constantly reject the medium of a bankruptcy; an augmentation of taxes he has equally rejected; nothing remains but strict economy, and the way of economy is still possible. Besides finding his finances in the greatest disorder, the king found both his army and navy in a state of weakness difficult to be conceived; and now, in order to re-establish them, the king must *spend*, when the state of the finances bids him *save*. He ought, therefore, to avoid a war as the greatest of misfortunes, since it would render impossible, for a long time and perhaps for ever, a reform absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the state, and the relief of the overburdened people. In making any premature use of our present strength we shall risk the eternizing of our weakness." But the French ministers shut their ears to the warning and prophetic voice of the greatest man among them; and the weak Louis was flooded with arguments or torrents of words, until his scruples and his better judgment were washed down the stream. They represented that it would be wilfully injuring the interests of the French crown and people, not to take advantage of the present favourable opportunity for effacing the dishonours and retrieving the losses of the last war, and for curbing the pride and ambition of England, the hereditary and natural enemy of the House of Bourbon. One great apprehension had obstructed for a time the course of diplomacy with the Americans: this was a dread that the colonies would accept conditions offered by the British government, give up their claim to absolute independence, and again unite with the mother-country against France and the world. The address, art, and eloquence of Franklin were now employed to convince them that this apprehension was unfounded; that the natural ties which had bound the English and Americans together were burst for ever; that a lasting animosity had succeeded them; and that the Americans would accept of no conditions, and accede to no treaty of peace, in which the recognition of their independence was not the first clause. The doubt, however, still troubled the shallow minds of the French negotiators. The surrender of Burgoyne's army was hailed with rapturous joy: but when Lord North's new plan of reconciliation was published to the world, and when commissioners were appointed to offer such extreme concessions, they fancied—and it was now the office of the adroit Franklin to inculcate the belief—that the colonists, if left to themselves, would consent to an accommodation which would put an end to the war, and to all the great advantages the French had promised themselves from its prolongation. Under this impression they urged upon Louis the immediate necessity of a union with America; and the doomed Bourbon put his hand to a treaty which eventually brought his neck under the guillotine, or which, at the very least, hastened on by a quarter of a century the inevitable revolution of France. This treaty of union, friendship, and commerce was concluded at Paris on the 6th of February, the French having made it a part of their agreement that the Americans should never, upon any conditions, return to their allegiance to the British crown.* By grinding the faces of the French people, who were already bent to the earth with imposts, duties, and corvées, by taking the bread from half-famished mouths, means were

* Mémoire de M. Turgot, &c.

* According to Lafayette, who had remained with Washington at Valley Forge, his own example and incessant exertions contributed very materially to the treaty. He tells us that he laboured night and day to overcome the incredible prejudices which most of the Americans entertained against the French, and to remove the doubts and objections which weighed with the French government against the novel connexion. Whenever he wrote to Europe he denied the reports made there unfavourable to the Americans and their cause. "But," says he, "without giving a circumstantial account of what my private influence achieved, it is certain that enthusiasm for the cause and esteem for its defenders had electrified all France, and that the affair of Saratoga decided the ministerial commotion. Bills of conciliation passed in the English parliament, and five commissioners were named to offer far more than had been demanded at first. Then, no longer waiting to see how things would turn out, M. de Maurepas yielded to the public wish; and what his luminous mind projected the more steady disposition of M. de Vergennes carried into execution. A treaty was generously entered into with Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee, and that treaty was announced with more confidence than had been displayed for some time." He adds, that the Americans were, at that moment, on the very brink of ruin.—*Memoirs, written by himself.*

found to raise armies and equip fleets. Fifty thousand men were collected on the coasts of Normandy and Britany to threaten England with invasion; arms, money, and men were sent over to America; and the navy of France set out once more to contend with the navy of Great Britain for the mastery of the narrow seas. On the 18th of March the French king had issued an edict to seize all British ships in the ports of France; and, nine days after, our government laid an embargo on all French ships in British ports. This, with the withdrawing of ambassadors, and the interruption of all diplomatic intercourse, left the two countries in a state of open hostility; but heralds and manifesto-makers were not employed by either party to introduce the horrors of war with the usual solemnities or farces. As the French were great masters in these arts, and accustomed to employ their skill in phrase-making on all occasions, we must conclude that, at the present conjuncture, they had really no materials for a manifesto, no injuries to complain of, nothing that could justify their hostility. Louis, moreover, with all his kindness and liberality of sentiment, and (as we believe) *sincere* desire of correcting in his own states the abuses of despotism, was still an absolute monarch, anxious for the support of the kingly character, and entertaining antiquated notions concerning the sacred rights of sovereigns and the duty of obedience in subjects; and he may have been deterred by the hopelessness of the task of disguising or colouring the fact that he had entered into a league against the rights of kings, and in support of revolted subjects. Our ministers had certainly better materials for manifestoes and declarations; but George III. was no admirer of unnecessary phrases, and his cabinet had too many serious matters on their hands to find time for making them. The only arguments likely to avail were to be spoken from "adamantine lips."

On the 17th of June, twenty-two days before the prorogation of parliament, Admiral Keppel, who had been appointed to the command on the first news of the treaty concluded by France with the Americans, and who had put to sea with twenty sail of the line, discovered in the Channel two French frigates, 'La Licorne' and 'La Belle Poule,' reconnoitring his fleet. There had been no declaration of war, but the conduct of France seemed to call for and to justify extreme measures, and Keppel's instructions were ample. He made the signal for chase, and in the evening the 'Milford' came up with the 'Licorne' frigate, and brought her into the fleet. Keppel directed Lord Longford, in the 'America,' to stay by her all night. The next morning he observed preparations making on board the frigate to get off, and, after some remonstrances with the French captain, he ordered a gun to be fired over her. The Frenchman replied by pouring a whole broadside into the 'America,' and he then struck his colours. Fortunately, by this useless discharge for the honour of arms, only four of our men were wounded. In the course of the night the 'Arethusa,' after a hard chase, in which she lost sight of the rest of the fleet, came up with the 'Belle Poule,' and summoned her to come under the stern of the British admiral. The 'Belle Poule' answered the summons by a broadside, and a desperate engagement ensued: it lasted for two hours; but all the time the French kept edging in for their own coast, and they finally made a small bay, out of which issued a swarm of row-boats that towed them into a place of safety. They left the 'Arethusa' with her mainmast over her side,

ADMIRAL KEPPEL.
From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

and otherwise so disabled by their shots that she could scarcely clear the land. The next morning the 'Valiant' and 'Monarch' joined the 'Arethusa,' and towed her back to the fleet. The 'Alert' cutter engaged and took a French schooner; and in the course of the 18th a French frigate of 32 guns was captured. From papers found on board the French ships Keppel perceived that the Brest fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line and ten or twelve frigates, was ready for sea; and this determined him to return to Portsmouth for reinforcements. On the 27th of June he anchored at Spithead. The reinforcements he wanted were not ready, or were not there. On the 9th of July the Brest fleet, under the Count d'Orvilliers, put to sea. The 'Lively,' a 20-gun frigate, that had been left by Keppel to watch their movements, found herself, upon the clearing up of a fog, in the midst of the French fleet. She was taken. On the very same day Admiral Keppel, whose fleet had been augmented to thirty sail of the line, departed once more from Spithead and went in quest of d'Orvilliers. By the 23rd the hostile fleets were in sight of each other. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, showed no inclination for battle. The English continued chasing and manœuvering to windward for four

days, but on the 27th a dark squall brought the two fleets close together off Ushant. The signal was instantly made to engage, and a furious cannonade was maintained for nearly two hours, as the two fleets passed each other, going on contrary tacks. D'Orvilliers had thirty-two ships of the line in action to oppose Keppel's thirty, but a much more considerable disproportion was in the number of the French frigates.* The French lost most in killed and wounded, but the masts and rigging of the English were more injured. When the fleet had run the gauntlet Keppel wore round to renew the engagement; but Sir Hugh Palliser's division, which had been closest engaged, and had much of their rigging loose, could not obey the signal, and thereupon Keppel bore down to join them, and formed his line of battle a-head. During this delay, d'Orvilliers, who claimed a victory because he had not been thoroughly beaten, edged away for Brest. Night fell, and the next morning, when Keppel's fleet were in pursuit, all that could be seen from the mast-head were some of the slowest of the French standing in-shore under a press of sail. Keppel returned to England to get new masts and new rigging. On the 18th of August d'Orvilliers again put to sea to traverse the Bay of Biscay and cruise off Cape Finisterre. On the 23rd Keppel sailed, but he stretched farther to the westward, to protect our merchant fleets returning from the two Indies, and to prevent any portion of the French fleet getting to America. Our East Indiamen and our West Indiamen all got safe home, and our privateers and cruisers captured a vast number of French trading-vessels; but the two royal navies did not again come into collision, and the year ended, to the woful disappointment of the people, without one great naval victory over the French. Before d'Orvilliers put to sea the first time, Count d'Estaing sailed with a squadron from Toulon for North America, and was pursued by the bold but unlucky Admiral Byron, the "foul-weather Jack" of the sailors, who believed that the elements had an antipathy to him, and that he could never go to sea without a terrific storm. This time Byron's ill-luck lay in his not being ready in time; but the tempest and hurricane came afterwards, and his squadron was scattered and crippled between the West India Islands and the Bank of Newfoundland. Having introduced the French to the war, we proceed once more to the great scene of hostilities in the western world.

The first thing to be noticed is the disgraceful infraction of the convention of Saratoga. Congress had scarcely done rejoicing for the wonderful success of General Gates, when they determined to break the bargain he had made. A man of a high sense of honour ought to have prevented the act of perfidy, or to have resigned his command and commission; but Gates did neither.† Boston was mentioned in the convention as the port at which Burgoyne's army was to be embarked for England; but, as there was a difficulty, which ought to have been foreseen by the English general, in reaching that port early in the winter, Burgoyne applied to Washington to change the place of embarkation, and substitute Newport, in Rhode Island, or some other place on the Sound. Burgoyne added, that, if any unforeseen objection should be made to this proposal, he must request the indulgence, at least, for himself and his staff. Washington communicated the letter to congress, who passed a resolution that General Washington should be directed to inform General Burgoyne that congress would not receive nor consider any proposition for indulgence, nor for altering the terms of the convention of Saratoga, unless immediately directed to their own body. They felt, or pretended, an apprehension that the army which had surrendered, instead of sailing for England, would only go to New York or Philadelphia, to strengthen General Howe. Burgoyne and the high-minded British officers serving with him were incapable of so base a design, but there were members of congress fully capable of it, and hence, perhaps, a real fear in some of them. But it appears that this apprehension was very limited, and that the consideration which weighed with congress, and kept faith and honour out of sight, was this—that, though Burgoyne's three thousand and odd men might all keep the compact religiously, their arrival in England would enable the government to send out an equal number of troops employed in the home service, or on some other station, and free from any convention not to serve in America. Making a loud talk about the *uncertainty* of the honour of English officers, to justify or cover their own predetermined breach of faith, they passed a resolution directing their general, Heath, to transmit to the board of war a descriptive list of every person comprehended in the convention, "in order that, if any officer, soldier, or other person of the said army should hereafter be found in arms against these States in North America during the present contest, he might be convicted of the offence, and suffer the punishment in such case inflicted by the law of nations." Burgoyne and his officers bitterly resented these openly implied suspicions of their honour, and would not use their authority to pass the army before the note-takers and personal-description-makers of congress. The ruling and absolute majority of that sovereign body had very little delicacy or consideration for the feelings of a gallant and fallen enemy, and they chose to represent that the British officers and men were averse to having an accurate description taken of their persons only because they intended breaking the convention. But, after some demur, the natural effect of proud and honourable feeling, Burgoyne waived the objection, and his army was described, man by man, with all the minuteness of a French commissary of

* According to the admiralty returns Keppel had only six frigates—two of 32 guns, and the rest of 28.

† We omitted to mention that Gates was, by birth and education, an Englishman.

police, or of a framer of passports in the most rigid and suspicious of despotisms. Higher things might have been expected from Washington, but in all these matters he went hand in hand with congress. With more faith in American honour than circumstances justified, a number of British transports came round to take Burgoyne and his troops on board. The wonder was that the New Englanders did not take these ships, and hold them as fair prizes; but the attempt, probably, was not made for want of means to contend on the water with the convoy. Burke was right to the letter when he called all these people dabblers in law, and men prone to chicanery. They now pretended to find several flaws in the clauses of the convention of Saratoga; they pretended that the ships were not sufficient, or sufficiently furnished with provisions for the voyage to Europe; and that, therefore, General Howe, who sent them, must contemplate the shorter voyage to Sandy Hook or the Delaware; and they further pretended that some of the British soldiers had secreted "several cartouche-boxes," which, they said, were comprehended in the technical term *arms;* and upon these narrow premises, too contemptible for the stand of a pedlar, they built up—using, in their ordinary way, as cement, the law of nations—the conclusion that, as the convention stipulated that the arms should be delivered up, the English soldiers, by secreting the several cartouche-boxes aforesaid, had broken the convention. We copy these facts from an American writer, who says,—apparently without a blush,—"this was deemed an infraction of the letter of the compact, which, on rigid principle, justified the measures afterwards adopted by congress."* The British officers denied, most emphatically, that there had been any attempt to carry off a single thing that could be classed under the denomination of arms; and many of them complained that the Americans had shamefully broken the convention by lightening them of their baggage on their road. If the men had kept a few old cartouche-boxes and gibernes, the same police functionaries that took the men's portraits might have taken and stopped those valuable commodities. The whole subject was referred to a committee of congress, who, in their report, enumerated their suspicions, and dwelt with great force upon these several cartouche-boxes; and thereupon congress resolved (on the 8th of January) that "the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, should be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga should be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to congress." As they knew that this notification could not be made they threw the men into prison, and rejoiced in the prospect of keeping them there till the war should be ended. They sent two copies of their resolution to General Heath, with directions to deliver one of them to Burgoyne, and to order the British transports to quit the neighbourhood of Boston without delay. Burgoyne instantly addressed a letter to congress, but he appealed to the sense of honour and soldierly faith in quarters where that sense was very dull; and he insisted on the embarkation of his army as stipulated in the convention, which was the thing congress had determined all along not to adhere to. His letter was referred to a committee, who reported that nothing therein contained was sufficient to induce congress to alter their resolutions. Burgoyne then demanded that he, at least, might be permitted to return to England upon parole, stating, rather meanly, that his health required it. This request was readily granted; and it was in this manner that Burgoyne had been allowed to come home, leaving his army behind him,—a proceeding which apparently inflamed the mind of George III. as much as the blunders of his campaign and its fatal catastrophe.*

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

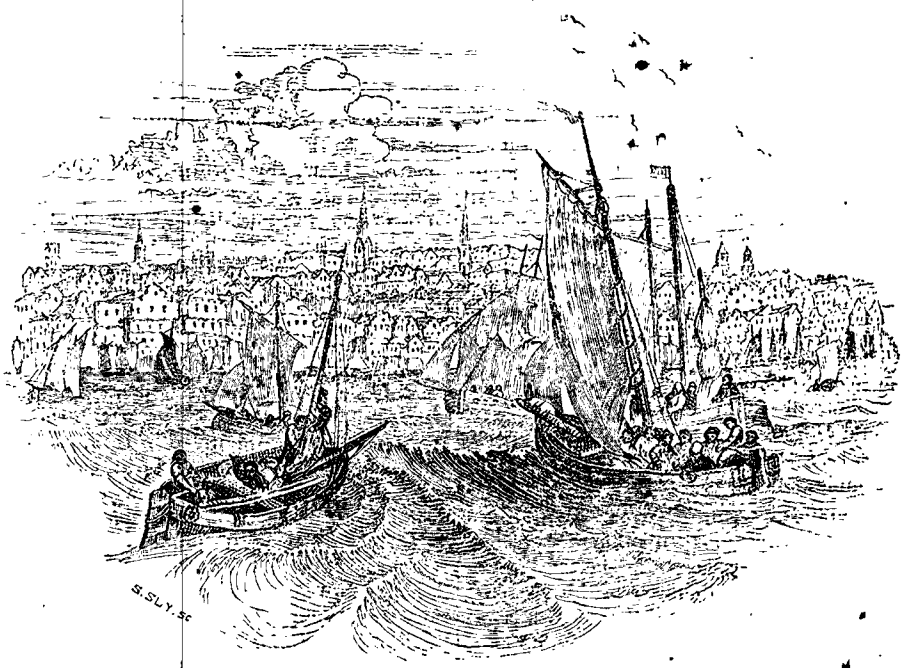
While these ignoble transactions were passing congress were sitting in the town of York, in an obscure corner of Pennsylvania, and Washington was lying *hutted* at Valley Forge, suffering, with his whole army, beyond the limits of common mortal endurance. Here the great man again, and most indisputably, shows himself. His people were left destitute of provisions, clothes, shoes, and everything necessary; the commissaries of the army, patriots and republicans as they were, were scarcely more active or more honest than the commissaries of King George; and the population of the country round about, who were not very republican in their principles, preferred selling their stock and provisions to the royal army to giving them to their countrymen for little or nothing. At the end of December, when Washington contemplated a movement in force, to prevent the British troops from foraging, and to destroy a large quantity of hay on Derby Creek, he was stopped short by the alarming disclosure that the commissary's store was exhausted, and that the last ration had just been delivered to his half-famishing soldiers. In the course of the day he ordered the country to be scoured, and provisions to be seized wherever found. He then applied to congress, who, as the only support they could give, ordered him to continue to scour the country, to seize provisions wherever he could within seventy miles of his head-quarters, and either to pay for them in paper-money—the only money he and they had—or in certificates, for the redemption of which the good faith of the United States was pledged. It happened, however, rather unfortunately for the credit of this good faith, that, when the first of these certificates were presented, they were dishonoured, as the government had provided no funds to take them up. As for the paper-money of congress, it had risen to the maximum of discount and fallen to the minimum of value: and, as Howe continued to pay in good coined money, and at a liberal rate, for all articles of provisions, the people continued to drive their carts and navigate their boats to

* Marshall, Life of Washington, and Washington's own Letters.

Philadelphia, at times over-stocking the market to save their property from the sharp hands and stomachs of Washington's scourers and foragers. Setting the congress laws at defiance, and exercising great ingenuity, the country people concealed their provisions, showing empty house, larder, and store whenever an American soldier presented himself, and contrived for a long while to steal through the lines thrown out to intercept them. Washington continued to seize what he could reach; but congress thought he was far too mild and considerate, and that he did not seize half enough; and while the people were cursing him for taking forcible possession of their property, and for depriving them even of the bread and meat they wanted for their own mouths, congress actually censured his forbearance, and sent him instructions for the rigorous exertion of the power with which he was invested to "*impress*" from the people whatever the army wanted. Washington ventured to state that provisions had been *impressed* very extensively, and to suggest that such seizures might be more readily submitted to by the people if executed by *the civil authority*. He, however, in obedience to congress, issued a proclamation requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one-half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the rest by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. But the farmers for some time avoided compliance, and continued to conceal their corn and stock. In many cases they defended their property against the hungry foragers with musket and rifle, and in some cases they burnt what they could not defend. Washington saw that this was not the way to make converts to the new republic, and he was disgusted with the rapine and licentiousness to which the practice directly led. He told congress that supplies of provisions and clothing must be procured in some other way, or the army must cease to exist. This squeamishness was not likely to please congress, in which, moreover, a very strong party had been formed directly and personally against the commander-in-chief. This section madly pretended that Washington ought to have captured the army of General Howe, as Gates had captured that of Burgoyne; and that the conduct of Gates proved that he, and not Washington, was the proper man to have the supreme command of the army of the United States. Gates entertained the same opinion, and wrote strongly against Washington to his friends sitting in congress. This correspondence came to the knowledge of Washington, and the hostility of the party in congress could hardly be concealed from him. He, however, retained in a wonderful degree the affection and the admiration of his own army, and he resolved not to abandon the cause he had embraced from pique or jealousy. In a letter addressed to Mr. Laurens, his own particular friend, and now president of congress, he pointedly explained his difficulties and justified his conduct. He was a proud man, and he spoke contemptuously of "*a malignant faction*," which should not, he said, prevent him from doing his duty: he complained of an anonymous paper exhibiting many serious charges against him, but hoped that that paper might be regularly submitted to congress. Speaking of his generalship, he said, with commendable modesty, that he might very often have been mistaken in his judgment, and have deserved the imputation of error; but no man had endeavoured more to do his best, and had more at heart the public good and the approbation of his countrymen. For the present the voice of his enemies was silenced, but congress did little to remove the hardships under which he was labouring. His men remained with only such food as they could seize, without clothes, without shoes, without blankets to warm them through the long nights of the inclement winter. His consequent ill humour against the comfortably housed and well provided gentlemen who were playing the part of suffering patriots vicariously, and who were realizing Lord Barrington's prediction by obtaining the palm of martyrdom without the pain of it, broke out occasionally in forcible or pungent language. "I can assure those gentlemen," said he, "that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fire-side, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or prevent."* In consequence of the non-importation agreement and of the interruption of nearly all commerce by the war, the quantity of cloth and woollen goods in the whole country was very inconsiderable, and the home manufactures were altogether insufficient to make up the deficiency. The interior of the country was scoured, broad-cloth and blankets were impressed wherever they could be found, but still the soldiers remained badly provided. In the New England provinces, where the sea-coast was more extensive and the art of smuggling and running goods better understood, clothes, arms, and other commodities were abundant; but the New Englanders sought to derive a commercial advantage from the scarcity and distress of the south, and put an enormous price upon their goods, for the want of which Washington's army were absolutely perishing. Congress interfered with a strong hand, broke a contract which had been concluded by the clothier-general of Massachusetts, and ordered the state-government to seize, for the use of the army, at prices to be fixed by the legislature, all such goods

* In the same letter Washington says—"Soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by congress, we see none of; nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first (soap), indeed, we have little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all. . . . . We have, by a field return this day made, besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account, no less than 2898 men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are bare-foot, and otherwise naked."

as the army wanted! These orders were extended to the other States, and Washington wrote letters to recommend or enforce obedience to them, representing that the very existence of the army and the continuance of the struggle with Great Britain depended upon the supplies. These were circumstances calculated to increase popular discontent; and they were followed by other still stronger measures. Washington saw very clearly that there was little hope of recruiting his forces for the next year's campaign by *voluntary* enlistment, and he recommended the immediate employment of coercion;—that is to say, the defenders of this free and matchless democracy were to be *pressed* into the service, as we at the time impressed a part of our seamen. The proposition startled even congress; but after some debate it was agreed to. Washington then addressed the state governments of all the provinces: to those who had not resorted to the coercive system of recruiting, he explained the great success with which it had been employed by other States; and he urged all of them to employ the means which congress had approved, so as to enable him to anticipate the movements of General Howe early in the spring. Of the recruits, thus torn from their homes, many deserted and joined the British forces. Day after day some two or three half-naked, half-famished men stole away from Valley Forge or from the out-posts, and went over to Howe with their arms. By means of these frequent desertions, the English general must of necessity have been fully informed of the wretched, helpless condition of that army; yet he never moved from his comfortable quarters to crush it, or dissipate it at a blow; and he allowed Washington to molest his convoys and frequently to intercept his supplies. By this time the paper-money of congress was refused by the officers serving under Washington: many of them who had no private fortune threw up their commissions in disgust, and most of those who remained were pennyless and in rags. Thus there was, at least, one kind of equality—the officers being as ragged as the men. "The unfortunate soldiers," says Lafayette, "were in want of every thing; they had neither coats nor hats, shirts nor shoes; their feet and legs froze till they became black, and it was often necessary to amputate them. From want of money the officers could obtain neither provisions nor any means of transport; the colonels were often reduced to two rations, and sometimes even to one. The army frequently remained a whole day without any provisions whatever." In consequence of Washington's representations, congress deputed a committee to reside in camp at Valley Forge during the rest of the winter, to investigate the state of the army and devise means for improving it. The commissioners arrived at head-quarters early in January; but they arrived, apparently, empty-handed, while, according to Washington, the only remedy lay in solid cash, and a suitable provision for the officers. As the whole of the country had been actually exhausted, it was necessary to forage, levy, and impress at a great distance. Provisions were secured and brought in, but by this time a terrible putrid fever had broken out in the camp; and the disease carried off many men already attenuated by bad living. While the army at Valley Forge was in this condition, the congress at York Town, at the instigation of the board of war, composed of Gates, Conway, Starke, and other personal enemies of Washington, resolved to make another irruption into Canada. The plan was completed without a word of intimation to the commander-in-chief. Lafayette was to have the command of the expedition, and Generals Conway and Starke were to serve under him. It was calculated that a young Frenchman of high rank would have a surprising effect upon the French, or French-descended, people in Canada; but it was somewhat singular that such umbratious politicians as the members of congress should not, from the first moment, have suspected that Lafayette might make the Canadians rise in arms, not to join the thirteen United States, but to restore the ancient sovereignty of France, and that connexion with their mother-country which had been broken off by the chances of war not twenty years before this period. We believe, however, that the suspicion went close upon the heels of Lafayette's appointment, and was one of the weighty causes which induced congress to neglect this cherished scheme of conquest or enlargement. Washington heard, for the first time, of this expedition on the 24th of January, when he received a letter from his rival, Gates, as president of the board of war, enclosing another letter to the French marquis, requiring his immediate attendance on congress to receive his instructions. Gates, moreover, ordered the commander-in-chief to send one of his best regiments to join the Canada expedition, which was to be made up principally of New Englanders. Lafayette repaired to congress, and Washington put the required regiment in motion for Albany, on the Hudson, where the force was to be assembled. According to his own account, the marquis declared to congress that he must require circumstantial orders, a statement of the means to be employed, the certainty of not deceiving the Canadians into an unsupported and hopeless insurrection, an augmentation of general officers to serve under him, and employment and military rank for several Frenchmen. He adds that the first condition of all was, that he should remain subordinate to Washington—be considered only as an officer detached from that commander-in-chief; and be permitted to address all his bulletins and letters to him, sending duplicates to congress. The marquis assures us that all these requests were granted, and that at Gates's own house he braved the whole anti-Washington party, and threw them into confusion by making them drink Washington's health! The Frenchman had picked up a little English in America, but he was still attended by his German interpreter, Kalb, who now wrote colonel as well as



ALBANY. From an Original Drawing.

baron before his name. The marquis was told that 2500 men would be assembled at Albany; that he would find a great body of militia a little farther up the Hudson; that he should have a little money in specie and 2,000,000 of dollars *in paper;* that from the head of the Hudson he must proceed to Lake Champlain, cross that water on the ice, burn the English flotilla at the Isle aux Noix, and then, descending the Sorel and crossing the St. Lawrence, repair to Montreal, there to act as circumstances might require. These orders could scarcely be called circumstantial, yet the confident young Frenchman set out to execute them. On arriving at Albany he found that congress could *mis*-calculate: instead of 2500 men, there were not 1200 there; and, as for the militia, it had either not received or not attended to the summons. Clothes, provisions, sledges, were all wanting; and he must have found his 2,000,000 of paper dollars scarcely worth the carriage. He was quite sure that if proper preparations had been made in time he would have driven the English out of Canada. But congress now could not, or would not, make any exertions to supply the deficiencies of which he complained; and in the month of March the lakes began to thaw, and intelligence arrived that the English were well prepared to receive him. In his own words—"the enemy were in a good position, and General Carleton was preparing for him another Saratoga. Forced to take a decisive step, he wrote a calm letter to congress, and with a heavy sigh gave up the enterprise. At the same moment congress, becoming less confident, sent him some wavering counsels, which could only have served *to commit him and justify themselves afterwards.*" Having nothing better to do, he paid a visit to some of the wild Indians on the Mohawk river, and endeavoured to engage them in the service of congress. He confesses, however, that a few louis d'or, which he distributed with some stuffs from the State of New York, produced but little effect upon the savages, when compared with the presents they had received from England. He left a French officer among them to build a fort; and then, returning to Albany, he, as general of the district, administered to the population a new form of oath, which had been devised by congress, and which included a full acknowledgment of the independence, liberty, and sovereignty of the United States, an eternal renunciation of George III., and every King of England, together with a promise and vow to defend the said United States, &c.* After these performances Lafayette was permitted to return *to the camp of Washington*, for whom he always professed the greatest affection and esteem. At this time the commander-in-chief of the American army obtained a much more important coadjutor in Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer who had served for many years on the staff of Frederic the Great. Steuben engaged to teach the raw troops of the republic the system of field exercise which his Prussian majesty had introduced or improved; and, strange as it may ap-

* "It is singular," says Lafayette—and we must repeat his words, and say it was singular indeed—"that the oath of renunciation of Great Britain and her king, which every one employed in the American service was compelled to take, should have been administered in one half of the United States by a *Frenchman only twenty years of age.*"

pear, considering the military reputation of Washington, the Americans now began, for *the first time*, to adopt one uniform system of field exercise. Washington had interest enough to get him appointed inspector-general of the army, in lieu of Conway, who had been intriguing against him; and, as Steuben's long lessons were not interrupted by General Howe, the American troops profited by them, so as to present a far more soldierly appearance when they next took the field.* According to every rational calculation it must have required some very extraordinary exertion of stupidity and misconduct to render Howe and his army as unpopular in Philadelphia, where they had been so welcomed at their coming, as Washington and his army were in the harassed, plundered, and thoroughly oppressed country all round Valley Forge, and all through several of the southern States. It is certain, however, that Howe and his people accomplished this undesired end. They seem to have reversed the standing maxim of Marshal Turenne, and to have thought the more drinking, gaming, and licentiousness in a garrison the better. The whole winter was spent in idleness, or in dissipation and revelry. Every regimental mess was a scene of nightly orgies. The men, when opportunity served, followed the example of their officers, and, on duty and off, got most loyally drunk. "A want of discipline and proper subordination," says Stedman, "pervaded the whole army; and, if disease and sickness thinned the American army encamped at Valley Forge, indolence and luxury perhaps did no less injury to the British troops at Philadelphia. During the winter a very unfortunate inattention was shown to the feelings of the inhabitants, whose satisfaction should have been vigilantly consulted, both from gratitude and from interest. They experienced many of the horrors of civil war. The soldiers insulted and plundered them; and their houses were occupied as barracks without any compensation. Some of the first families were compelled to receive into their habitations individual officers, who were even indecent enough to introduce their mistresses into the mansions of their hospitable entertainers. This soured the minds of the inhabitants, many of whom were quakers. . . . . Gaming of every species was permitted, and even sanctioned. This vice not only debauched the mind, but, by sedentary confinement, and the want of seasonable repose, enervated the body. A foreign officer held the bank at the game of faro, by which he made a very considerable fortune; and but too many respectable families in Britain had to lament its baneful effects. Officers who might have rendered honourable service to their country were compelled, by what was termed a bad run of luck, to dispose of their commissions and return pennyless to their friends." All this made Franklin say that Howe had not taken Philadelphia, but Philadelphia Howe. All writers, whether English or American, agree in stating, that, if this indolent and incompetent man had made one effort, he must have destroyed Washington, or driven the forces from Valley Forge with as much ease as a swarm of half frozen flies are swept from the face of a dead wall. But Howe seemed resolute to do nothing, and as spring approached, the army at Valley Forge, being reinforced chiefly by compulsory recruits, were enabled to cut off his supplies, and even to reduce him to considerable distress for want of fuel and fresh provisions. Both the general and his brother Lord Howe were dissatisfied with the appointment of the new commissioners to treat with the Americans, although their own names were included in the commission; but the sloth and seeming recklessness of the general began long before they could possibly have received intelligence of Lord North's last conciliatory plan, under which the new commissioners were appointed. It appears that they resolved not to act under Lord Carlisle, who was placed at the head of the new commission. The whole sad history of this shamefully conducted war is full of these piques and jealousies; but General Howe's conduct was equally censurable when, to all appearance, he was not influenced by any such feeling.

Early in March, Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood, with a detachment from the main army, consisting of two regiments and some New Jersey volunteers, embarked in transports, fell down the Delaware and landed on the coast of Jersey near Salem. The objects of their expedition were to procure forage and convey arms and ammunition to the American royalists, who were groaning under the harsh regulations adopted by congress to feed, clothe, and increase Washington's army. Being reinforced by the Queen's Rangers and about thirty cavalry, Colonel Mawhood began to forage in the rear of Hancock's and Quintin's Bridges. At the latter place a slight affair took place. A considerable throng of Americans, partly militia, and in part drawn from the regular army at Valley Forge, were collected on the opposite bank of the creek. Mawhood, by a successful feint and ambuscade, drew them over the bridge, and routed them with loss. Some were taken prisoners, but the greater part were drowned in the creek. Their commanding officer, who proved to be a Frenchman, was among the prisoners. The only man killed on the side of the British was a hussar, and he was most foully slain.* Almost immediately afterwards another brush took place at Hancock's Bridge, where about thirty of the Americans were killed. Another attempt was made to surprise another body, but they had been alarmed the preceding night at the approach of a cow, had fired at it, and then fled. The whole American force now retired behind another creek, sixteen miles off, leaving the

* Stedman.—Marshall.—Lafayette.—Washington's own Letters.

* "Here we shall give place to an anecdote, authenticated by the authority of Colonel Simcoe, who commanded the rangers, that affords a specimen of that base and ungenerous spirit with which many individuals in the American armies showed themselves, in the course of the war, to be actuated. The hussar was wounded by a man whom, in the eagerness of the pursuit, he had passed, and given quarter, to him without disarming him. The villain was killed by another hussar."—*Stedman.*

country to be foraged at leisure by the British detachment. Having procured what he wanted, and distributed some muskets and bayonets to the royalists, Mawhood returned as he came to Philadelphia. Other excursions were made in different directions. They generally succeeded in their petty objects; they sometimes engaged advanced posts and detachments of Washington's army, but they never attempted to make any impression at Valley Forge. The fighting was chiefly for hay and corn, clothes and blankets. At times the American prisoners taken exhibited a ludicrous appearance, being decorated with eggs, women's shoes, and other articles, of which they had plundered the country people going to market, and thus accoutred they were paraded through the streets of Philadelphia to prison. * The rancour between the contending parties was now extreme and universal: it was a personal feeling in every breast, and the oldest of our soldiers, or those best acquainted with the rules of war, and the common courtesies and tacit agreements between belligerents, which rob war of many of its horrors, and bring brave enemies to respect one another, were most inflamed against the Americans for their constant insensibility to those courtesies, and for their continual breaches of all rules or agreements whatsoever. It can scarcely be said that the members of congress were more delicate than the soldiery, militia, and back-woodsmen: they broke nearly every capitulation or convention, large or small; they not only detained Burgoyne's army, but they still refused to recognise the agreement entered into at the Cedars by Arnold with Captain Forster, and refused to allow the stipulated number of English prisoners to be returned in exchange for the American prisoners liberated under that agreement. General Howe continued for some time to press Washington on this subject, and to remind him of the importance of a punctilious observance of such engagements; and, as no effect was produced, he very properly held Washington, as commander-in-chief, personally bound for an honourable compliance with military stipulations entered into by an officer acting under his authority. It is said that Washington felt the keenness of the reproach, and pressed congress to alter their resolution; but that his remonstrances were for a long time ineffectual.† These things rendered difficult the ordinary operations of exchanging prisoners, and the difficulty was further increased by the American spirit of chicane and quibble. On one occasion Howe liberated a number of his prisoners confined at New York, under promise of receiving back an equal number of English prisoners. Some of these Americans died on their way home, and Washington pretended that for every dead American a live Englishman should be kept back, as the disease which occasioned the mortality had been contracted under confinement. In several instances the prisoners of war in our hands must have suffered considerable hardships; for, when our own troops were badly and insufficiently supplied with provisions, it could hardly be expected that the American prisoners should get the best of fare and accommodation, and congress and their own countrymen did not seem very sensible to their sufferings. Or, if they were sensible to the claims of humanity, they could not divest themselves of their passion for bargaining and over-reaching, and this caused the failure of arrangements which would have increased the comforts of the captives taken in war. The threat of treating American prisoners as rebels and traitors had never, in one single instance, been acted upon, and the empty threat itself was abandoned at a very early part of the war, though very many prisoners were taken under circumstances which, according to the laws of nations, would have justified the British government in turning them over to the provost-marshal and the hangman. For example, some of these prisoners were deserters from our own standard, and some were men fighting without a commission from congress, from any one of the State governments, or from any constituted authority or body whatsoever! Washington, however, complained to Howe that he was starving his American prisoners almost to death. Howe, who was a man of humanity, indignantly denied the fact, and affirmed that the same food both in quantity and quality was issued to the prisoners as to British troops when not on actual duty, and that every tenderness was shown to them compatible with the situation of his army. Congress took up the subject, but certainly not in a manner to relieve the distresses of their unfortunate countrymen. They began by attempting to make Howe consent that their paper-money should pass current in Philadelphia, and within all the British lines; and next they resolved that no British commissary should be permitted to purchase any provisions for the use of British prisoners west of New Jersey, but that all supplies for persons of that description should be furnished from British stores. Howe remonstrated against the last resolution, and with truth and justice called it a decree to condemn many prisoners, far removed into the interior of the country, to the horrors of famine, as it was impossible for him to supply them immediately from the stores in Philadelphia. The edict was not likely to improve the treatment of the American prisoners; and congress thought proper to mitigate its severity in some degree, by ordering that the British commissary of prisoners should be allowed to buy provisions from the American commissary of purchases, paying for the same, not with paper-money, but with specie. As the Americans had adopted, from the beginning, a systematic retaliation, and as they frequently inflicted the revenge without ascertain-

* On one occasion an American royalist out-witted his republican brethren. "General Washington drew his supplies of fat cattle from New England. A drove of this kind was met about thirty miles from Philadelphia, between the Delaware and Schuylkill, by a friend of government, who passed himself upon the drivers for one of General Washington's commissaries, billeted them at a neighbouring farm, and then immediately galloped to Philadelphia, from whence a party of dragoons were sent for the cattle, and the whole drove was safely conducted to Philadelphia."—*Stedman.*

† Marshall.

ing the truth or the amount of the injury said to have been inflicted upon their people, the British prisoners of war, and their auxiliaries the Germans, were made to suffer very severely. Nor could it be expected that men who wanted clothes, shoes, and blankets for themselves should make any provision for the prisoners in their hands. Washington, after several strong representations from Howe, consented that a quartermaster, with a small escort, should come out of Philadelphia with clothes and other comforts for the poor British prisoners. The American general expressly stipulated for the security of this small party, and gave them a passport signed by his own hand. Yet the American board of war ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Smith to seize the English quartermaster and his party, together with their horses and carriages, and the clothes and provisions destined for the relief of their countrymen in captivity; and the party had not gone far into the country when they were all seized, notwithstanding the stipulation and the passport of the American commander-in-chief. The order from the board of war had been issued with the usual heat, upon incorrect information of Howe's having prevented provisions being sent up by water for the use of the American prisoners in Philadelphia. Washington knew that the report was groundless—that all that Howe requested was, that flags should not be sent up and down the river without his previous consent,—and he felt annoyed at the disrespect paid to his pass and promises. The American commander-in-chief took upon himself to command the instant release of the English party with all they had; but, in the mean time, some hungry, ill-clad Americans had made free with the provisions and clothes, and had disabled the horses; and, in consequence of these proceedings, the English officers refused to proceed on their journey, and returned to Philadelphia. It is said by his biographer, that this untoward event was much regretted by Washington. When he wrote again to Howe to propose that American prisoners should be visited by American commissaries, to inspect their situation and supply their wants, the English general very naturally required a similar permission for his commissaries to visit the British prisoners, together with the assurance of General Washington that his authority would have sufficient weight to prevent any interruption to the progress of the English commissaries, and any insult to their persons. When Howe consented to Washington's making a deduction in proportion to the number of American prisoners who had died, or who were said to have died,—we believe that many of them came to life afterwards,—a cartel was agreed upon between the two generals, and commissaries were appointed by both sides to settle the details of the exchange. But, a few days after this agreement, congress passed a resolution, which, in effect, nullified what their commander-in-chief had done. Washington thereupon informed Howe that particular circumstances had rendered it inconvenient for American commissioners to attend at the time and place appointed, and requested that the meeting should be put off for eleven days. Howe again consented. Washington then addressed himself very seriously to congress, who had been playing fast and loose with so many engagements; he urged the injury done to the public faith and his own personal honour by their infraction of his solemn agreement, as also the cruelty and impolicy of a system which must cut off for ever all hopes of an exchange, and render imprisonment as lasting as the war: he represented the bad effect such a measure must have on the troops on whom they were hereafter to rely, and its impression on the friends of the men already in captivity. A majority in congress thereupon repealed the previous resolution; the commissioners met;—but here a new difficulty arose. Howe insisted that the cartel, as was not unusual, should be an affair between commander-in-chief and commander-in-chief,—that he should not introduce the name of the British government,—and that the cartel should not extend beyond the limits and duration of his own command. Washington, who was furnished with special powers from congress, refused to listen to these propositions; the meeting of the commissioners broke up; and the unhappy prisoners on both sides were left to languish some time longer in their hard captivity. At last a partial exchange was effected upon the principle of officer for officer, private for private, and a simultaneous delivery.*

Towards the end of the month of April the greater part of an American brigade commanded by Lacy, General of the Pennsylvanian militia, took post at a place called the Crooked Billet, upon the high road about seventeen miles from Philadelphia. Lacy was employing himself in *impressing* and foraging, and in stopping the country people from going to the Philadelphian market, when he was surprised, taken in the rear, and almost surrounded by a British detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie and Major Simcoe, who had effected a combined movement with admirable ability and rapidity. Lacy lost all his baggage and stores and a considerable number of men, but the rest fled by a road still open to them, and far too rapidly to be overtaken by our tired men or worn-out horses. This excursion had the effect of intimidating the militia, who appeared no more near Philadelphia except in small flying parties. On the 7th of May an expedition was made, by sea and land, to destroy all the American shipping in the upper part of the Delaware between Philadelphia and Trenton. Forty-four American vessels were burnt, some of them of value; a considerable quantity of stores and provisions was destroyed; and an inconsiderable number of men killed and wounded. On the 19th of May Washington detached Lafayette with nearly 3000 men to take

* Marshall, Life of Washington, from whom, and from Washington's own Letters, these details about the prisoners of war are entirely taken. There are English accounts much more unfavourable to American honour and humanity.

post at Barren Hill, a position seven miles in advance of Valley Forge, but upon the opposite side of the Schuylkill. The movement had no apparent object, and the position was singularly ill-chosen, as the communications between it and Valley Forge were difficult, and easy to be interrupted by an active enemy. We can only suppose that Washington thought nothing was to be apprehended from so dilatory an enemy as Howe, whose intention, moreover, of abandoning Philadelphia was now generally known. But, on the night of the 20th of May, Howe sent 5000 of his choicest troops to look after the young Frenchman! General Grant reached the position he was directed to occupy, about a mile in the rear of Lafayette, and between him and Valley Forge, before sun-rise: General Grey, who had pursued a different line of march, took post at Chesnut Hill, between two and three miles from Lafayette's right flank, and rather nearer to Matson's Ford, the only passage across the Schuylkill, than was the French general's position. Lafayette was taken completely by surprise, for he had dispensed with the precaution of throwing out patrols and pickets. There was no utility in his being where he was, and with a little more activity on the part of the English he could never have left the spot. Washington, from Valley Forge, by means of glasses, discovered Lafayette's imminent peril: he would not venture from his own camp, where he had scarcely 4000 men, to his relief, but he began to fire some great guns to warn the marquis of his danger. The Frenchman instantly fled pell-mell with his detachment, leaving on his way six field-pieces; for a time it was a race between him and Grey which should get first to Matson's Ford; but Grey's men were fatigued with their long night-march, that general himself lost some time in making formal and useless preparations for attack, and Lafayette and his people got across the ford before Grey reached it. General Grant also was rather slow in his pursuit; and the marquis was even allowed time to send some of his men back across the water, and recover the artillery he had abandoned. In this operation, however, some forty or fifty Americans were killed and wounded, and a few more taken prisoners. Lafayette then placed his artillery on some high and broken ground which rose from the water's edge, and presented a front which deterred attack, as the British, to get at him, must cross the ford under his guns, and then ascend the face of that rough eminence. Thus failed an expedition which had been well conceived, at which, with a little more rapidity, would in all probability have terminated the career of Lafayette, who, as it was, had had a very narrow escape, and had run the greatest risk without any perceptible object and without the least military skill or forethought.* The censure, of course, extends to Washington, who, so far from considering himself in a condition to succour him in the field, thought the case hopeless, and broke his bridge across the Schuylkill, lest the British, after annihilating Lafayette's detachment, should fall upon himself at Valley Forge. These were the last military operations in America over which Sir William Howe presided, and that general was now looking to a speedy return home, and a different sort of campaign in the House of Commons, being fully resolved, like Burgoyne, to join the most clamorous section of the opposition, and to lay all the blame of his miserable failures and gross misconduct upon ministers.

The king's troops, who had entered Philadelphia with assurances that they came to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants, and to rescue the whole country from the ravages and oppression of the revolutionary congress and army, were now employed to levy contributions and to seize horses for the use of the king's army. The royal permission for Howe to retire arrived in the month of April. On the 18th of May his officers gave him a grand fête, as a proper leave-taking. As everything connected with the celebration was to be absurd and in bad taste, they called the thing a *Mischianza*, an Italian word signifying a mixture or medley. The entertainment is said not only to have far exceeded anything that had ever been seen in America, but to have rivalled even the magnificent exhibitions of that vain-glorious monarch Louis XIV. All the colours of the army were arranged in a grand avenue 300 feet long, and lined with the king's troops, with two principal arches for the two brothers (the admiral and general) to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven silken Knights of the Blended Rose, and seven more of the Burning Mountain, and fourteen damsels dressed in the Turkish fashion, each knight bearing an appropriate motto in allusion to the damsel of his choice. From this avenue they marched into an open space 150 yards square, lined also with the king's troops, for the exhibition of a *tilt* or tournament, or mock fight of old chivalry, in honour of the two heroes. Lord Cathcart acted the part of chief knight; his device being Cupid riding on a *lion*; his motto, "Surmounted by Love;" and the lady he professed to honour, Miss Auchmuty. On the top of each triumphal arch was a figure of Fame bespangled with stars, and, (at the proper time, when it was dark) blowing from her trumpet, in letters of light, *Tes lauriers sont immortels.** How the elder and wiser of the two brothers, who had most of the elements of real greatness in his character, and who subsequently, in a different hemisphere, gained one of the foremost of naval victories, should ever have consented to receive this gross adulation, and to parade his person in such a scene of extravagance and folly, we cannot possibly comprehend. In any country, or under any other combination of circumstances whatever, the exhibition must have provoked contempt and

* Lafayette excuses himself by throwing the blame on some American militia.

* "Thy laurels are immortal."

derision. In America it would have been misplaced and revolting, considering the nature of the contest, which, if not exactly a civil war, was very like one, even if the Howes had been constantly victorious, and had finished the war by the most brilliant exploits. But the general, so far from being victorious and finishing the war, had made any prospect of a termination appear more distant than ever:—since the affair at Brandywine Creek he had achieved nothing—he had been revelling in winter quarters from October to the middle of May—he was now preparing to quit the command in disgust, conscious that he had done nothing worth commemorating, and also conscious that the army must evacuate Philadelphia, the sole fruit of his last campaign, and for the acquirement of which Clinton had been kept penned up in New York, and Burgoyne sacrificed at Saratoga! As twenty and more generals and field-officers, including men of mature age and—in the ordinary occurrences of life—of respectable understanding, joined their purses and their inventions to get up this pageantry, fitter for Astley's or Bartholomew Fair, we can only believe—and there are other circumstances and lapses of conduct which tend to justify the belief—that there grew in the soil of America the root Shakspeare speaks of as having the property of taking "the reason prisoner," and that Howe and his officers had all eaten of it.* Six days after the fête Sir William Howe took his departure, Sir Henry Clinton having arrived from New York to assume the chief command. Though guilty of such egregious follies, Howe was much beloved by his officers and men, being a jovial and companionable man, and on all occasions extremely careful of their lives and attentive to their comforts. His over-indulgence, which more than half ruined the army, was not likely to be very severely censured by the majority of the officers of that day. The parting is described as tender and affecting; the bravest of the band are said to have shed tears when the general stepped into his barge. Admiral Lord Howe was almost as eager to return home as his brother; but Lord Sandwich had assured him that it would be considered a very great additional misfortune if the advantage of his able assistance were lost in the present critical state of affairs; and then the rumours of the French war, and then the arrival of the French fleet on the coast of America, induced him to stay. Yet it appears he remained reluctantly, and did not alter his determination to give up his command.*

On the 6th of June, only a fortnight after General Howe's departure, Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, the new commissioners, arrived at Philadelphia to attempt to carry into effect Lord North's conciliatory plan. They made application to Washington for a passport for their secretary, Dr. Adam Ferguson, a most high-spirited and able man, whose name was already advantageously known in the world of letters, and who afterwards devoted himself more closely to historical literature, and left a name which the world will not let perish. Washington harshly refused the pass, which was only to enable Ferguson to lay some overtures of the commission before congress; and he forwarded the letter of the king's commissioners to congress by the common military post. Ferguson, who had a most gallant spirit in a martial frame of body, and who was as well fitted by nature to fight battles as to describe them, returned from Washington's outposts in no small disgust. Congress, after deliberating for some few days on the communications, replied to the king's commissioners, through their president, that the act of parliament, the commission, and the commissioners' own letter all supposed the people of the American States to be still subjects of the King of Great Britain, and were all founded upon an idea of dependence which was utterly inadmissible; that they were ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce not inconsistent with treaties they had previously contracted (Silas Deane had just arrived from Paris with the French treaties ratified, and with abundant assurances of assistance and co-operation), whenever the king of Great Britain should show a sincere disposition for that purpose; the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies from the United States. They expressed their full approbation of Washington's conduct in refusing the passport to Dr. Ferguson. They would not have been quite so bold if they had not expected every moment the arrival in the Delaware of the fleet of Count d'Estaing, with a considerable land force on board. Irritated at what they considered the gross insolence of congress, and encouraged by the well-known weakness of Washington, the British officers looked with impatience for the moment when they should be led on to Valley Forge. But Sir Henry Clinton—apparently limited by his instructions

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.

* This Mischianza called forth the ridicule of Thomas Paine, who put a laughable description of it into one of the numbers of his paper called The Crisis. "He bounces off," says Paine, "with his bombs and burning hearts set upon the pillars of his triumphant arch, which, at the proper time of the show, burst out in a shower of squibs and crackers and other fireworks, to the delight and amazement of Miss Craig, Miss Chew, Miss Redman, and all the other misses, dressed out as the fair damsels of the Blended Rose and of the Burning Mountain, for this farce of knight-errantry." There is a very elaborate account of the Mischianza in the Annual Register for 1778, written by one of the officers present. The affair lasted all day as well as all night. A grand regatta on the Delaware began the entertainment, with all the bands on shore playing "God save the King." After the mock tournament, the company adjourned "to tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors; during which time the knights came in, "and on their knees received their favours from their respective ladies." This was followed by a ball—the Faro table not being omitted—and the ball by the fireworks and a wonderful supper! Eighteen lustres, with twenty-four lights each, were suspended from the roof of the temporary banqueting-hall; 300 wax tapers were disposed along the tables, where there were 430 covers and 1200 dishes. Twenty-four black slaves, in Oriental dresses, with silver collars and armlets, were ranged in two lines, and bent themselves to the earth as the general and admiral approached the table. Towards the end of the supper the herald of the Blended Rose, attended by his trumpets, entered the saloon and proclaimed healths to the king, the queen, the royal family, the army and navy with their respective commanders, the knights and their ladies, the ladies in general; and every toast was followed by a flourish of music. Our officer's description fills thirteen closely-printed columns; —but *Eheu! jam satis.*

from the government at home—was only thinking of evacuating Philadelphia. It was known that Count d'Estaing was at sea, and had the start of his pursuer Admiral Byron, but it was not known on what part of the coast he might throw his troops, or whether his destination might not be our West India Islands. Philadelphia was a very bad point from which to watch the new enemy, or to throw reinforcements to such places as might be menaced. New York too, the far more important position, might be put in jeopardy, if the French should appear in great force. These were certainly strong reasons for recommending a retreat to the Hudson, but it appears to us, as it did to most of the officers present, that before beginning the retreat Clinton ought to have made an assault on Valley Forge. Two days would have been enough for the march and the battle, and a day and a half for the return to Philadelphia. If Washington had staid to fight he must have been thoroughly beaten, and we believe that his intention was to have staid and have risked a battle. As it was, the evacuation of Philadelphia was not begun till the 17th of June, or nearly a month after the departure of Howe. What had been done during that interval—in a length of time in which great men have begun and ended a campaign, and with it a whole war? We know not. It could scarcely have happened that Clinton and his army relied on the effects of Lord North's last conciliatory scheme, or allowed themselves to be kept in a state of inactivity by the procrastination of congress in replying to the commissioners' letter. But even after the reception of their reply, there was time for a movement against Valley Forge—a movement which ought to have been made for the honour of arms; for even if it had been attended with no other consequence than the precipitate flight of Washington, it would have tended to deprive the contemplated retreat of the British of several of its circumstances of discouragement and disgrace, while it would have obviated the necessity of fighting upon the road to New York, when the army would be encumbered with all its baggage, broken into separate divisions, embarrassed by bad roads, rivers, creeks, ravines, and mountain-passes. A day or two more or less could have mattered very little, and, though the ministerial order was peremptory, it did not name the precise day for beginning the retreat. Nothing of this sort, however, was done or attempted; and by three o'clock in the morning Philadelphia was evacuated, and the British army collected on a point of land below the town, at the confluence of the Schuylkill and Delaware, where the boats and vessels of Lord Howe's fleet were ready to receive them, and to convey them over to the Jersey shore, whence they were to march for New York. The disheartened troops were followed by a long and sad train of the inhabitants, consisting of nearly all the royalists of Philadelphia, who carried with them their merchandise and their moveable property. It was a hard fate thus to become outcasts and wanderers with an army which had encouraged them to commit themselves, and which had failed in protecting them in their homes; but the few who ventured to remain suffered worse things at the hands of their countrymen: some were banished and despoiled of all their property, some were thrown into prison and tried for their lives, and two—Roberts and Carlisle, both quakers and men of respectable character—were hanged as traitors. From the Jersey shore the march of the army was exceedingly slow, for the country abounded with rough roads and difficult passes, and Clinton had very properly judged it necessary to carry with him a heavy supply of provisions and baggage. A detachment of Americans entered Philadelphia at one end as the last companies of the British marched out at the other, and Washington had detached General Maxwell, with a brigade, into New Jersey, with orders to assemble the militia, break down the bridges, and harass and impede the British troops, until he, with the main army, which was now rapidly receiving reinforcements as the British seemed flying, should cross the Delaware to fall upon their rear. But the broken bridges were soon mended, the militia were everywhere driven from the passes they occupied, and, though Washington crossed the Delaware and hung upon Clinton's flank and rear, he did not venture to attack him, and carefully selected for himself such ground, and such a line of march, as prevented his being attacked by the British. Several days passed in this manner, the enemy pursuing, or following, being in evident fear of the army that was retreating. Washington, it appears, was for hazarding a general engagement; but, of seventeen generals, only Wayne and Cadwallader were decidedly in favour of attacking the enemy. General Lee, the deserter, who, instead of being hanged, had been recently exchanged, as if the British government had consented to the annulling of the rules of war and laws of nations, was most decidedly against hazarding either a general or partial engagement, vehemently maintaining the opinion that, though Washington had now with him from 10,000 to 12,000 fighting men, and Clinton not more than 10,000 effective men, the Americans must inevitably be beaten. He said that it would be criminal to hazard an action with a force so nearly equal; that the foreign alliances which had been contracted placed America on very safe ground, so that defeat alone could now endanger her independence; that the army ought not to be exposed to the risk of a defeat; that any attempt at a partial action would bring on a general action, which ought not to be fought unless every advantage was on the side of the Americans, which he held not to be the case at present, although the British were in retreat; and he repeated, in his earnest and rough manner, that the superior discipline of the English *must* give them certain victory. As a very high notion was entertained of Lee's military skill, and as it was well known that he had more than once corrected the rashness of Washington, his opinion was of great weight in

the American camp. The Prussian veteran Steuben concurred with Lee, as also did Du Portail, a French officer of some reputation. Young Lafayette, who considered it his duty as a Frenchman to abhor Lee as an Englishman, dissented from him in opinion; but his judgment did not meet with much consideration, and it is even said that he did not *openly* embrace Washington's idea of bringing on a general engagement. These deliberations took place at the very beginning of the retreat, and on the 24th of June, when Clinton was encamped at Allentown, and Washington within a few miles of him, the question was debated again in a council-of-war, wherein the proposition of a general action was again negatived, and a proposal carried to strengthen the detachments which had got on the left flank of the British. And accordingly 1500 picked men were thrown in the direction specified. Washington, however, still clung to the notion of fighting more at large, and he secretly determined so to do in spite of the great majority in the council-of-war. Continuing his retreat, Clinton, on the 26th of June, encamped on some high grounds near Freehold Court-house, in the county of Monmouth. The American corps that had been hovering on his left flank had got into his rear, and had taken post at Englishtown, a few miles off: they had been gradually increased until they were at the very least 4000 strong. General Lee had a right to claim his tour of duty and take the command of this division; but, as he had declared himself against hazarding even a partial engagement, and as, the council-of-war having decided that there should be no battle, he very naturally supposed that nothing more would be attempted than to keep watch over Clinton, restrain his foraging parties, and cut off his stragglers, he showed no disinclination to waive his claim to the command, and to yield the tour of duty to Lafayette, whom Washington proposed because he knew that the young Frenchman would second his heart's wish, and bring on an action, whereas the cautious Lee would not. If all this was not a trick played upon the irritable veteran, we know nothing of deception and juggling; nor can we possibly conceive how any man, though far less irritable than Lee, could have avoided resenting such conduct when it was discovered. Washington's orders to Lafayette were to attack Clinton's rear or flank by detachment, or with the whole force, of 4000 men, as he should see fit. But the Frenchman was scarcely gone to take the command when Lee began to regret having yielded it to him out of his turn; and, pique and jealousy apart, a veteran might see serious objections to committing so large a part of the army to the conduct of an inexperienced officer, one who had not attained the legal age of manhood, and who could scarcely speak the language of the people he was commanding. He therefore earnestly solicited Washington to let him take the command. Washington, after some hesitation, sent Lee with two additional brigades to join the marquis at Englishtown, with the strange order, if true—which we greatly doubt—to take the command, which was every way his right, and yet to carry into execution any enterprise already formed by Lafayette, as if the commanding officer had not been changed, and as if the Frenchman had still the supreme voice. We believe that no general officer in his senses would have submitted to such regulations and restrictions, and that if Lee really submitted to them he had no right to complain of what happened to him afterwards. He reached Englishtown on the night of the 26th, and increased the force there to 5000 men. About the same time, Morgan, with his riflemen, got on Clinton's right flank, and General Dickenson hung on his left flank with about a thousand militia. Unless Washington had been reinforced, the troops which he retained under his own eye in Clinton's front must have been considerably less than the troops in the rear of the British under Lee and Lafayette. On the 27th few or no changes were made, but the Americans were deceived in their expectation that Clinton had not discovered their manœuvres. The English general, however, concluded, from the caution and backwardness they had hitherto displayed, that they intended rather to make an attempt upon his baggage than to risk a general engagement; and he laid his plans accordingly. On the following morning, the 28th of June, at the first peep of dawn, he continued his retreat by sending out General Knyphausen's entire division, consisting of the German troops and a battalion of British light infantry, making, together, 4000 fighting men, with all the baggage, and with orders to move quickly, yet compactly; and at eight o'clock in the morning, and not sooner, in order to avoid pressing too closely upon the enormously long line of baggage, Clinton moved with the other division of his army, placing to defend his rear the brave and active Lord Cornwallis. Cornwallis had scarcely ridden out of the village, and the head of the division had scarcely descended into a plain about three miles long and one broad, when Washington threw forward detachments to the heights of Freehold Court, from which Clinton had moved. Nearly at the same instant intelligence was brought in that large columns of the enemy were marching on both flanks. Clinton, who was riding with Cornwallis in the rear, called a halt, formed into line, and checked the Americans who were running after him down the hill. He then followed them to the heights and made them fly still farther back. This movement brought him in sight of a second detachment drawn up in line on very advantageous ground; and there was another strong column which Lee had been ordered to bring round from Englishtown to make an attack, *not* on the baggage, which had been allowed to go on, but upon Clinton's rear. As Lee saw that Clinton and Cornwallis were turning on their pursuers, not with a weak rear division, as Washington had calculated, but with more than one-

half of their army, comprising nearly *all* the British troops, as his position was a bad one, and as the militia appointed to support him betrayed much unsteadiness, Lee retreated by a side movement, leaving the British to gain the heights and sweep the Americans there before them by a brilliant charge. In spite of the fatigue they had undergone in rushing up the hills under a burning sun, the English followed the fugitives to some distance. A considerable part of the American army, including most of the militia regiments, was in a state of disorder and panic when Washington brought up his main body. Having stopped the flight he galloped to the spot to which Lee had retired, and assailed him with some bitter, reproachful words for having quitted the ground to which he had been ordered—which ground was little better than a morass, with a ravine behind it, into which Lee's column would assuredly have been driven by the British if he had not retreated in time. It appears, moreover, perfectly clear, that Lee still conceived that the decided opinion of the council-of-war was to be acted upon; that no great risks were to be run in bringing on an engagement, and that the real object was to stop the English baggage and to cut off their rear, which last operation was rendered altogether impracticable by Clinton's disposition of his forces. Lee, who had retired with admirable quickness of decision, and with all the order and skill worthy of a clever and experienced soldier, was stung to the quick by the language of Washington; but he obeyed the order now given to wait the attack of a British column on the ground he occupied, and so check the pursuit. Lee was swept from that ground also, but not until he had made a good stand, which allowed Washington time to concentrate his forces; and when he retreated it was again in an admirable manner. We despise the man and his unprincipled vagaries, but it is as certain that Lee was a good soldier as it is that Washington was jealous of him. It is scarcely necessary to state that the French marquis, who was with Lee, assumed the credit of everything that was well done by this division.* The commander-in-chief had by this time posted himself upon strong high ground *behind* a morass, with the so-called Lord Stirling in his left wing, well provided with field-pieces. His whole design was changed, and instead of attacking Clinton he only thought of defending himself. As nearly the entire mass of the American army was collected round about Freehold Court-house, Clinton was under no apprehension as to his baggage escorted by the van and 4000 Germans, and he knew that a few hours' time would allow Knyphausen to get through some defiles, where, if the Americans had been in any force—if Lee's advice, and not Washington's, had been acted upon—they could scarcely have failed in stopping the march of Knyphausen and getting possession of a good part of the baggage. Clinton, with little more than one half of his army with him, could not contemplate any decisive victory, but he counted upon saving all his baggage and giving Washington a blow which he would remember; and in both these objects he succeeded very completely. In spite of the fire of Stirling's artillery, part of the second British line occupied some ground upon Washington's left flank, which was actually turned by the light infantry and Queen's Rangers; but still more artillery was brought to bear upon them; the morass in the American front was impassable; and, having kept up the fight for some hours, Clinton withdrew his men, exhausted by the excessive heat, to the ground he had occupied on the ridge of the hill before Washington's arrival. In the various engagements of the day he had lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, about three hundred men, including twenty officers:* and such was the terrible heat of that day, that three sergeants and fifty-six privates dropped dead without a wound! Washington's loss was somewhat greater. He did not dare follow Clinton, and nothing more was done except firing a few long shots—a useless expenditure of powder and cannon-ball. Having rested till ten o'clock at night, the English general moved from his position and marched by the road he had originally chosen, to join Knyphausen and the baggage, which was all perfectly safe, the Germans having beaten off a few light troops and militia men who had attempted to stop and carry off some of the waggons. Clinton's march in the cool night was pleasant and wholly unmolested—for not a single American ventured to follow him, although they must have been fully aware of his movement, as they had spies everywhere, and as a ludicrous accident occurred which led to a discharge of musketry that lasted five minutes in the British camp.† The events of the preceding day had fully proved that, by their superiority in discipline, one-half of the British army could contend with the whole of the American: Washington had expected a triumph, and had met with a check, and he had determined to hasten to the Hudson by another road, in order to join an army collected by General Gates, instead of following Clinton. Congress, however, celebrated the affair of Freehold Court-house as a great and glorious victory, and an American court-martial suspended

* Lafayette's account of the battle is vapouring and silly in the extreme.

* The most distinguished and most lamented of Clinton's officers was the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, who fell at the head of the grenadiers in the execution of a most hazardous duty. His men gave him what was truly a soldier's burial. "During the confusion of a dangerous cannonade, the battalion in parties relieved each other, until, with their bayonets (being destitute of more proper tools), they perfected a grave, where they laid the body of their beloved commanding officer, placing over it with their hands the earth they had moistened with their tears."—*Stedman.*

† Just as the British were beginning to move off, some American cattle were straggling through a wood, and a battalion of our light infantry, taking them for the enemy, began a sharp fire upon them, which continued for five minutes. Yet Washington, in his letter to congress, says that Clinton went off in such silence and secrecy, that he was not aware of his going; and he speaks as if he would have pursued the British if he had known of their departure in time But, without straggling cows or horses, and the long crash of musketry, he must have been aware of Clinton's movement, for he had outposts close to the British position and patrols going round it to watch it. It was not a dark winter night, but a beautiful night of June.

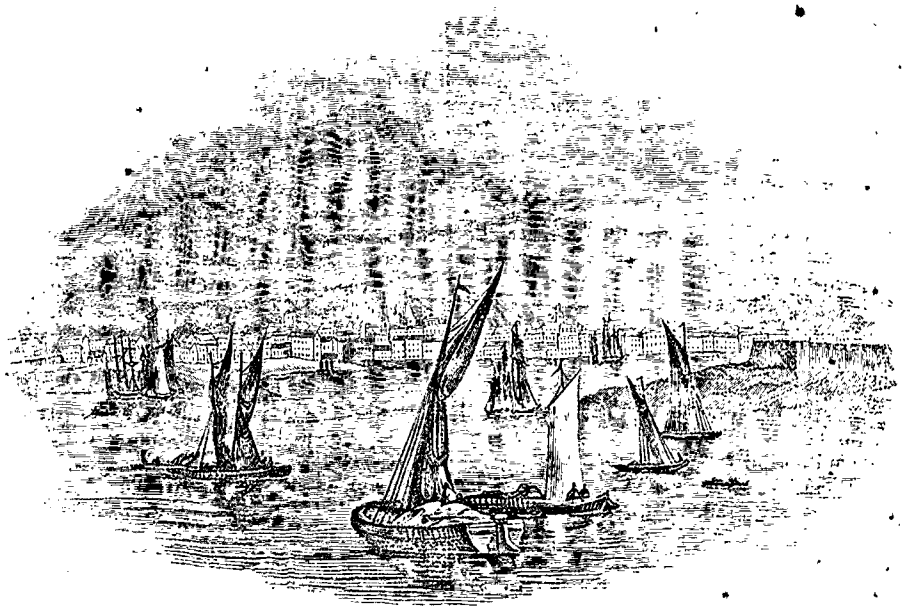
General Lee from all command for his conduct during that day,* and for sharp letters written afterwards to Washington.*

Clinton, with bag and baggage, got safely to New York on the 5th of July, only six days before the arrival of the French fleet under Count d'Estaing, who had lost many days by putting into the Delaware, where he expected to find both Clinton and Lord Howe. But Lord Howe had come round to Sandy Hook, and was now lying there with six ships of 64 guns, three of 50, two of 40, and a few small frigates and sloops. Nearly all of these vessels were old and out of repair, and the crews were short of their complements. D'Estaing's force consisted of twelve sail of the line and three or four heavy frigates: some of his ships were of the largest class, one being of 90 guns, one of 80, and six of 70 guns each. Collectively he had 854 guns to oppose to Howe's 614, and the weight of his metal and the size of his ships were greater in proportion even than the numbers of the guns. From his great superiority of force it was fully expected that the French admiral would attack immediately, but he lay for eleven days at anchor outside the Hook, doing little or nothing except landing M. Girard, the ambassador of Louis XVI. to congress. During those precious days Lord Howe put his ships in order and recruited his crews. English seamen of all classes volunteered their services. "Never, indeed," says his lordship's able biographer, "did the spirit of British seamen shine forth with greater lustre than on this occasion. A thousand volunteers were immediately dispatched from the transports to serve in the fleet; others were daily joining it; masters and mates of merchantmen offered their services. Every disposition was made for the defence of the fleet and the multitude of British shipping in the bay, in the event of the enemy venturing to pass the bar."† As d'Estaing would not come to them, the British sailors were anxious to go to him, notwithstanding their inferiority in ships and guns; but the crisis called for extreme caution—a defeat would have been fatal to the troops on shore—and Howe wisely moderated their ardour and impatience. At last, on the 22nd of July, d'Estaing weighed anchor, just at the time of high water, when his largest ships might have passed the bar without difficulty.‡ All hands in Howe's fleet expected he would cross the bar, and joyfully prepared for a brush with the Frenchmen. But d'Estaing had no such intention; and, instead of entering Sandy Hook; he stood out to sea, and then shaped his course to the northward, to attempt the much easier enterprise of reducing Rhode Island. A few days after d'Estaing had left his anchorage outside the Hook, some two or three of Vice-Admiral Byron's fleet joined Howe, storm-beaten and crippled. If they had arrived a few days sooner, or if d'Estaing had staid a few days longer, they must have been taken by the French. Except one 74, the 'Cornwall'—and she was in no good condition—Byron's ships were little better than wrecks. Every effort, however, was made to put them in sailing and fighting trim; and in the course of a very few days Howe sailed in quest of d'Estaing. That French admiral, having been joined when near the coast by Lafayette with 2000 American troops, entered the Sound—the narrow passage which separates Rhode Island from Connecticut—on the 8th of August, and prepared to land near Newport, the principal harbour of the island, where four English frigates were lying at anchor. As the defence or flight of these frigates was equally impracticable, the commanders landed their crews and set fire to them. The American general, Sullivan, who had been in the neighbourhood of Rhode Island for some months, and not without suffering considerable loss from the British troops on the island, joined Count d'Estaing with some thousands of men to achieve its reduction. Sullivan considered that the supreme command ought to rest with him; but d'Estaing, who was a lieutenant-general as well as admiral in the French service, contended that he ought to command over Sullivan, who had only the rank of major-general. As the Americans were quite as punctilious as the French, a high quarrel arose between the two allies, and they were disputing who should land first, and who second, or whether they should not land both together at opposite sides of the island, but—for the sake of etiquette—precisely at the same moment, when Howe hove in sight with the English fleet. This was on the 9th of August, and before any troops had been landed on the island. The wind was blowing directly into the narrow passage, so that d'Estaing could not issue forth to meet the English fleet; but on the morning of the 10th the wind shifted suddenly, and the count stood out to sea, informing Sullivan that, on his return from beating Lord Howe, he would land the French troops he had on board to co-operate with that general, without any further debate as to precedence. The Frenchman came out with his whole fleet, apparently with the decided intention of engaging Howe. But Howe justly considered the weather-gage too great an advantage to be given to an enemy superior in force, and he tacked and manœuvred in order to get between the French and the wind. D'Estaing, not wholly confiding in the superior size of his ships and bore of his guns, would not risk the loss of the advantage of the wind. In these manœuvres the two hostile fleets ran out of sight of Rhode Island and the Connecticut coast; and Sullivan, after a violent quarrel with Lafayette, who was very eager in supporting what he called the honour of France, and who insisted that operations ought not to be commenced before the return of d'Estaing, landed in the island with 10,000 men, chiefly militia, and began the siege of Newport. This gave rise to

* Marshall,—Gordon.—Stedman.—Ann. Regist.—Ramsay.—Carlo Botta.

† Sir John Barrow.

‡ Lafayette, with his usual accuracy, says that there was not water enough to float the French ships over the bar.



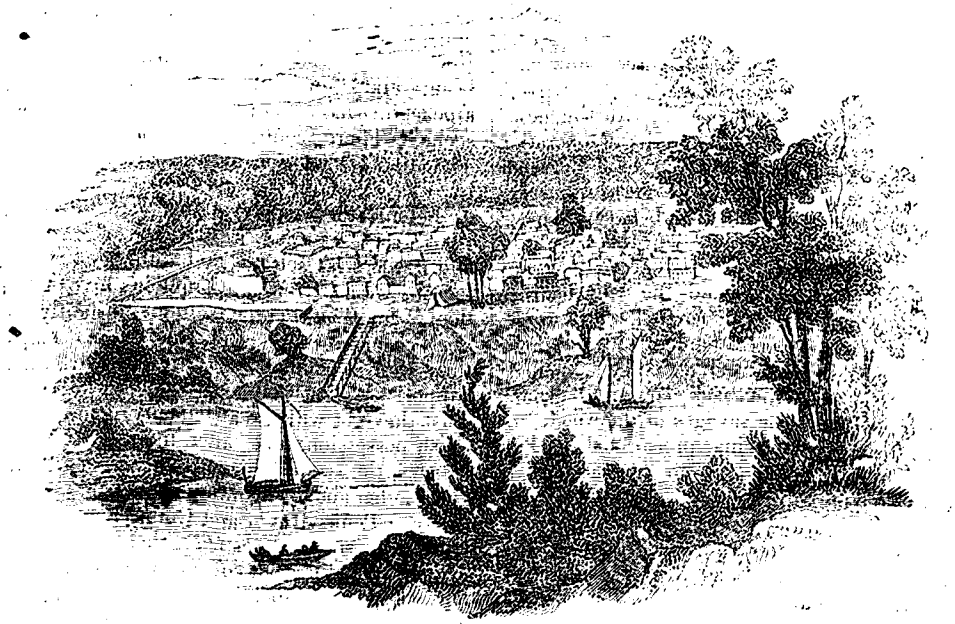
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND.
From a Drawing made by Page in 1778.

furious dissensions between the Americans and their great allies. In the mean time Lord Howe, seeing that the wind was steady, and that he could not, by manœuvring, gain the weather-gage, hove to, formed into line, and prepared to engage d'Estaing to leeward. Whether the French admiral would have accepted the challenge or not, was left undecided by a furious storm which sprung up at the doubtful moment, and dispersed both fleets over the face of the ocean. Both suffered greatly, but, owing to the better skill of our seamen, Howe's fleet suffered least. The 'Languedoc,' of 90 guns, d'Estaing's flag-ship, was dismasted, and other French ships were left in an unmanageable state. This was on the 12th of August. The next day only seven of Lord Howe's fleet were with him. But on the evening of that day the 'Renown,' of 50 guns, fell in with the dismasted 'Languedoc,' and attacked her with great spirit; and Commodore Hotham, in the 'Preston,' of 50 guns, fell in with the 'Tonnant,' of 80 guns, who had only her mainmast standing: both these French ships were cruelly mauled, and only escaped capture by the timely apparition of other portions of d'Estaing's scattered fleet. A day or two after, chance brought together two other ships of the contending parties, neither of which had suffered materially in the hurricane. These were the 'Isis,' of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Rayner, and the 'Cæsar,' of 74 guns, commanded by the celebrated Bougainville. They fought desperately for an hour and a half, being for the greater part of that time close alongside, or within half musket-shot of each other. The Frenchman had borne down in full confidence of capturing the 'Isis,' but his guns were over-loaded and badly served, and at the end of the contest he made off before the wind, with his decks strewed with seventy men killed and wounded. Bougainville lost an arm and an eye. The 'Isis' had suffered too much in her masts and rigging to be able to follow the Frenchman, but she had only one man killed and fifteen wounded.* The storm which had scattered the fleets had done no small mischief to Sullivan's besieging force on Rhode Island, "the Eden of America:" it had blown down all the tents, damaged the ammunition, drenched the soldiers, and caused the death of several of them. When it abated Sullivan renewed his siege; but, though the garrison of Newport amounted only to some 1200 men under the command of Sir Robert Pigott, he did not venture upon an assault, but proceeded by regular approaches. The re-appearance of d'Estaing, shattered and helpless, did not much encourage the besiegers; and, when the French admiral announced his intention of retiring to Boston to refit, they lost all hope, and began to desert and cross over in large bodies to Connecticut. Sullivan commissioned Lafayette to wait on d'Estaing, and remonstrate against his resolution; but the French admiral had strict orders from his government to be very careful of his fleet; he had good reasons to believe that Howe had received reinforcements, and, very naturally caring more for his ships than for the reduction of so insignificant a place as Newport, he adhered to his resolu-

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Captain Schomberg; Nav. Chron.—Ann. Regist.

tion of getting to a place of safety. Sullivan then implored him to leave at least the French land forces he had on board. The bearer of Sullivan's letter was also charged with a protest written in angry terms, and complaining of the desertion of the French, and signed by all the general officers in Rhode Island except Lafayette. But Sullivan's entreaties were ineffectual; the protest was considered as insulting, and d'Estaing sailed away for Boston. General Sullivan then abandoned the siege, and retired to the north end of the island. Sir Robert Pigott pursued him and brought him to battle on the 29th of August. The loss was about equal; but Washington ordered Sullivan to evacuate the island immediately, and Sullivan passed over to the continent in great haste and disorder. He cleared out just in time; for on the following day a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person, arrived at Rhode Island. Sullivan attributed his failure solely to the French, and he published some letters reflecting very severely on the conduct of d'Estaing, and inserted in an order of the day that the Americans had been basely abandoned by their new allies. These animosities rose to such a height that d'Estaing was very badly received at Boston; tumults in the streets followed his arrival; the Yankee seamen hooted the French, and in a scuffle between them M. de Saint Sauveur, a French officer, was killed. Some of the hottest men in congress took up Sullivan's quarrel and complaints, and the French alliance, which had recently been so popular with the revolutionary party, and which was still so useful, was reprobated and reviled with a truly democratic licence of language. Nearly at the same moment other riots happened at Charlestown, in South Carolina, between American and French seamen, and they did not end till several lives were lost on both sides, in a hot fire of artillery and ship-guns.

In the meanwhile, the king's commissioners had published certain strong reflections on the perfidy of the French, which they said was too universally acknowledged to require any new proof. Lafayette, like a vapouring coxcomb, challenged Lord Carlisle for these expressions, so dishonouring to his nation; but his lordship declined the duel, not without marks of contempt for the challenger. After relieving Rhode Island, Clinton returned towards New York as far as New London, on the Connecticut coast, where he proposed making a descent for the purpose of destroying a swarm of privateers. But the weather proved unfavourable, and he continued his voyage to New York, detaching Major-General Grey to Buzzard Bay, in Massachusetts, another famous rendezvous of American privateers. Grey performed this duty with rapidity and success;—he destroyed seventy sail of ships, many storehouses and wharfs; demolished a fort mounting eleven pieces of heavy cannon; and then, proceeding to an island called Martha's Vineyard, he took or burned several more vessels, destroyed a salt-work, and obliged the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and furnish a contribution of 10,000 sheep and 300 oxen, with which seasonable supply of provisions he returned to New York. Shortly after, Major-General Grey, who had enjoyed a great reputation for this kind of enterprises ever since his surprising General Wayne in the wood near Brandywine Creek, made an incursion into New Jersey, surrounded an American detachment at the dead of night, killed most of them, and took the rest, including the commander, Colonel Baylor, prisoners; and a small squadron, under the direction of Captain Collins, with some land troops on board under the command of Captain Patrick Ferguson, not only destroyed a nest of privateers at Little Egg Harbour, on the coast of New Jersey, but also cut to pieces a part of the legion of Count Pulawski. These petty enterprises were conducted with a very rare combination of secrecy, celerity, bravery, and skill; but it was not by such operations that an end was to be put to such a war. A far more important operation took place on the side of Georgia, and its full success gave a hope that the war, if transferred to the southward, might be more successful than it had hitherto been. Some of these southern colonies were a scene of anarchy and horrible confusion, not only the revolutionists and the royalists being in arms against each other, but province fighting against province, sometimes for plunder and sometimes for revenge. Between the people of East Florida, who remained under the British government, and the people of Georgia, who had been the last to join congress, there reigned a demoniac hatred, each aiming at the conquest and occupation of the territory of the other. They had but recently been combating with the fierceness of tiger-cats, when Lieutenant-colonel Campbell arrived at the mouth of the Savannah river with two battalions of British, two battalions of Hessians, four battalions of North and South Carolina loyal militia, and a detachment of royal artillery, a force amounting altogether to 3500 men. It was conveyed thither, and afterwards supported, by a good squadron under Sir Peter Parker. Colonel Campbell's first object was the reduction of the city of Savannah, the capital of Georgia, situated on the southern bank of the river, about fifteen miles from the sea. The place was defended or covered, by the American general, Robert How, with about 1500 men, who were daily expecting to be reinforced. The whole country between Savannah and the sea was impassable to an army, being low, marshy, and intersected by creeks and artificial water-courses; and the ascent of the river was exceedingly difficult on account of sand-banks and shoals. Parker therefore conveyed the troops up the river, and after some delays occasioned by the vessels grounding, he contrived to land them at a plantation about three miles below the town. The first men that moved on from the river-bank were a body of Highlanders commanded by a Cameron. They had to advance along a narrow causeway,



Savannah.—1778. From a Drawing by P. Gordon.

with swamps and ditches on either side, and with some higher ground at the end of it, where the Americans were ensconced in force. As they drew near the Americans received them with a general discharge of musketry, which killed the brave Captain Cameron and two of his company, and wounded five others. But the infuriated clansmen did not allow the enemy time to re-load; they rushed upon them with a fierce cry for revenge, and made them scamper into the woods at some distance. Colonel Campbell led on his force even before his last division was landed from the ships, and presently fell upon How, who was tolerably well posted outside of the town, with swamps, woods, trenches, or deep rice-fields nearly all round him. But Campbell discovered a private path leading through the swamp which covered How's right flank, and he sent some of his Highlanders, light infantry, and New York volunteers round by that path under the guidance of a negro; and, when the Americans found their flank turned and their front assailed by British infantry and artillery, they quickly gave way and ran for their lives. They fled in confusion through the town of Savannah, being closely pursued by the Highlanders, who made many prisoners. Before night 415 of the fugitives, together with 38 commissioned officers, were brought in to Colonel Campbell, whose loss did not exceed 7 killed and 19 wounded. The town and fort of Savannah, with 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, 817 muskets, together with ammunition and stores, and a large quantity of indigo, rice, sugar, rum, &c., were the prize of the conquerors. There was also some shipping in the harbour, with a great quantity of provisions, timber, and other materials. In less than ten days the remnant of Robert How's army was driven across the Savannah river into South Carolina, the southern bank of that river was secured for fifty miles up, and a great majority of the inhabitants came in, took the oath of allegiance to King George, and submitted to the authority of the mother-country, against which they had half reluctantly revolted at the beginning. Colonel Campbell had so much confidence in the sincerity of many of these Georgians, that he formed them into mounted rifle-companies, to patrol the country between his head-quarters and his advanced posts. Other wise regulations were adopted to tranquillize the province, and to render the king's government popular in it. The hot dissenting ministers, who had first preached the Georgians into insurrection and republicanism, either fled across the river, or changed their principles for the nonce. Colonel Campbell did not hang or banish them, as Washington or congress had banished and hanged royalists and quakers at Philadelphia. When men's blood was up, when the troops were exasperated by long suffering and an accumulation of taunts, insults, and injuries, savage deeds, no doubt, were committed in the field; but it can scarcely be said that the arm of government was vindictive or cruel, or that the cool-blooded severities of the law were brought in as an appendix to the hot cruelties of the soldiery. The whole of Georgia was now in the hands of the royalists, except the town of Sunbury, and this place was reduced by General Prevost, who had collected a little army in Florida, where the king's banner had all along floated, and who was now on his way to

Savannah to take the chief command. A number of suffering royalists fled across the frontiers of South Carolina into Georgia, to seek refuge with General Prevost or to increase his force; and not a few of the members of what was termed the aristocratic party of Virginia, disgusted with the new regulations of church and state, and the democratic constitution composed for the colony by Jefferson, retired to Savannah, or repaired to head-quarters at New York.* The animosities between Americans of opposite parties—between the republicans and royalists—were far fiercer than those existing between the English and the Americans; and a constant irregular war carried on between them at various points was attended with circumstances of the deepest atrocity. The expelled Tories or royalists of the back country had, in many instances, joined the savages of the woods, to lead with them a wandering, precarious life, to nurse their resentments, and to increase their ferocity by force of habit and the example of the Indians. These refugees for political opinions were dispossessed of their property, driven empty-handed from their homes; and they considered it a natural right to adopt all means in their power to recover what they had lost, or, at least, to retaliate on their brethren of the triumphant party who had reduced them to the condition of outcasts and vagabonds. These desperate men always found a ready co-operation on the part of the Indians, eager for spoil, and, like themselves, athirst for revenge; they knew the country they had quitted, and where to lead the Indians directly to spoil and booty, and also how to bring them off without danger; they had a list of houses and villages where their personal enemies resided, or where property was deposited; and they could tell to a nicety what places were strong and prepared for defence, and what places weak and defenceless. Under the guidance of these Americans a great number of expeditions were undertaken and were crowned with a melancholy success, for far more property was destroyed than could be carried off, and both they and their allies, the red men, revelled in blood and cruelty. Nearly all the new settlements at the back of the northern and middle colonies felt the terrible infliction of these incursions. But there is one particular place which the genius of the most delicate of our living poets has made a sort of hallowed ground—at least in poetry. We need scarcely name,

"On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!" †

This naturally beautiful district was dotted with eight new townships, each containing a territory of about five miles on both sides of the River Susquehanna. The climate was genial, the soil luxuriantly fertile, and there was that alternation of hill and valley, wood and water, careful cultivation and natural wildness, which constitutes the most picturesque and lovely of scenery. But this terrestrial paradise had been inhabited all along by unquiet spirits, who had laid the foundations of their establishments in war, and who had been obliged all along to protect them with the sword. Romantic travellers, enchanted with the natural beauty and tranquillity of the spot, fondly fancied a peaceful, happy population, in harmony with the scene. There could not be a greater mistake. The district, in the natural order of things, or by its geographical position, seemed properly to belong to Pennsylvania; but the colony of Connecticut claimed it in virtue of an old grant, and it was first settled and cultivated "by a numerous swarm from the populous hive of Connecticut." * The Pennsylvanians instantly set up *their* counter-claim, and referred to maps and their natural boundaries as the best arguments to support it. The Connecticut men, who always held what they got with great tenacity, refused to relinquish possession, and, after many long and angry debates, the two colonies actually went to war with one another about Wyoming. And these hostilities between Pennsylvania and Connecticut were prosecuted with such earnestness, that they lasted even after the breaking out of the war with England, and were only suspended by the near approach of a common danger. Several Pennsylvanian families had obtained a settlement in the district: these, like a very large portion of the colony of Pennsylvania, were decided royalists; and it appears that some of the most considerable of the Connecticut settlers entertained the same political principles. But there, as elsewhere, the revolutionary party gained an ascendancy which they were incapable of using with moderation. The fiercest of factions and feuds raged through all the townships, converting that little paradise into a very hell. These violent animosities were not confined to particular families or places, or marked by any line of distinction; they crept under every roof; they divided father from son, brother from brother; they made an incessant jar and discord; they poisoned all the sources of domestic happiness, and they converted the denizens of the spot into creatures as fierce and savage as the red Indians, or the wild beasts that had formerly occupied it or prowled over it. Such was the real condition of Wyoming, which poets and other writers have described as one of the happiest spots of human existence! The revolutionary party, after oppressing and driving out most of the royalists, sent a large reinforcement to serve in the army of congress, and thus laid themselves open to attack from the savages and from their expelled brethren. They had built some little forts, but these were unequal to the protection of the district, every step of which was familiar to the exiles; and, as their best men had gone to fight against the British, they had but indifferent garrisons to put into these forts. They had received repeated warnings, but they continued to be obstinately blind to their danger, despising the Tory fugitives, and relying on delusive promises made them by some of the

* Stedman. † Thomas Campbell, Gertrude of Wyoming. ‡ Burke in Ann. Reg.

Indian tribes. Early in July they were roused from this dream of security by the sudden appearance of 800 men on the bank of the Susquehanna. Of this hostile force scarcely more than one-half were real Indians, the rest being Anglo-Americans disguised as Indian warriors. The outcasts from Wyoming had been joined by fugitive royalists from other parts of the back settlements. They were reported to be led by an Anglo-American partisan called Colonel John Butler—the same who had offered General Carleton the service of the Indians in Canada, four years before—and by one Brandt, half Mohawk and half American, and (as not uncommon with such hybrids) said to be a man of great cunning and ferocity, with an unquenchable thirst for blood. It appears, however, that there are some reasons for doubting whether Brandt was a man of this character, and whether he was engaged at all in the fatal Wyoming incursion.* But, whoever were the conductors of the expedition, it was conducted with monstrous cruelty—nor could less be expected from such a combination of evil passions and habits. The imagination and the inventive faculties of the Americans were, however, employed in the appalling narratives, which were soon afterwards spread through the world; and it is now established by the best authorities, that scarcely a tithe of the horrors that have figured in many books had any foundation in truth. It is also established as an unquestionable fact that months before the irruption into Wyoming—early in the spring—congress had determined upon carrying the war into the country of the Indians (how mercilessly such expeditions were conducted had been proved the preceding year), and that the design of extermination had only been suspended through want of means and the exigencies of war in other quarters.† On the appearance of the hostile force there were only 60 American regulars in the district, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler, said to be of the same family as the Colonel Butler that was leading on the invaders; but the militia, under the command of Colonel Dennison, amounted to some 300 men. The Indians and their allies entered the valley of Wyoming near its northern boundary, and took without resistance one of the forts called Wintermoots, which they burned. This was the first notice of their arrival. The militia and all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms assembled at Forty-fort, a stronger place on the west side of the Susquehanna, and four miles below the camp of the invaders. Washington was actually sending some regular troops to the district; but Colonel Zebulon Butler rashly resolved, without waiting for their arrival, to go out from Forty-fort and fight these real and sham Indians. He found them well posted in a plain, partially covered with pine trees, dwarf oaks, and underwood; and, while he was moving on in single column, he was saluted by the fire of Indians from behind bushes and trees. Zebulon Butler, however, formed into line; but a body of Indians turned his left flank, which was composed of the militia, and poured a destructive fire on his rear. Upon this the word "retreat" was heard, the militia broke, and it was not in the power of Zebulon Butler and his officers to form them again.* The sixty regulars were obliged to join in the flight; but they could not take the road by which they had advanced;—the enemy was in front, and on one side was a marsh and a mountain, and on the other the deep river. As soon as their line was broken the Indians and their equally savage allies threw down their rifles and muskets, and fell upon them with their tomahawks. The massacre became general—the cry for quarter and for mercy was unheeded. Rather less than 60 men escaped by swimming across the river, hiding in the marsh, or climbing the mountain; only three prisoners were taken and preserved alive; and the rest of the force, regulars and militia, officers and men, amounting altogether to nearly 400, were butchered on the spot. Colonel Zebulon Butler, who, as a regular officer, ought to have proceeded with more judgment, and Colonel Dennison, the head of the militia, had the good fortune to escape. Butler, understanding that no quarter would be allowed to the troops of congress, fled from Wyoming with his very few surviving men. Dennison, seeing the inhabitants so terror-struck "that they gave up the matter of fighting," proposed terms of capitulation, which the enemy granted to the inhabitants. But these unfortunate people, dreading the vindictive visitations of their white brethren as much as the native fierceness of the red men, generally abandoned the fair country, becoming in their turn outcasts and wanderers, without property and without a home. The invaders collected stock and produce, seized upon everything that was moveable and worth, the carriage, burned all the houses, levelled the forts, destroyed all the works and improvements of man, and then, on the approach of a force detached by

* Mr. Thomas Campbell, who, in his Gertrude of Wyoming, had made Brandt figure as the hero of mischief, afterwards made the *amende honorable* to the half-caste. In a note to a subsequent edition the poet says:—"Some years after this poem appeared, the son of Brandt, a most interesting and intelligent youth, came over to England, and I formed an acquaintance with him, on which I still look back with pleasure. He appealed to my sense of honour and justice on his own part and on that of his sister, to retract the unfair aspersions which, unconscious of their unfairness, I had cast on his father's memory. He then referred me to documents, which completely satisfied me that the common accounts of Brandt's cruelties at Wyoming, which I had found in books of travels, and in Adolphus's and similar Histories of England, were gross errors, and that, in point of fact, Brandt was not even present at that scene of desolation. It is, unhappily, to Britons and Anglo-Americans that we must refer the chief blame in this horrible business. I published a letter expressing this belief in the *New Monthly Magazine*, in the year 1822, to which I must refer the reader—if he has any curiosity on the subject—for an antidote to my fanciful description of Brandt. Among other expressions to young Brandt, I made use of the following words:—'Had I learnt all this of your father when I was writing my poem, he should not have figured in it as the hero of mischief.' It was but bare justice to say thus much of a Mohawk Indian, who spoke English eloquently, and was thought capable of having written a History of the Six Nations. I ascertained, also, that he often strove to mitigate the cruelty of Indian warfare. The name of Brandt, therefore, remains in my poem a pure and declared character of fiction." Washington's biographer, Marshall, who took great pains in collecting authentic information concerning the Wyoming inroad, says, however, that "the Indian chief Brandt" commanded the savages.

† Marshall.

* Marshall, Life of Washington.—Letter from Colonel Zebulon Butler to the Board of War, as quoted by Marshall.

Vale of Wyoming. From an Original Drawing.

Washington, retreated back into the wilderness, covered with human blood and scalps, loaded with booty, and leaving behind them a sadder wilderness of their own making—

"'Where whore of yesterday a garden bloom'd,
Death overspread his pall, and blackening ashes gloom'd.'"*

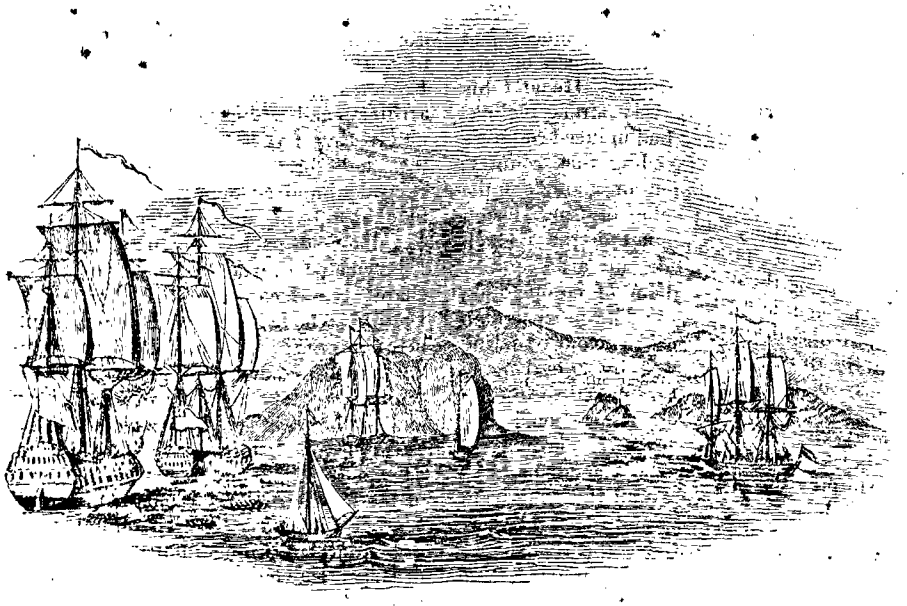
The troops of congress soon retaliated; the regiments Washington was sending were reinforced by a great many riflemen of Morgan's corps; and they rushed upon the Indian settlements, destroyed their corn, burned their villages, exterminated all they could surprise, and forced the rest to retire further from the frontiers of the colonies. The red men who escaped awaited another opportunity for revenge.

After collecting his ships, scattered by the storm, Lord Howe went to Boston with the intention of attacking d'Estaing in that water; but he found the anchorage so effectually protected by batteries thrown up on every point and island in the bay and harbour, as to render any successful attack on the French quite impracticable; and, as it appeared to him from the shattered state of his ships, and the position taken up for repairing them, that d'Estaing had no further intention of engaging in active hostilities, his lordship proceeded to New York, where he received his long-coveted leave of absence. He resigned the command of the squadron assembled at New York to Rear-Admiral Gambier. He next proceeded to Rhode Island, to communicate with Vice-Admiral Byron, who had, at last, come up in person from Halifax, where he had been detained a long while in refitting. To Byron Howe gave up the command of the American station as commander-in-chief; left Rhode Island in the 'Eagle' on the 26th of September; and arrived off Portsmouth on the 25th of October, after a narrow escape from a whole squadron of French ships of the line near the chops of the Channel. The force left under Byron was very respectable; for the fleet, which had been brought together, partly from England, partly from the West India Islands, and partly from Halifax and other stations, now composed an armament of ninety-one sail. If one-half of this force had been collected on the American coast at the end of June, instead of the end of September, d'Estaing must have been intercepted and annihilated, and numerous armed ships, both French and Americans, that had been conveying stores, or had been privateering, must also have been taken or destroyed. The fleet now consisted of one ship of 90 guns, eight of 74, seven of 64, five of 50, and three of 44, making twenty-four sail of the line, as they were then reckoned, thirty-one from 20 to 36 guns, twelve sloops, and twenty armed vessels, bombs, &c.; to which there remained to be added about 20,000 tons of transport shipping for victualling and conveying the army.* With a part of this force Byron went from Rhode Island back to Boston to look after the French; but his usual stormy fortune went with him; and he was driven off the coast by a violent hurricane, in which his ships again suffered so much that he was obliged to seek a port in order to refit. This storm saved the French fleet; and almost as soon as it moderated d'Estaing put to sea, in order

* Gertrude of Wyoming.

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.

to undertake operations for conquests in the West India Islands, which he and his government had at least as much at heart as the success of congress on the American continent. He and his countrymen had, however, a very strong inclination to recover Canada; they had induced congress to revive the scheme for invading that country, without consulting Washington or a single military man of any name; and before quitting Boston d'Estaing issued a proclamation to the French Canadians, urging them to take up arms against the English, and assuring them of co-operation and the most liberal assistance. The proclamation was skilfully drawn up, so as to avoid irritating the jealousy of the Americans, by appearing to assume that the Canadians were to return to their old colonial connexions with King Louis and France; but this ambiguity of expression had the effect of damping the zeal of the Canadians, who had no more love for congress and the Americans than they had testified before, and who therefore determined to remain quiet under the British government, which exercised no oppression, and which still seemed strong enough to protect them in their obedience. D'Estaing stole out of Boston on the very same day that Commodore Hotham sailed from Sandy Hook to escort Major-General Grant with 5000 men, detached by Clinton to protect our West India Islands. Hotham had only five ships of the line, a bomb vessel, and some frigates; and with this inferior force, unknown to him, and equally unknown to the French, he for several days steered the same course, and moved on a parallel line with d'Estaing. A slight shifting of the wind, or the necessity of tacking, must inevitably have brought the two fleets in sight of each other; in which case the chance of Hotham and of the 5000 land troops with him would have been a desperate one, as the French were so greatly superior in force. But this time a tempest was favourable to the English; it dispersed d'Estaing's ships, and, as Hotham, by a mixture of skill and good fortune, kept the English ships and transports together, and on their right course, he made Barbadoes in safety, and joined Admiral Barrington there on the 10th of December. Some time before these movements, and almost as soon as intelligence was received of the breaking out of war with England, the French in the West Indies had been busied in schemes, or in actual operations, for seizing all the sugar islands that belonged to Great Britain. This was the pet project of that portion of the cabinet of Versailles who had forced Louis XVI. into hostilities; this was the by-game which was to be played under colour of supporting the independence of America and vindicating the wrongs of humanity! On the 7th of September the Marquis de Bouillé, governor-general of Martinique, landed with about 2000 men on our island of Dominica, and proceeded to attack the different batteries and forts by land, while the frigates and privateers, French and American, which had brought him there, and covered his landing, attacked by sea. The British government, knowing the importance of the island in a time of war, and the probability that the French would attack it, had sent a grand supply of artillery and stores to Dominica; but, unfortunately, they forgot to send men to man these guns: the whole force of regulars on the island did not exceed a hundred men; the militia, more than half blacks, were not to be depended upon; and, after a gallant but useless defence of some out-works, Lieutenant-Governor Stewart capitulated, and the island remained tranquilly to the Marquis de Bouillé, who behaved with much gentleness and magnanimity. As one island was thus lost before the arrival of our troops from New York, it was resolved to take another island from the French; and, without suffering the troops to land, Major-General Grant forthwith proceeded from Barbadoes to St. Lucie, attended by the joint squadrons of Hotham and Barrington. On the 13th of December five choice British regiments, with all the grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of Brigadier-General Medows, were landed at the Grand Cul de Sac, an inlet in the island of St. Lucie, and were immediately pushed forward to the heights at the end of the inlet, which were occupied by the French commandant, the Chevalier de Micoud, with the regular French troops and the militia of the island. These posts were difficult of access; the force collected on them was equal to the whole of our detachment; but General Medows, admirably seconded by Major Harris, who was in the command of the grenadiers, carried the posts, took a field-piece and a four-gun battery, and drove Micoud before him. While this was doing Brigadier-General Prescott landed with five other regiments, to secure the whole of the bay, and to establish posts to preserve a communication with Medows. As Medows advanced, Prescott's men took possession of the battery and the posts left in their rear; and Prescott, with laudable precaution and industry, strengthened these places, and put them in a state of immediate defence. Unthinking men, who only saw the force of the Chevalier de Micoud, which was retreating before them, blamed these operations as an unnecessary waste of time and labour; but Prescott knew that d'Estaing could not be far off with his overpowering fleet, and land troops aboard; that through his superiority in ships d'Estaing could land his troops on the island; and that every possible precaution was advisable. On the following morning General Medows pushed still farther forward under the heat of a scorching sun, and took possession of the important post of the Vigie, which commands the north side of the Carenage-harbour. Brigadier-General Sir Henry Calder occupied several other posts upon the mountains which looked down upon and commanded the south side of the Grand Cul de Sac; and Major-General Grant, the commander-in-chief of the expedition, lay on the heights called the Morne Fortune. At this critical moment d'Estaing



ST. LUCIE. From a Drawing by D. Serres.

arrived off the island with his twelve sail of the line, a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and transports, and a land force which had been raised by a variety of means to nigh 10,000 men, including at least 5000 French veterans. The English admirals instantly collected all their ships in the Grand Cul de Sac, warped the transports into the bottom of that bay or inlet, to keep them as much out of danger as possible, and then formed a line close and compact right across the mouth or entrance of the bay. Our ships of war consisted only of the 'Prince of Wales,' of 74 guns; the 'Boyne,' of 70; the 'St. Alban's' and 'Nonsuch,' of 64; the 'Centurion' and 'Isis,' of 50 each; and three light frigates. It was evening when d'Estaing arrived, and he lay by for the morning light. It was during the night that the English sailors, with incredible labour, completed the work set them, and that the troops on shore erected a battery or two to bear upon the approaches to the Cul de Sac. In the morning, when d'Estaing stood in, in gallant trim, for the mouth of the harbour, he was saluted by a tremendous fire from these land-batteries, which did some mischief to his own ship, the 'Languedoc,' and induced him to haul off immediately. For some time he hove to, out of the reach of our guns, apparently uncertain as to what he should attempt next. At length, however, he bore down with ten sail of the line upon the British squadron at the mouth of the inlet. A warm but short conflict ensued, and then d'Estaing hauled up again, being thoroughly repulsed by the well-sustained fire of our ships and land-batteries. There was then a pause, which lasted for some hours; but at four o'clock in the afternoon the French admiral made another attempt: bearing down in a different line of battle, he directed his efforts more to the right, from the leeward point of the British line to its centre. His cannonade was exceedingly heavy; its whole weight was concentrated within a narrower space than before, and the whole attack was better supported and of longer duration: but he could make no impression; his own ships began to fall into disorder, and he retired from the action with very considerable loss. On the following day d'Estaing showed a disposition to hazard another attack, but he soon plied to windward and anchored off Gros Islet, about two leagues to the northward; and on the following morning, confident of winning by his troops what he could not obtain by his ships, he landed his soldiers in a bay between Gros Islet and the Carenage Bay. Five thousand picked troops of France were thus thrown between General Grant on the Morne Fortune, and Brigadier Medows on the Vigie, a sort of peninsula. D'Estaing resolved, in the first instance, to direct his entire force against Medows, whom he had cut off from any support from the other division of the British. Medows had only 1300 men, with two twelve-pounders (which Micoud had left behind) and four six-pounders, to defend the critical position upon which the safety of both fleet and army might be said to depend; but his small force was almost entirely composed of veterans—of some of the best troops that had been serving in America; and, notwithstanding their little success, there were none better in the world. The French marched up to the attack with their usual vivacity, being the bolder on this occasion from a belief that half of the troops in their front were only men of colour collected in the neighbouring

islands.* The British reserved their fire till the French were almost upon the muzzles of their guns; but then there was a crash and roar of musketry and artillery, followed closely by a bayonet charge, which drove the enemy fairly off the ground. D'Estaing formed again, and, while the rest of his army kept watch on General Grant, he made two other atttacks upon Medows with his 5000 men. But he was foiled and beaten by the gallant 1300; and when the British division had expended nearly their last cartridge he went about with all that was left of his column, the French retreating as fast as their sense of honour would allow—"a feeling which the gallant soldier has even to the death, that his enemy may not disgrace him with the name of runaway."† The loss the French had sustained was tremendous, exceeding in amount the whole number of British engaged: 400 of them were killed upon the spot; 500 were so desperately wounded as to be rendered incapable of service, and 600 more were slightly wounded. The loss of the British was wonderfully small; and, though many were wounded, not a single British officer lost his life in this memorable action. Harris, whose bravery was conspicuous even where all were brave, says decidedly that the twelve-pounders, previously taken from the Chevalier de Micoud, determined the fate of the day. D'Estaing continued ten days longer on the island in a state of irresolution and inactivity: he dared not attempt another attack on Barrington and the fleet, and he had had quite enough of the land troops, who, moreover, strengthened their positions, and threw up some very deterring batteries. At last, on the night of the 28th of December, he embarked his army and left the island to its fate, being accompanied or followed by a swarm of American privateers, who had hoped to share in the spoil, if not in the glory of the enterprise. As his fleet disappeared, the Chevalier de Micoud descended from some heights to which he had retired, came into the British camp with the principal inhabitants of the island, and signed a capitulation with General Grant, who accorded very mild and favourable conditions. Thus was Dominica lost and St. Lucie won.‡

In consequence of the large drafts made upon it for service in Rhode Island, Georgia, and the West Indies, the army at New York did nothing more this year; and Washington, who had his headquarters at White Marsh, was equally inactive: he would not venture to attack the British on York Island, but retired rather early into winter-quarters. The main body of the Americans was cantoned in Connecticut, on both sides the North River, about West Point and at Middlebrook: light troops were stationed nearer the British lines; and the cavalry were drawn into the interior of the country, in order to recruit the horses for the next campaign. A considerable portion of the men were again *hutted*; but by means of the supplies sent from France, they were tolerably well provided with clothes and blankets, and otherwise enabled to pass the winter with comparative comfort.* Soon after his very unsuccessful expedition to Rhode Island, the Marquis de Lafayette prepared to return to Europe; but his departure was delayed by a dangerous illness till the end of the year. According to his own account, he returned merely to offer his sword to his own sovereign, who was now engaged as a principal in the war, and to induce the French court to send more considerable succours to congress, without any view to the conquest or appropriation of Canada; but congress certainly continued to occupy their minds with a grand Canadian expedition; and, as we believe, both the marquis and his court continued to look with an eager eye to their old colony. Washington, however, very decidedly opposed any operations upon the St. Lawrence. We have mentioned that congress had revived their plan before making any communication of it to their commander-in-chief, although they certainly consulted with Lafayette.† In pursuance of this very extensive plan of operations, one corps was to proceed by way of Wyoming against Detroit and Niagara; another corps was to be stationed on the Mohawk River during the winter, and to be powerfully reinforced in the spring, when it was to seize Oswego and secure the navigation of Lake Ontario, with vessels built on the banks, as had been done by the British under Carleton on Lake Champlain; and another corps was to penetrate into Canada by the old route pursued by Montgomery, whilst still another was to throw itself between Quebec and Montreal. Moreover, the conquest of Halifax and Nova Scotia, the occupation of Newfoundland—where in the course of this year the English shipping had destroyed the fishing settlements allowed the French by the last treaty of peace‡—was to go hand-in-hand with the subduing of Canada; so that not a spot of earth in North America was to be left under the British flag. For these great ends Dr. Franklin and the marquis were to request Louis XVI. to furnish a well-appointed army, which was to sail from Brest under convoy of a good fleet, and to commence its operations with the reduction of Halifax and Quebec. It was not till the month of October that this magnificent plan was transmitted to Washington, who at one glance saw the absurdity and danger of entering upon it. It came to him from congress with a request or order that he would forward it to Dr. Franklin by Lafayette, together with any observations he might have to offer upon it. Instead of complying, Washington instantly set himself to work to drive the whole scheme out of the heads of the men who had framed it. It does not appear that he was more awake than con-

* Letters of Harris. † Id.
‡ Burke, in Ann. Regist.—Letters and Reminiscences of Harris, in Lushington's Life of General Lord Harris.

* Marshall.—Stedman.
† Marshall.—Lafayette's Autobiographical Sketch.—Jared Sparks, Life of Gouverneur Morris.
‡ At the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

gress to the danger of bringing back the French in force as neighbours—neighbours with whom the Americans had never been able to live in peace and amity. The old popular feeling had blazed out in the course of this summer, and was raging at the very moment that congress were devising their grand scheme: the New Englanders had been disquieted by the arrival of the inconsiderable land force which d'Estaing brought with him; their antipathies showed themselves on every occasion, and many of their chiefs and leaders had clamorously asserted the principle that no French troops ought to be permitted to land in their colonies. Indeed, in not a few instances the arrival of the white flag, which all the men of a certain age had looked upon with hatred and horror in their youth, and which many of them had fought against, effected a partial conversion to the old national flag of Britain. Washington, however, in treating the question merely in a military point of view, advanced very strong and convincing arguments against the grand scheme. He paid an unwilling homage to the naval force of England; he stated that with our decided superiority at sea we could not fail of destroying or shutting up in the St. Lawrence any fleet or fleets that should enter it; he reminded congress that their own soil was not yet free from occupation; that Clinton had an army nearly as strong, even numerically, as his own, while some of their provinces were still wavering and unsettled, and the whole country was open on its sea-board to attack. He further showed them that their plan consisted of too many parts, to be prosecuted from Europe as well as from America, by land as well as by water, so that an harmonious co-operation of the whole, and a perfect coincidence of events, could not be counted upon. He added to his long letter to congress that he had disobeyed their order for delivering the plan to Lafayette, because he considered it replete with hazard, mischief, and danger.* Congress then receded so far as to resolve that the conquest of Canada, Nova Scotia, &c., was not to be undertaken until the United States were evacuated by the British troops: but they were sanguine in their expectations that this evacuation would take place, without fighting, the next spring; and their report concluded with recommending "that the general should be directed to write to the Marquis de Lafayette on that subject; and also to write to the minister of these States at the court of Versailles very fully, to the end that eventual measures might be taken, in case an armament should be sent from France to Quebec, for co-operating therewith, to the utmost degree which the finances and resources of these States will admit." In reply to this embarrassing communication, Washington wrote a still stronger letter, imploring congress to let the correspondence with France and the whole scheme drop for the present; and at the end of his remonstrance he requested that they would grant him a personal interview, wherein he might fully explain the state of the army and every other particular. Notwithstanding their hot party divisions, congress assented to this request; appointed a committee to confer fully with the commander-in-chief; and on the 1st of January, shortly after Washington's arrival at Philadelphia, the committee agreed in a report—"that the plan proposed by congress for the *emancipation* of Canada in co-operation with an army from France, and the negotiations upon that point with the court of Versailles, should be deferred until circumstances rendered the co-operation of the United States more certain, practicable, and effectual." The state of their finances, the circumstances of the army, the want of proper artillery and ammunition, the difficulty of penetrating with a regular army by land, the great naval superiority of England, the hostile temper of the surrounding Indian tribes, and the defenceless state of the sea-coasts and frontiers, were laid down as so many strong arguments for giving up the great enterprise, which was, however, to be kept constantly in view: and the report further said "that every preparation would be made, nevertheless, for acting with vigour, and every favourable incident embraced with alacrity to facilitate and hasten *the freedom and independence* of Canada." On Lafayette's arrival in France he was enthusiastically received by all the war party. "I had the honour," he says, in his old French style, "of being consulted by all the ministers, and, what was far better, embraced by all the ladies. Those embraces lasted but one day; but I retained for a greater length of time the confidence of the cabinet, and I enjoyed both favour at the court of Versailles and popularity at Paris. I was the theme of conversation in every circle." As a show of royal displeasure for his disobedience in first going to America, he was ordered not to quit Paris for some days, and to avoid those places in which the public "might consecrate his disobedience by their loud applause."* But the young queen showed him much favour, and at her intercession he was almost immediately honoured with the command of the dragoons of the king's guard. Many brilliant fêtes were given in honour of his return, and at these entertainments Franklin was generally at his side, to take advantage of French enthusiasm, and to put in his witty mot.

The commissioners of George III. gave up their useless task, and returned to Europe before the French marquis. One of their number—Governor Johnstone—who had been a strenuous advocate in the British parliament for the rights (far short of independence) originally claimed by the Americans, had behaved with remarkable indiscretion, by opening a *private* correspondence with some old American friends who were now sitting in congress. He meanly flattered the pride of these men by comparing them with the heroic, upright senators of ancient Rome; and then he held forth prospects of honour and wealth to these patriots if

* Marshall.—Washington's Letters.

* Memoirs of Lafayette, published by his family.

they would forward the plan of reconciliation, which looked so like an indirect offer of bribes, that the members of congress may be excused for giving it that interpretation. In a letter to Robert Morris, Johnstone said—"I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives. But in all such transactions there is a risk, and I think that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think that Washington and the president have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interests, and spare the miseries and devastations of war. I wish, above all things, to see you, and hope you will so contrive it. Do not think Great Britain is so low; remember she never can be lower than *you* were at Trenton. It is the same blunderers who produced the war who have conducted it. When the sense of the nation is roused, believe me she can make struggles that few have conceived, but which I should be sorry to see exerted on such an occasion." He wrote another letter to Henry Laurens, another old friend, and now president of congress, hoping that the commissioners would not be sent back without a hearing, and that he (Governor Johnstone) from private friendship might be permitted to see the country and the worthy characters she had exhibited to the world. Both these letters were immediately laid before congress, and both friends returned very cold and haughty answers. Congress passed a resolution, "That, whereas many letters addressed to individuals of the United States had been lately received from England through the conveyance of the enemy, and were found to contain ideas insidiously calculated to divide and delude the good people, it should be earnestly recommended to the legislative and executive authorities of the several States to exercise the utmost care and vigilance to put a stop to so dangerous and criminal a correspondence; and that the commander-in-chief and the commander in every military department should be directed to carry the necessary measures into execution." A short time after this, Mr. Read, a general officer and member of congress, with whom also Governor Johnstone had been corresponding, stated in his place that a direct offer had been made to him *by a third person*, of a considerable sum of money and of any office in the gift of the crown, if he would co-operate with the commissioners in restoring harmony between the colonies and the mother-country. Read advanced no proof, and congress required none.* They instantly published Governor Johnstone's private letters and the conversation which Read said had been held with him, and they declared that these were direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the congress of the United States, and that it was incompatible with their honour to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esq., especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty was interested. The governor thereupon withdrew from the commission, declaring that he should be happy to find congress inclined to retract their former declaration and to negotiate with others. In a public act executed by him on this occasion, he severely recriminated on congress, and charged them with laying hold of this pretext, to avoid returning an answer to a requisition just made them by the king's commissioners on the subject of the detention of General Burgoyne's army, in the same manner as on a former occasion they had passed resolutions about the cartouche-boxes of that army, to afford a seeming justification for breaking through the convention of Saratoga. To complete the childish part of his performance, he declared in all quarters by tongue and by pen, and in letters to his ci-devant friends, that he had been altogether mistaken in his opinion of them, and of the body politic to which they belonged; that, so far from being high-minded patriots, senators like the old Romans, they were a selfish and malicious set of men, who, to work out their own spite and aggrandizement, would rather sell their country to a French despot than reunite with the most free country in the world, which was ready to grant them every advantage, and far more than they had themselves demanded or expected at the beginning of the contest. The other commissioners—Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Sir Henry Clinton—transmitted a declaration to congress, solemnly stating that they were utter strangers to the private letters and offers, and to the several things with which Governor Johnstone was charged, until they had seen them published in the newspapers; that they neither meant to admit the construction put upon those letters, nor to enter into an explanation of the conduct of Governor Johnstone, whose abilities and integrity required no vindication from them; but that, in justice to him and to themselves, and for the honour of the commission, they thought it necessary to declare that, in all the conversations held with him on the subject of their mission, the principle of his reasoning seemed to be, that the terms which they were empowered to offer to America were calculated to promote and establish liberty,

* Read's story was as curious as it was short, and it was improved, in a ludicrous sense, by some peculiarities or graces of American phraseology. He described the mysterious third person as "*a married lady of character having connexions with the British army*;" and said that her offer was 10,000*l.* in cash, and any office in the colonies the king could bestow. To such a person and such an offer—if there were really any such—the proper reply would have been a laugh; but Read reported to congress that he told the lady "he was not worth purchasing; but such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it." On departing from America, Governor Johnstone wrote to Dr. Adam Ferguson, the able and high-minded secretary of the commission, denying the truth of Read's story. Ferguson published the letter in the newspapers, stating that the governor had placed in his hands proofs and documents, which he was prevented from publishing only by the fear of exposing individuals to the persecution and vengeance of congress. This same Read, two years before, had written to a member of congress—"Had I known the true posture of affairs, no consideration would have tempted me to have taken an active part in this scene; and this sentiment is universal."—*Letters in Almon's Remembrancer, in Ann. Regist. and in Gordon's Hist. Amer. Rev.*

peace, opulence, and security, and that no other political connexion or form of government could be so advantageous to the American people as their re-union with England. In the same declaration the commissioners endeavoured to enforce their former argument, that the connexion with France was full of danger, and not very acceptable to the mass of the American people—that the interference of that power proceeded rather from enmity to Great Britain than friendship to America, and was merely intended to prolong a contest equally injurious to the mother-country and the colonies, and to frustrate the effects of the liberal concessions offered by the British government.* Congress had all along greatly feared the effect of this reasoning upon the popular mind. On a former occasion, when similar reflections were made in a paper from the commissioners, the majority were exasperated, and, pretending a lively regard for the honour of their new ally, the French king, they suspended the reading of the clause by a direct vote.† The present declaration of the commissioners was accompanied with a copy of their former remonstrance on the detention of Burgoyne's troops; and these were the last papers they addressed to congress. The majority of that body had hoped that all the commissioners would have been tired out before this time, and would have broken off their baffled attempts,—a result which they most earnestly wished, as they well knew that in most, if not all, the colonies there was still a moderate party, more considerable by their property and character than by their number,—though this, in many instances, was large,—who thought that the terms offered by the commissioners ought to be accepted, and the connexion with the French set aside at once as incompatible and dangerous; or that, since America could not achieve her independence without the assistance of the French king, and without long years of war, it was better to return to their allegiance to the king of England, whose terms and conditions would leave them virtually in a state of independence—a sovereign state in almost everything except the name. Congress were also anxious to be quit of the discussions about the convention of Saratoga, the infraction of which would not well bear public discussion. But, as Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden kept their temper, and persevered after a torrent of abuse poured upon them by the newspapers of congress, and by the whole republican press, they found themselves compelled to return an answer to the commissioners on the detention of Burgoyne's army. Without attempting to repel the charges brought against them, of having violated the laws of nations and the honour of war, they again laid hold of a subterfuge, and, adhering to their former resolution, they passed another on the 4th of September, which imported that no ratification of the convention of Saratoga that might be tendered by the commissioners in consequence of powers which might reach that case by construction and implication, or which might subject the transaction to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, could be accepted. It must be remembered that, in the convention between Gates and Burgoyne, there was nothing about a ratification, which was an after-thought of congress, adopted, together with the objection about the old cartouche-boxes, to give some colour and disguise to their breach of faith in setting aside what their general, with proper powers for all such purposes, had agreed to. It is also to be noted that their last resolution was adopted without making the least inquiry into the powers under which the commissioners offered to renew the convention; and that, for anything congress knew to the contrary, the commissioners might have had special authority delegated to them for this particular purpose, and independent of their general commission. The British commander-in-chief had now actually such powers of ratification; and, to drive congress from every subterfuge, Sir Henry Clinton, on the 19th of September, transmitted to them an extract from an instruction sent to him by the secretary of state, Lord George Germaine, by which he was authorised, in express terms, to demand the performance of the convention as made with Burgoyne; and, if required, to renew and ratify in the king's name all the conditions stipulated in it. It would have been a curious calculation, beforehand, to guess how congress would get over this last decisive letter, which entirely did away with their former objection as to the ratification by the British government, and which left them absolutely nothing to fall back upon except the old cartouche-boxes. But what they really did was, to take exception at some warm, but not unmannerly, expressions in Clinton's letter, by which that general meant to convey the impression made upon the minds of honourable soldiers by the breach of the convention and the false accusations against gallant troops; and, with a wondrous assumption of dignity, these equivocators and jugglers directed their secretary to write to the British general "that congress gave no answer to insolent letters." But the substantial answer of congress was, their continuing to detain Burgoyne's army!*

Thus ended all negotiation with congress. The commissioners, with considerable effect, appealed to the American people, in order, principally, to keep alive their aversion to the French; and the writing-men of congress set themselves to work to counteract these appeals—to prove to the people that the United States could not in honour break their alliance with France; that the British commissioners were attempting to delude, to bribe, and corrupt; and that nothing but what was good and honourable could be expected from the French connexion and a manly perseverance in the war.

* Documents in Ann. Regist., Almon's Remembrancer, Stedman, and Marshall.

† Jared Sparks, Life of Gouverneur Morris.

* Stedman.

On the 3rd of October the commissioners issued a manifesto and proclamation to the inhabitants of the colonies, of every rank and denomination. In this, their last paper, they recapitulated all that they had done to accomplish the object of their mission, and the refusal of congress even to open a conference with them. They again declared to the members of congress, that they were ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for securing to them and their respective constituents the re-establishment of peace, with the exemption from any imposition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union of interests and force on which their mutual prosperity and the safety of their common religion and liberty depended. They again asserted that congress were not authorised by their constitution either to reject their offers without the previous consideration and consent of the several assemblies and conventions of their constituents, or to refer the commission to *pretended* foreign treaties, which they knew were delusively obtained in the first instance, and which had never yet been fairly ratified by the American people: and they once more reminded the members of congress that they were responsible to their own countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miseries with which it must be attended. They called upon the general assemblies and conventions of the different colonies and provinces, and separately made them the offers which they had originally transmitted to congress; and they urged them to meet, expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not lead them to embrace the occasion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. "It has not been, nor is it," continued the commissioners, "our wish to seek these objects by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill-suited to the generous offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the state which makes them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage and support any man, or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our sovereign and of affection to our fellow-subjects." They next told the Americans, with whom the honours of a military life had become an object,—and this was the case with many, and the difficulty of acquiring the highest of those honours had had no small weight in hurrying on the revolution,—that they might seek those distinctions under the banners of England, and in fighting the battles of the United Empire against their mutual and natural enemy: they told the professors of religion that the foreign power with which congress was endeavouring to connect them had ever been averse to toleration; they told the agriculturists, the manufacturers, and merchants, that their leaders were involving them in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue or a subsisting grievance which might not instantly be redressed. They affirmed that the whole nature and manner of conducting this war must be changed since France had entered into the quarrel; that the policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain had hitherto checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country which was expected to become again a source of mutual advantage; but now that America was professing the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from England, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to the enemy of both, the whole contest was altered, and the question now would be how far Great Britain might, "by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France." As to the *sine qua non* of congress—the recognition of independence—they declared that they neither possessed nor expected powers for that purpose; and that, if Great Britain *could ever have sunk so low* as to adopt such a measure, they would not have been instruments in making a concession which, in their opinion, would be calamitous to the colonies and disgraceful as well as calamitous to the mother country. They called to the mind of the colonists their own solemn appeals to Heaven in the beginning of this contest, that they took up arms only for the redress of grievances; and that it would be their wish, as well as their interest, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain: they asked them whether all their grievances, real or supposed, had not been redressed; and they insisted that the offers they had made left nothing to be desired either in point of immediate liberty or permanent security. Notwithstanding all the obstructions and insults which they had encountered, they still declared their readiness to proceed in the execution of their pacific powers, and to treat not only with deputies from all the colonies conjointly, but with any provincial assembly or convention at any time within the space of forty days from the date of their present manifesto. They also proclaimed a general pardon for all and all manner of treasons, or misprisions of treasons, and all kinds of hostile or rebellious practices committed at any time previous to the date of this manifesto, to all such persons, whatever their rank or condition, whether civil or military, as should within the said term of forty days withdraw from their opposition to the British government, and demean themselves for the future as peaceable, faithful subjects to his majesty; denouncing at the same time the utmost vengeance of the British nation against such as should persist in their rebellion, or be instrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majesty's subjects within the colonies. And, in order that the whole contents of the manifesto might be fully known, copies were made of it in English and in German, to be transmitted by flags of truce, and the commissioners set their hands and seals to thirteen copies, being one for each colony. Congress passed a resolution recommending the exe-

cutive power in each of the States to seize and imprison all such persons as, under pretence of a flag of truce, should be concerned in distributing or delivering the manifesto, as violators of the law of nations by circulating seditious writings. On the 30th of October congress replied to the commissioners by a manifesto of their own. They too appealed to the justice of their cause and to the omnipotent Disposer of human events. They accused Great Britain of the most monstrous tyranny and oppression; they accused her troops of incendiarism, murder, and butchery; they asserted that they themselves had been models of forbearance, moderation, and humanity. They ripped up the old stories and letters of Governor Johnstone, and, applying them to the whole commission, they said that, foiled in their attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, the commissioners had meanly assailed the representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the servility of adulation. There were other passages equally strong—there were two more appeals to Almighty God—and the whole thing was a recrimination and defiance. They solemnly declared and proclaimed that, if their enemies should presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present barbarity, they would take such exemplary vengeance as should put a stop to such conduct. This bold note of defiance was published in all their newspapers, from which they rigidly excluded the manifesto of the commissioners. They adopted every precaution, they resorted to all the strong measures, and all the secret measures, which are held to be justifiable in the freest countries in a state of revolution to intercept, put down, or imprison all such persons as seemed disposed to accept the terms offered by the British government, or as employed themselves in circulating the papers of the commissioners. These functionaries remained at New York some little time beyond the forty days; and then, after making some regulations for the benefit of the trade of New York and Rhode Island, they closed their commission. As it was found impossible to conceal or root out the numerous copies of their manifesto, congress at last published it themselves in their newspapers, but most copiously interlarded with comments and diatribes to disguise its meaning and counteract its effect. A vessel bearing a flag of truce being wrecked on the coast, the officers and crew were made prisoners of war; and the requisition of Admiral Gambier for their release, in consequence of the privilege of his flag, was answered by a declaration that they had forfeited the benefit of a flag of truce by having on board seditious papers—that is to say printed copies of the manifesto without American comments. It is true that congress was not scrupulous as to the modes by which they added to the number of their prisoners of war; but it seems also certain that they were exceedingly apprehensive of danger from the promises and the anti-Gallican reasoning of the commissioners; and that that paper, in spite of all their efforts, produced a very considerable impression in several parts of the country. Some doubts, moreover, got abroad as to the integrity and proof against bribery of several conspicuous members of congress. As for the French minister, M. Girard, and his suite, they were courted and consulted in the most flattering manner by the overruling majority of congress; but beyond this narrow pale they rarely found themselves very welcome guests; and they considered that they had many reasons to complain that the people they had come to serve and befriend treated them as their worst enemies. Already a significant distinction was drawn which has lasted ever since; the ultra-revolutionists were called the French party, the moderates the English party. It moreover became evident that even the French party could not always agree in the plans and schemes of the French ambassador, or of the ministers at Versailles.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. The king in his speech said, it was a conjuncture which demanded the most serious attention. He then proceeded immediately to the conduct of France. "In a time of profound peace," said the speech, "without pretence of provocation, or colour of complaint, the court of France hath not forborn to disturb the public tranquillity in violation of the faith of treaties and the general rights of sovereigns; at first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aids to my revolted subjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their support and entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length by committing open hostilities and depredations on my faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of my dominions in America and the West Indies." The speech further said that his majesty, from the same care and concern for the happiness of his people which had induced him to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, would be desirous to see a restoration of peace whenever it could be effected with honour and with security to the rights of the country. It stated that his majesty had not neglected to take the proper measures for disappointing the malignant designs of his enemies and for making reprisals; and that, though his efforts had not been attended with *all the success* which the justice of his cause and the vigour of his exertions seemed to promise, yet the extensive commerce of the country had been protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals had been made upon the aggressors by the vigilance of his fleets, and by the active and enterprising spirit of his people. It then alluded to the preparations going on in Spain, and said that, however friendly and sincere the professions made to us, it was a subject that must necessarily engage attention. After mentioning the complete failure of the commissioners and of the conciliatory measures planned by the wisdom and temper of parliament, it continued—"In this situation of affairs the national honour and security call so loudly upon us for the most active exertions, that I cannot doubt of your heartiest concurrence and sup-

port. From the vigour of your councils and the conduct and intrepidity of my officers and forces by sea and land, I hope, under the blessing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and maintaining the honour of my crown and the interests of my people against all our enemies." The speech concluded with saying that his majesty, according to the powers vested in him, had called out the militia to assist in the defence of the country; and that he had with the truest satisfaction been himself a witness of that public spirit, steady ardour, and love of their country, which animated and united all classes of his subjects, and which could not fail of making us safe at home and respected abroad. In both Houses the address was warmly opposed. In the Commons the opposition moved an amendment—"to assure his majesty that from zeal and affection that House was ready to give the most ample support to such measures as might be thought necessary for the defence of those kingdoms, or for frustrating the designs of that restless power which had so often disturbed the peace of Europe; but that they thought it their duty to inquire by what fatal councils and unhappy systems of policy this country had been reduced from that splendid situation, which in the early part of his majesty's reign made her the envy of all Europe, to her present dangerous state, which had of late called forth our utmost exertions without any adequate benefit." In the course of the debate the blunders of administration in managing the war—and they certainly were numerous and palpable—were most severely commented upon. It was insisted that, considering the conduct of ministers, the war office, and the admiralty, the success of our arms had been far greater than could have been expected from the inferiority of our fleets, and the shameful tardiness of our preparations: that taking these circumstances into account, our escape from ruin or disgrace was quite marvellous; and that consequently the speech from the throne not only asserted "*a falsehood*," but also threw "a false, unjust, and illiberal slander on the commanders in the service of the crown; loading them with a censure which ought to fall on the ministers alone." Charles Fox, with great spirit, entered into the details of the operations of the grand fleet commanded by Keppel and Palliser, and attributed all the blame of its failure—the escape of d'Estaing to America and the non-destruction of d'Orvilliers—to the disgraceful conduct of ministers and the admiralty, who had sent the fleet to sea too late, and inferior in force to the French. This was a subject which had been universally discussed in the country, and almost everywhere with angry feelings; though the popular opinion was, that Sir Hugh Palliser, in not answering to the signals made by Keppel, and in not bringing up his division, had been the sole cause of the failure. Few or none of the people seemed disposed to allow that the disparity of force, considerable as it was, ought to have prevented the destruction of d'Orvilliers; and very few weighed the winds and tides, or sufficiently reflected on the force of party bias, in judging between the Whig Keppel and the Tory Palliser. At two o'clock in the morning the amendment was rejected by a majority of 226 against 107. In the House of Lords the debate was equally hot. The opposition there proposed no amendment to the address, but condemned it in toto, with all the king's speech, to which it was a response, and proposed putting an absolute negative on the whole. They declared that government was proceeding upon false principles, upheld by obstinacy, folly, and error, and inevitably tending to ruin and destruction; that this system must be changed and effaced—that new men, new measures, must be adopted before we could hope for success in war or honour and security in peace. They repeated that ministers had shown themselves wholly incompetent to the management of the war even when we had none but the Americans to contend with, and that it was not to be expected they would be able to conduct the war when France had already joined the Americans, and Spain was preparing to do so. The Lords in administration, or voting with it, thought it would be monstrous to refuse addressing, more particularly as the speech dwelt solely on the dangers of the kingdom from the perfidy of France, and as the address went no further than a general declaration to suppor this majesty in a war against France. They contended that a direct negative to the whole would amount to a refusal of that support, and would include a submission to all the machinations, claims, or injuries offered by France. The opposition lords replied that refusing to address conveyed no negative to the support of any system of war or politics; that it only conveyed their determination not to give the smallest degree of credit or support to the present ministers. The address, however, was carried by a majority of 67 against 35.*

On the 2nd of December the sea-fight off Ushant was brought under debate, and Mr. Temple Luttrell said that the whole of that transaction demanded a particular and close inquiry, as the country at present could not discover on whom the blame of that failure was to lie. He added that the two admirals were both in the House, and were bound to give information, as well for the sake of their own honour as for the sake of public tranquillity. Some weeks before the meeting of parliament Sir Hugh Palliser had published a letter in the newspapers vindicating his own conduct, and replying to some violent attacks which had been made in the papers upon it. He required Keppel to authenticate his statements, but that superior in command declined doing anything of the sort, although in his official despatches he had approved the conduct of Sir Hugh in the battle. When called up in the House by the remarks of Temple Luttrell, Admiral Keppel said, that he could not consider that the honour of the British flag had been tarnished in his hands, or

* Ann. Regist.

that the affair off Ushant was in any way disgraceful: he declared that he blamed no man, and was persuaded that Sir Hugh Palliser had shown *no want of courage*. Keppel next read a paper describing how he had been appointed by the Admiralty, &c. (He had been taken from the ranks of opposition to command the fleet.) He hoped he should not be forced to answer particular questions about individuals, but he was ready to explain his own conduct as chief commander in the battle, in that House or elsewhere. He affirmed that nothing was left untried to bring the French to a decisive action. He then fell upon Palliser and his publication in the newspapers: he expressed his astonishment at seeing that officer appeal to the public in such a manner, signing the letter with his name, when no accusation was made against him; he said that the object of the letter was to render him, his superior in command, unpopular and odious; and he declared that he would never again embark in a fleet with such an officer, who could conduct himself in a manner so destructive of all discipline and all order. Sir Hugh Palliser, who could hardly remain silent, rose and said, that he was as eager as his superior for inquiry—that it was his interest to seek it.* He challenged Keppel to deliver his opinion without disguise, so that he might be able to give a full answer. If the newspaper letter was wrong, he alone must bear the blame; but he could not but complain of the aspersions thrown upon his character. He said that, though his courage was allowed, insinuations had been thrown out that he might have been neglectful or disobedient to the signals of his superior; that he had vainly sought an explanation from Keppel before appealing to the public with a detail of facts by which he would stand or fall. He solemnly denied that he had refused to obey signals, and ended by saying that he feared neither a parliamentary inquiry nor a public trial. Admiral Keppel, speaking again, asserted that one of his signals was unobeyed, though it was flying for five hours; but he would not charge the Vice-Admiral Palliser with actual disobedience, as the condition of his ships and the state of their rigging might, as represented by him, prevent his coming up. Immediately after this debate Palliser, who was as much in favour with government as he was out of favour with the people, presented specific charges against Keppel; and thereupon the Admiralty ordered a court-martial. This conduct of government led to a most violent debate in the Commons, and twelve admirals, including Lord Hawke, Admiral Moore, the Duke of Bolton, Admirals Graves, Pigott, and Harland, the Earl of Bristol, Admirals Young, Burton, and Geary, Lord Shuldham, and Admiral Gayton, subscribed a strong memorial to the king, lamenting the injury done to Keppel, and to the service at large, by ordering the court-martial, and complaining, in no very gentle terms, of the impropriety of Palliser's conduct. This memorial was presented to his majesty by the Duke of Bolton. Temple Luttrell moved an address for the trial of Palliser. This produced a violent altercation between the two admirals. Palliser accused Keppel of acting ungenerously and unfairly, and said that he had preferred the accusation solely from the necessity of vindicating his much-slandered character. Keppel charged the vice-admiral with mutiny, and thanked God that in the approaching court-martial he was not the accuser. The whole body of opposition warmly took part with Keppel, and many of the country gentlemen went to the same side. Burke, who had become intimately acquainted with Keppel at the house of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and who always looked on that admiral as one of the greatest and best men of his age, was particularly warm in the House, and he afterwards accompanied him to Portsmouth and attended him with zeal and anxious affection "through that his agony of glory"—the court-martial.* On the motion of Admiral Pigott a special act was passed, on account of the state of Keppel's health, to enable the court-martial to sit on shore instead of sitting as usual on board ship.

A. D. 1779.—The trial of Admiral Keppel commenced in the governor's house at Portsmouth on the 7th of January, before five admirals and eight captains; Sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, being president. It lasted thirty-two days. The charge was general and vague, being little more than that he had lost a glorious opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and thereby had tarnished the honour of the British navy. On the 11th of February the court-martial unanimously gave sentence :—That it was their opinion the charge against Admiral Keppel was malicious and ill-founded; it having appeared that, so far from having by misconduct or neglect of duty lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, and therefore tarnished the honour of the British navy, he had behaved as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. Upon this acquittal the cities of London and Westminster were illuminated two successive nights, part of the lamps and candles being lighted voluntarily and spontaneously, and part through the intimidation of the mob, who were enthusiastic in their friendship for Keppel, and their hatred of Palliser. The portico of the Mansion House was illuminated with upwards of three hundred glass lamps; the bells of several churches were rung, guns were fired, and other manifestations of joy were made. In apprehension of mischief, a guard, both horse and foot, was placed before the house in Pall-Mall lately occupied by Sir Hugh Palliser; but, this guard being withdrawn a little after midnight—at the choicest hour for mischief—a mob broke all the windows, then broke open the door, destroyed great part of the furniture, and threw the rest out of the window. The troops being again sent for, some of the rioters were taken in the house and

* Burke, Letter to a Noble Lord on his Pension.—It was said that Burke assisted Keppel in drawing up his defence.

committed to prison. In other directions the mob made more work for the glaziers: the windows of Lord George Germaine and Lord North were demolished, as were also the windows of the Admiralty. At this latter point the spirit of mischief was most active; the mob took the great gate from its hinges, collected all the sedan-chairs that were in the neighbourhood, threw them into the court-yard of the Admiralty, and made a great bonfire of them. Well-dressed men were mixed with the rabble and assisted in these performances. Captain Hood, who lived in Harley-street, and Lord Mulgrave, who lived in Berkeley-square, also sustained a great loss in window-glass. Effigies of Palliser were carried about suspended by the neck, and afterwards burnt. Between three and four o'clock in the morning, when the mob seemed determined to force an entrance into Lord North's residence in Downing-street, a party of foot-guards and a detachment of horse were assembled, the riot act was read, and the crowd dispersed, leaving sixteen of their number prisoners. All this was on the night of the 11th. On the 12th a court of common council passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Keppel, together with the freedom of the city, to be presented in a box made of heart of oak richly ornamented; and that evening the city was more brilliantly illuminated than before, and the Monument was decorated with coloured lamps. In the course of the same day both Houses of Parliament voted thanks to Keppel: in the Commons there was only one dissenting voice; in the Lords the vote was unanimous. A day or two after Sir Hugh Palliser demanded a court-martial on himself, vacated his seat for Scarborough, resigned his seat at the board of admiralty, the government of Scarborough Castle, and his colonelcy of the marines, retaining only his appointment as vice-admiral. Keppel, though called on by the Admiralty, refused to lay any accusation against Palliser; yet, when the court-martial met, Keppel was of necessity a principal witness. The trial lasted twenty-one days; it was held on board the 'Sandwich,' in Portsmouth harbour; the court was composed of two admirals and eleven captains, Sir John Darby, vice-admiral of the blue, being president. Their sentence was—that, though his conduct and behaviour in battle had been in many respects highly exemplary and meritorious, they at the same time could not help thinking it was incumbent upon him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of his ship, to which he attributed his not joining; but that, notwithstanding his omission in this particular, they were of opinion that he was not in any other respect chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour, and that, therefore, they fully acquitted him. The opposition in parliament, a large part of the public, and we believe Keppel himself, considered that Sir Hugh had been let off thus easily through the manœuvres of ministers and in order to give satisfaction at St. James's; and assumed as it had been all along as a certainty that nothing but misconduct in one or other of the commanders could have prevented a most decisive and glorious victory, it was asked how, after Keppel had been acquitted, Palliser could be declared almost not guilty, and be permitted to escape with so slight a reprimand. At the same time, Keppel complained of the cold, dry manner in which he had been ordered to resume the command of the fleet, of the omission in the letter from the admiralty board of parts of the sentence which were most to his honour, and of the sullen reception he had met with at court. His friends in opposition contended that the whole line of conduct pursued by ministers in this affair went to confirm an opinion than which nothing could be more scandalous and disgraceful to government, namely, that the attack upon the admiral's life and honour was the effect of a combination framed under and supported by the sanction of authority. Fox conducted these attacks in the Commons, and made a variety of motions, all bearing pointedly and heavily upon Lord Sandwich as the first lord of the admiralty. On the 3rd of March Fox moved that the sending Admiral Keppel to sea in the first instance with only twenty ships of the line and four frigates, at a time when a French fleet, consisting, as there was reason to believe, of thirty-two ships of the line, and certainly of twenty-seven, with a great number of frigates, was at Brest and ready to put to sea, was a measure greatly hazardous to the safety of the kingdom, &c. And at the same time Fox announced his intention of moving an address for the immediate removal of the first lord of the admiralty, affirming that there were facts sufficient to warrant the House to impeach him. In this debate Admiral Keppel, who had determined to resign the command of the grand fleet, gave his personal testimony, which was not very favourable to Sandwich. Keppel said that on his first taking the command of the fleet it was in no very good condition; that afterwards the admiralty-board made very laudable exertions, but, after all, had sent him to sea too weak; that he believed the French fleet to be as strong as was represented in papers found on board the frigates which he had taken, and that upon that conviction he thought himself compelled, for the first time in his life, to turn his back on the enemy. Lord North and Lord Mulgrave, who was a captain in the fleet, endeavoured to defend government, and to throw back a good portion of the blame upon Keppel: they pretended to doubt whether d'Orvilliers's fleet was really so strong as was reported, and whether the English admiral ought not to have waited for him in the first instance without returning to Portsmouth for more ships. In the end, Fox's motion was negatived, but by a less majority than usual, the numbers being 204 against 170. Five days after this, Fox moved a resolution, that at the commencement of hostilities with France the state of the navy was unequal to what the House and the nation were led to expect, as well from the declarations of mi-

nisters, as from the large grants of money, &c. In his very animated speech, Fox said that nothing but good fortune had saved the country from invasion and destruction. Lord Mulgrave, in replying, said that all the chance and good fortune had been on the side of France—that nothing but good fortune had saved d'Orvilliers from Keppel, and d'Estaing from Lord Howe. The admiral last named, who had been ordered to strike his flag on his arrival at Portsmouth, was now in the House of Commons as well as Keppel, and was scarcely in a better humour with the administration. His natural taciturnity was overcome by his feelings and resentments, and Howe declared that he had been deceived in accepting the command in America; that he had been ill used while he held that command; and that, from all that he had suffered, he would never return to active service under the present administration, which had shown so much weakness and treachery. Before this, Howe had declared strongly for Keppel and against Palliser, whose whole conduct he considered to be such as to render it impossible for him to be continued in the navy. Fox's present motion was lost; but a few days after he returned to the charge, and moved that the omission to reinforce Lord Howe in America before the month of June, and the not sending a fleet to the Mediterranean, were instances of gross misconduct and neglect. He was again out-voted; yet, on the 19th of April, he made his promised motion for dismissing Lord Sandwich from his majesty's presence and councils for ever. This motion, too, was negatived, the numbers being, upon a division, 221 against 118. A similar motion was made a few days after in the Upper House by the Earl of Bristol, who endeavoured to show that, since the resignation of Lord Hawke, the navy had rapidly decayed, and the expenses of it had as rapidly increased. Here Sandwich was present to speak for himself. He justified the increase of expense by stating the increased size of the ships and the great accumulation of material and stores of all kinds; he said that during the management of his official predecessor the stores were not a sixth of what they now were, and the ships then built had been built with green timber, so that, though cheaper, they had soon become rotten and useless. Upon these facts, and upon the principle that he was answerable only for the use of the means placed at his disposal, Sandwich made a stand, avoiding the question of the use and distribution of our ships, and screening himself behind the determinations of the cabinet sanctioned by the king. It was his sole duty to see the navy in a proper condition, but in all beyond that he had only one voice among many. Lord Bristol's motion was negatived, like Fox's: the ministerial majority was 78 against 39. Twenty-six peers entered a protest. Other motions mortally hostile to Sandwich were made in both Houses, but they were all out-voted by majorities of nearly two to one, which was now about the relative strength of administration and opposition, and no longer four to one, as in the earlier days of Lord North's government. The resignation of Keppel was closely followed by those of Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsey, and some other officers of distinction, who declined acting under the present system. It was even reported and believed that no less than twenty of the best captains in the navy contemplated throwing up their commissions on one day in a body. In this state of things the surprise was not equal to the alarm, when, a few weeks after, symptoms of mutiny appeared among the seamen of the grand fleet now assembled at Torbay—symptoms which were not suppressed without difficulty.*

The war-office was scarcely left more tranquil than the admiralty. Lord Barrington had been at last allowed to escape out of its troubles in the preceding month of November, with a pension of 2000*l.* a-year; and Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool) had been named secretary-at-war in his stead. Barrington for a long time had disapproved of the whole management of the war, and had evidently thought of our generals as Lord North did, who said—"I do not know whether they will frighten the enemy, but I am sure they frighten me whenever I think of them." On one occasion Barrington represented to the king that he had not one general in whom his majesty, the nation, or the army would place confidence in case of the invasion of Great Britain or Ireland! General Sir William Howe was now in the House of Commons as well as his brother the admiral, and much more inclined to make long speeches; and General Burgoyne was improving his abilities as a debater by frequent practice. At the first opening of the session Burgoyne had imputed not only his own misfortune, but the failures of all commanders, whether by land or sea, to the intermeddling, short-sighted, and incapable ministry; and he had moved that all the letters written by himself and other commanders to government since the convention of Saratoga should be laid before the House. Lord North readily granted these papers, which brought on vehement debates. Shortly after Burgoyne's motion, Sir William Howe made a similar one for copies of all letters that had passed, during his command, between him and the secretary of state for America. Howe excused Lord North, but it was only to throw the whole weight of his accusations upon the unpopular secretary, Lord George Germaine, under whom he was sure the war could never be properly conducted. He pointedly charged Lord George with interfering on all occasions with the management of the army in America, of imposing restraints and schemes of his own, conceived in total ignorance of the country which was the scene of the war. It will still, however, be questioned whether any extent of presumption and misconduct on the part of the secretary could excuse half of the errors committed by the general. Howe's call for papers

* Ann. Regist.—Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.

was as readily granted as Burgoyne's. Lord North further consented that the House should go into committee for inquiring into the whole conduct of the American war; and an application was made to the House of Lords to permit the attendance of Earl Cornwallis, a most material witness. But, after this, North endeavoured to quash the inquiry, paying many compliments to Sir William Howe, whose character he said was fully cleared by the letters produced, and by the repeated assurances of government that they approved in the warmest manner of his services. The minister, however, found that this attempt was attended with great odium, and he was obliged to let the examination of witnesses go on. The officers examined dwelt at great length upon the physical features of America, which must make every war by land exceedingly slow, uncertain, and difficult. Lord Cornwallis warmly defended the generalship and whole military conduct of Sir William Howe; and other officers, upon better grounds, applauded the great personal affection which had constantly existed between Howe and his army. As ministers had not been able to quash the inquiry, they now thought themselves obliged to call up counter-evidence in their own behalf; and Mr. de Grey moved for a summons for the attendance of ten witnesses. After some very warm words from Burke, who seemed to think that witnesses ought to be examined only on one side, and a speech from Fox, who said that the more people examined the worse for ministers, the motion was agreed to, and the witnesses were ordered to attend. These individuals, whom Burke stigmatized as refugees and custom-house officers,* declared that Howe was much mistaken in describing the Americans as united and unanimous; that two-thirds of the people on that continent were still attached to the government of this country; that, if a proper use had been made of this favourable disposition of the multitude, the war might have been ended long ago; that the force sent out would have been fully competent to its task if it had been properly directed; that Washington's army had been almost always inferior in number to Sir William Howe's; that Howe had made a most fatal mistake in not ascending the Hudson to Albany to co-operate with Burgoyne; that ever since the affair of Trenton he had heaped mistake upon mistake. Although only two of the witnesses were particularly examined, their examination, being intermixed with other business, ran on to the end of June. Sir William Howe requested that, in consequence of the direct attacks made upon his character in this evidence, a day might be appointed on which he should be permitted to bring up other witnesses to disprove the charges. This was refused by Lord North, and was not much approved by the House, who had grown very weary of the business. A large majority refused the indulgence; but Howe was told that he might cross-examine the witnesses who had spoken against him as much as he pleased. On the 29th of June advantage was taken of the absence of Sir William Howe to dissolve the committee: as he was not present at the moment to cross-examine the witnesses, the committee was broken up without coming to a single resolution upon any part of the business, or on any one point of the American war. Burgoyne, on the whole, was more fortunate than Howe during its progress, for witnesses were heard in his favour, and none against him. Sir Guy Carleton, the Earl of Balcarras, the Earl of Harrington, Major Forbes, Captain Bloomfield, and other officers, who were present during the whole campaign, deposed that no general could be braver or more beloved by his army; but they did not say whether his orders for proceeding to Albany were peremptory or conditional; they could not give a good colour to the fatal expedition to Bennington; they could not make out a case of good generalship in his crossing the Hudson after that expedition; and their evidence only proved—what no candid man doubted—that Burgoyne was brave, persevering, and humane, and that in advancing to Saratoga, and in staying so long in that neighbourhood, he had acted according to the best of his judgment. Some of the officers examined spoke fairly of the resolution of the Americans in action; but written evidence was produced to show that the number of Gates's army at the time of the surrender amounted to 19,000 men, of whom from 13,000 to 14,000 were regularly armed; so that their victory over 3,500 half-famished British and Germans could hardly be accounted a marvellous exploit in war.

In the present state of affairs the ministerial ear, usually so deaf to all sounds proceeding from that quarter, was exceedingly sensitive to the least murmurs in Ireland. Much more was asked for, and, but for commercial jealousy in England, something more would have been granted; but two acts were passed for encouraging the growth of tobacco and hemp and the manufacture of linen in Ireland, and a pecuniary grant was made in consequence of a message from the throne. The boon accorded was insufficient, and there were many active spirits in Ireland who would not have been satisfied with any benefit a hundred fold greater. Some of these ardent politicians resolved to follow the example set them by the Americans, and a non-importation agreement was set on foot in Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, and other places, the subscribers binding themselves neither to import nor use any British goods which could be manufactured in Ireland, till the British government should free Irish trade from the shackles put upon it. This alarming demonstration was accompanied by circumstances still more alarming: volunteer associations were formed first at Dublin and afterwards throughout the country; they armed and accoutred themselves at their own expense; and the rumour of in-

* The witnesses were General Robertson, General Jones, Colonel Dixon, Major Stanton, John Maxwell, Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen, John Paterson, Theodore Morris, and Enoch Story, Esqrs., who were all either Americans by birth, or had resided a long time in the country.

vasion from France, and the great draughts made upon the regular army in order to furnish troops for America, seemed to justify and to call for such martial preparation: but ministers knew the prevailing discontents—they knew how busy American agents and correspondents had been with the people of Ireland, they dreaded the national inflammability, and they saw with the greatest alarm the progress of these armed associations, being for once right in their prognostic, that they could only end in insurrection and civil war. The alarm was common to the whole English nation. The Marquess of Rockingham, as early as the 11th of May, moved an address in the Lords for the production of all such documents relative to the trade of Ireland as would enable parliament to pursue effectual measures for promoting the wealth and commerce of both kingdoms. He reprobated the conduct of government in Ireland, both civil and military, ever since the year 1755; and in truth there was little in that time but merited reprobation. He laid the whole blame of the late dangerous associations upon ministers; he told them that the necessity for the military association should have been foreseen and prevented, or that the people should have been legally commissioned to take arms under officers named by the sovereign;—that the men who had now taken up arms to repel invasion might soon think of employing them in resisting injustice and oppression. He called for a redress of grievances, for a remedy to the deplorable distresses under which the Irish people were groaning. He was listened to with the more attention from his intimate and extensive knowledge of the subject of Ireland—knowledge which had been in part infused into him by Burke, his former secretary. He was warmly supported by the Earl of Shelburne, and the only ministerial arguments urged against him were, the late period of the session and the necessity of proceeding with caution, and upon minute inquiry and investigation. In the end there was a kind of compromise between Rockingham and the president of the council, the Earl of Gower pledging himself, so far as he could venture to answer for others, that a proper plan for arranging the affairs of Ireland should be prepared and digested by ministers during the recess, and be ready to be laid before parliament at the opening of the next session. After these debates Mr. Thomas Townshend, on the 15th of June, moved for an address praying his majesty not to prorogue parliament until the inquiry into the conduct of affairs in America should be finished. The motion was rejected by 143 against 70. But on the very next day Lord North gave some startling information, which necessitated the prolonging of the session. He acquainted the House that the Spanish ambassador had quitted London, after delivering to the secretary of state a hostile manifesto, which, with a message from the king, would be laid before parliament on the morrow. And, accordingly, on the 17th the royal message and the manifesto were introduced. His majesty declared in the most solemn manner that he had done nothing to provoke this new enemy; that his desire to preserve peace and friendship with the court of Spain had been uniform and sincere; and that his conduct towards that power had been guided by no other motives or principles than those of good faith, honour, and justice. He expressed the greater surprise at the declaration of Spain, as some of the grievances enumerated in that paper had never come to his knowledge either by representation on the part of the Catholic king, or by intelligence from any other quarter; and in all those cases where applications had been received the matter complained of had been treated with the utmost attention, and put into a course of inquiry and redress. The message concluded by expressing the firmest confidence in the zeal and public spirit of parliament and the power and resources of the nation. The Spanish manifesto was a loose rigmarole, in which little or nothing was clear, except that Spain had taken a decided part with the French branch of the House of Bourbon and with the Anglo-American colonies against Great Britain. The opposition instantly took credit to themselves as correct prophets, and taunted ministers with their folly, ignorance, and blindness, in believing that Spain would not follow the example of France. Nevertheless both Houses were unanimous in their indignation against Spain, and in the determination of supporting with spirit the war against the whole House of Bourbon. But in the Commons, when the address to this effect was agreed to, Lord John Cavendish moved for another address to be presented at the same time, praying that his majesty would give immediate orders for the collecting of his fleets and armies, in such a manner as that he might be enabled to exert the whole force of this country against the united force of the House of Bourbon. The new secretary-at-war asked whether the words "whole force" were intended to include the force actually employed in America? Lord John answered in the affirmative; and thereupon the secretary-at-war moved an adjournment, which was carried immediately by a majority of 156 against 80. In the House of Lords the address was opposed by the protesting Earl of Abingdon, who directly and positively charged ministers with all the calamities which had befallen the empire, and with pursuing a nefarious system intended to break down and trample upon the constitution. He moved an amendment praying for a total change of system and of men, as the only means of preserving our political existence. The Duke of Richmond, who intended a motion of his own, entreated Lord Abingdon to withdraw his amendment; but his lordship persisted in dividing the House upon it. It was rejected by 62 against 23. The Duke of Richmond then rose and made his motion, which was to this effect—"That in a moment so critical, the most awful this country had ever experienced, it would be deceiving his majesty and the nation if they were not to represent that

the only means of resisting the powerful combination which threatened the country would be by a total change of that system which had involved us in our present difficulties in America, in Ireland, and at home." In the long speech with which his grace explained the necessity of his motion, he declared that his idea was immediately to abandon the American war, *at least for the present*; and to employ our great military force, which was doing worse than nothing there, against our enemies of Europe. America, he said, was already worse than lost—it was the drain of our treasure and of our best blood—it was the great cause of division and heart-burning in parliament, and in the nation. If that war were once abandoned, and with it the system which gave it birth, we should again see union at home and successful exertions abroad; and then, he had no doubt that Britain, as she had often been before, would prove more than a match for the whole House of Bourbon. His grace was warmly supported by the Earl of Shelburne and other lords, who said that by a change of system they meant also a total change of men—that those phantoms of ministers, those things who had been tricked out in the garb and likeness of ministers, merely for the purposes of delusion, must be totally done away with. Never was such a torrent of accusation and vituperation as they poured upon Sandwich as first lord of the admiralty. He was charged, directly and to his face, with having been the means, through ignorance, incapacity, and official neglect, of inviting the French attack, and then bringing on this Spanish war. After a long debate the Duke of Richmond's motion was negatived by 57 against 32. Twenty of the opposition peers, including the Dukes of Richmond, Devonshire, Manchester, and Portland, the Marquess of Rockingham, and the Earls of Derby, Scarborough, Egremont, Howard of Effingham, Radnor, and others, signed a long and argumentative protest. On the 21st of June Lord North proposed in the Commons that the number of the militia should be doubled, and that individuals should be enabled to raise loyal corps to assist in the defence of the kingdom. A bill to this effect was warmly opposed, but it finally passed through the Commons. The Lords, however, by a majority of 39 against 22, rejected the clause enabling the king to double the militia. This, as Burke says, was taking away the original substance and leaving only the skeleton of the bill. When the mutilated fragment was brought back to the Commons Lord North was cruelly taunted by the opposition, who observed that the spirit of disunion and discord which his administration had so successfully spread had now seized the cabinet itself. North was deeply chagrined, yet he did not lose his surpassing temper: he said that he could not agree in their lordships' judgment in considering his proposition impracticable; that his own experience in the county where he was lord-lieutenant induced him to believe that the militia could be doubled without hardship or difficulty; but that his experience could not control the opinions of the other House, where there were so many lord-lieutenants of counties. He added, that he was glad, however, to accept the power of augmenting the home force by volunteer corps, and that he did accept that boon even as crumbs falling from the table of their lordships. But the contest about the bill did not terminate here. Some of the opposition insisted that this militia bill was to all intents and purposes a money-bill; that no amendment of the Lords could be admitted in such a bill without a surrender of the most valuable and peculiar privilege of the Commons; and that, therefore, the bill must be totally rejected. Another long debate followed, but it ended in the bill being declared no money bill by a majority of 63 against 45. While this militia bill was under discussion, the attorney-general moved for leave to bring in a bill to take away for a limited time certain exemptions from being pressed to serve on board the navy, which several descriptions of men and of apprentices, appertaining to the sea, had hitherto enjoyed; and also for suspending the right of suing out writs of *habeas corpus* for such breaches of those exemptions as had already taken place, or as might still take place before the passing of this bill. As soon as the rupture with Spain was known press-warrants had been issued in all directions, and at this moment press-gangs were actively employed in manning the navy by force—a cruel necessity which has lasted down to our own days, and which may recur if other and wiser provisions be not in good time adopted. The night was far advanced when the attorney-general introduced the subject; and he acknowledged that he had purposely chosen that late hour in order that the effect of the press-warrants might not be impeded by the disclosure which the newspapers would have made throughout the country, and in order that the grand fleet, upon which our safety and honour depended, might be manned without impediment. The opposition could not deny the necessity of dispatch in putting the fleet to sea, or that, as matters stood, there were no other means of manning it; but they objected, nevertheless, to the bill and to the way in which it was introduced, after the midnight hour and to a House already fatigued and worn out; and they doubted whether there was any advantage to be obtained which could warrant some of the stronger parts of it. The bill, however—called the *indemnity* bill, from its retrospective operation—was read twice before the House separated, and was committed for the following, or rather the same, day. When the House met again it was passed and sent up to the Lords, who agreed to it after inserting an amendment in favour of the colliers. It received the royal assent together with the militia, or rather volunteer, bill. Besides Mr. Thomas Townshend's motion, other attempts were made to bring about an address against a prorogation; but the House of Commons was already thinned, and the majority of those who remained were impatient for repose after a

very arduous session. On the 3rd of July the king went down to parliament to pronounce the liberating words. The day was unusual, being a Saturday. In his speech from the throne his majesty returned most cordial thanks to both Houses for their great services and their long attendance. He expressed his entire approbation of all that they had done, and especially of their attention to the present state of Ireland. With regard to France, he said that the events of the war had certainly not afforded her any reason to triumph in the consequences of her injustice and breach of public faith; and he trusted that that ambitious power might be brought to wish that she had not, without provocation or cause of complaint, insulted the honour and invaded the rights of his crown. With respect to the hostility of Spain, he repeated that he had nothing to reproach himself with. Paying homage to the high national feeling of the people, he said that he considered it as a happy omen of the success of his arms; that the increase of difficulties served only to augment the courage and constancy of the nation. In the last clause of all, he said that it was impossible to speak of the continuance of the rebellion in North America without the deepest concern; but he had given such unquestionable proofs of his sincere disposition to put an end to those troubles, that he must still hope that the malignant designs of the enemies of Great Britain could not long prevail against the evident interests of those unhappy colonies.*

The country was ringing with reports of invasion and of new Spanish armadas, more terrible than that sent against Queen Elizabeth; and, as if to increase the alarm, six days after the prorogation, a proclamation was issued, charging all officers, civil and military, in case of an invasion, to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, and provisions to be driven from the sea-coast to places of security.† It had required all the family influence of the greater branch of the House of Bourbon, and all the diplomatic activity and skill of French negotiators, to lead the Spanish monarch, who had suffered so materially from his last short war with England, into this new and certainly unprovoked contest. Charles III. could not but be alarmed for the tranquillity of his own colonies, if encouraged by the example of successful rebellion; and he also shrunk from what he considered the unkingly action of fomenting insurrection and allying himself with revolted subjects. He assured Lord Grantham that he had been kept in ignorance of the treaty concluded between France and our American colonies, and knew nothing of that matter until it was made public. Count Florida Blanca, his present prime minister, even went so far as to declare that he considered the independence of those colonies as no less injurious to Spain than to Great Britain herself—an opinion which was entertained by most of the public men of Spain, who neither followed nor knew the advice of Turgot. When closely pressed by the English ambassador, Florida Blanca confessed that many overtures had been made, but that the king his master had constantly rejected the instances of France to acknowledge the independence of the United States. When led to believe that revolution might flourish in North America without reaching the South; when dazzled by the brilliant offers of co-operation in Spanish schemes of conquest made by the court of Versailles; and when well filled with the credulous hope that the final hour of British supremacy at sea, and consequently of the British empire, was at hand, and that the united House of Bourbon would have little to do but to divide the spoils, Charles III. and his ministers proceeded in a mean and duplex manner, rather in order to give a pretext to their hostility than from any other motive. His Catholic Majesty, on the first breaking out of war with France, pretended the greatest anxiety for maintaining his treaties with Great Britain, and even for drawing closer the ties of friendship. He expressed on more than one occasion a compassionate interest in the fate of his brother, George III., and an abhorrence of the extreme proceedings of congress against so just and good a prince. After these preludes he tendered his good offices as a mediator, stating that the interest of kings would not be sacrificed in his award. When the British minister delicately hinted that his sovereign could not submit a quarrel between him and his own subjects to another prince, Charles offered to mediate in the French part of the quarrel alone, and to reconcile the unhappy differences between the courts of St. James's and Versailles. And on the reply of our government that it was inconsistent with national honour to admit the interference of a third power, till the views of France were known, Charles expressed his readiness to open the negotiation himself, so as to spare both parties the humiliation of making the first advance. He suggested that each government should transmit its conditions to Madrid, and he proposed to draw from the offers and demands of both a plan for the conclusion of a definitive treaty. He promised to exercise a strict impartiality in his own person, and to promote a free and dispassionate discussion. It was difficult to say what points there were to discuss between the British and French courts, except the question of the colonies, and the French league with them. The British ministers, assenting to the proposition, confined their conditions to one single article. Assuming the right of England to treat with her own colonies independently of foreign intervention as an unquestionable principle, they declared in their paper transmitted to Madrid, that, if France would only cease her own interference, and withdraw her assistance from the Americans, they would readily concur in establishing the harmony which had subsisted for fifteen years between the two crowns. The French ministers, on the other hand, in their paper required for their preliminary that England should acknow-

* Ann Regist.—Polit. Regist. † Id.

ledge the independence of the United States, and instantly withdraw all her forces. Nor was this all: the French ministers said that they must reserve the power of bringing forward additional demands, for amending and explaining preceding treaties—by which they meant the cancelling of all such parts of former treaties as they considered detrimental to the interests or to the honour of France. When the English negotiators asked for a specification of the pretensions which were to be reserved, the Frenchmen declined giving any answer. With regard to the main point, the most that England would offer or promise was to grant a general amnesty to her colonies, and to treat with them as confederating individuals, for the restoration of legal government and the redress of grievances. After listening to these conflicting propositions, Charles III., as umpire, rejected the modifications offered by England, and offered three different proposals of his own, as proper to produce a pacification. These were—1. A truce between England and the colonies for twenty-five years, during which a peace might be negotiated, and the separate articles in dispute with France amicably adjusted; 2. A truce with France including the colonies; 3. An indefinite truce both with the colonies and with France, to determine only after a year's notice, during which plenipotentiaries of France, England, and America might form a congress at Madrid, with Spain as a fourth party: this convention to be signed by the American agents at Paris, subject to the approval of congress, which France was to pledge herself to obtain. In the meanwhile the colonies were to enjoy a freedom of trade and independence, *de facto*, and the British forces were to be withdrawn or reduced. The British ministers observed to his Catholic majesty that any such plan of peace "seemed to proceed on every principle which had been disclaimed, and to contain every term which had been rejected." They declared that, if compelled to grant such extreme conditions, it would be more consistent with the dignity of the British nation to grant them directly to the Americans themselves without any foreign intervention. But, even before this final reply reached Madrid, Charles and Florida Blanca, having matured such preparations as they could make, threw off the mask and ordered the Spanish ambassador to quit the British court. Some time before the rupture Almodovar delicately hinted to our ministers, that for the restitution to Spain of the rock of Gibraltar his master would consent to remain neutral; but this price was thought too high for what must have been after all a very doubtful neutrality. The manifesto which Almodovar left behind him was indeed a singular composition, minute in its details of grievances, and most extensive as to time and geographical space, for it ranged over all parts of the world, and it enumerated with arithmetical precision nearly all the complaints that Spain had ever made. The sum total of grievances was put down *as nearly one hundred*. And, as a novel complaint, it was asserted that Great Britain had grossly insulted Spain by rejecting her mediation.* The splendid pen of Gibbon, the historian, had been employed by Lord North, or, rather, at the request of Thurlow, now lord chancellor, and of Lord Weymouth, to draw up, *in French*, an exposé of the motives of the conduct of Louis XVI.; but no such reply was deemed necessary to the childish manifesto of Spain.

Again, the first thoughts of the Spaniards were directed to the siege of Gibraltar. To facilitate this grand object and to preserve that other pillar of Hercules, Ceuta, on the African coast, Florida Blanca, some time before declaring hostilities against England, negotiated with the Emperor of Morocco, and entered into a regular treaty with the Moors. This, he calculated, would be of immense advantage in any attempt upon Gibraltar, as that garrison was accustomed to draw large supplies from the Barbary coast, and as the Moors, if left in a state of hostility, might have attacked Ceuta while the Spaniards were trying to get Gibraltar, or by their piratical cruisers in the Straits have deranged all measures for the blockade of Gibraltar and the transport of provisions to the Spanish camp. A large army was collected at St. Roque, Algeziras, and the Campo, near Gibraltar, even before the negotiations at Madrid were terminated; and immediately after the declaration of war, this force began its very laborious operations for the reduction of the wonderful rock. At this time Charles III. had a fleet of forty sail, exclusive of ships destined for the protection of his colonies. Florida Blanca had warmly proposed dispatching this fleet to join the fleet of Louis XVI. *during the negotiation*, when no resistance could be offered to the junction by the English, who were wholly unprepared for such a movement, who were actually treating with Spain as a friendly power, mediating a peace; but some remaining scruples prevented his Catholic majesty from following the advice of his minister.† But, when war was declared, one of the earliest measures was this junction of the fleets of the House of Bourbon; and, while 50,000 men and a swarm of transports and flat-bottomed boats were collected on the French coast, to make the English believe that an invasion was intended, and that they must keep their wooden-walls close on their own shore to prevent a descent, d'Orvilliers, on the 3rd of June, hurried out of *Brest* with 30 French sail of the line and bore away for the Spanish coast. He met with no interruption or impediment, except from Spanish pride and Spanish laziness: he got to Cadiz Bay, where he was joined by 30 sail, and returning he was joined off Ferrol by 8 more Spanish ships of the line. With 68 sail of the line in all, and many frigates and smaller vessels,

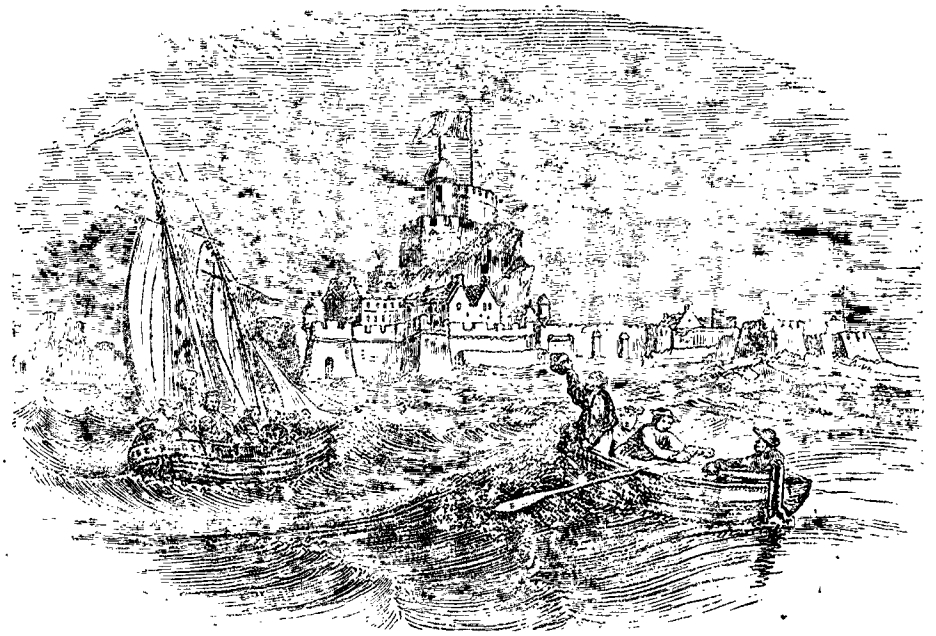
* Adolphus, Hist. Geo. III.—Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.—Correspondence between Lord Weymouth, secretary of state, and Lord Grantham, the ambassador, as quoted by Coxe.

† Florida Blanca's Representation of his Ministerial Conduct, &c., as cited by Archdeacon Coxe.

d'Orvilliers came on our coasts, where our grand fleet, since the resignation of Keppel under the command of Admiral Hardy, did not exceed 38 sail of the line. There were some days of intense anxiety. On the 15th of August, while Hardy was cruising in the soundings, the French and Spaniards appeared off Plymouth, and some French frigates, anchoring in Cawsand Bay, captured a number of coasting vessels. On the 16th the 'Ardent,' of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Boteler, standing down Channel, fell in with the enemy's fleet, and, mistaking it for the British, was surrounded and captured within sight of Plymouth. After parading two or three days before Plymouth the combined fleet were driven out of the Channel by a strong east wind which blew for several days, and prevented Hardy from getting in. On the 31st of August the wind shifted to the westward, and Hardy, with great skill, gained the entrance of the Channel, in sight of, and in spite of, the French and Spaniards. If they could have kept him out of the Channel they would have fought him at large; but he had completely out-manœuvred them, and, though they followed him a few leagues, they would not hazard a battle in the narrow sea, where the advantage of their superior numbers might be lost for want of sea-room, and where the navigation would be difficult and dangerous. Hardy anchored the next morning at Spithead—and England was safe. The unmanly panic on shore had lasted but for a moment; the coast was now covered with troops, militia, and volunteers; fresh ships were fitting out with almost magical rapidity, and cruisers at sea were recalled to the Channel. But the growth of this strength was not more rapid than the progress of weakness, and decay, and dissension in the combined fleet. A terrible sickness broke out among both French and Spaniards, and their commanders dreaded the equinoctial gales which were now approaching. After cruising a day or two longer about the Land's-end d'Orvilliers made the signal for retiring, and French and Spaniards ran into Brest to perish there of disease. In all, above 3000 Spaniards died without having done anything, and the loss of their allies was still greater. For several months the vast armament lay huddled in port inactive and useless. The loss of the 'Ardent' was soon made up by the capture of a large Spanish frigate off the Western Islands, another Spanish frigate off Cape Finisterre, a Spanish register-ship pierced for 64 guns, and carrying a considerable treasure from Lima to Cadiz, a rich Manilla ship—said to be the richest taken since the famed Manilla galleon captured by Lord Anson,—another plate-ship with nearly 200,000 dollars in specie, a quantity of bullion and other valuable merchandise, together with an infinite variety of small Spanish craft.* The Spaniards, who had sent their fleet to sea with the most extravagant hopes, already found that this naval war with England was to follow the general rule, and cost them ships and wealth which they could ill spare. Nor did a gleam of success attend their exertions in front of the obdurate and impenetrable Rock in the whole course of this year. Charles III. was grievously vexed by the French refusing to co-operate immediately in his plans for reducing Gibraltar and Minorca, for recovering the Floridas, and for reconquering Jamaica. France had plans of her own: each party was greedy for separate conquest and aggrandisement, and each accused the other of selfishness and disregard of the true principles of the alliance and family compact. Before crossing the Atlantic once more to scenes where war was carried on with far more vigour, we must mention an attempt which was made by the French on the island of Jersey. On the 1st of May an armament with a land force of 5000 men, under the command of a Prince Nassau Siegen, who claimed kindred with the ancient line of Nassau, appeared off the island; but the landing was impeded, the whole project was thwarted, and the French returned to their own near shore. At the first report of the danger General Conway quitted London and hastened to throw himself into the island, but his valuable services were not required for its defence. The whole expedition of the prince with two names was so absurdly managed as to excite ridicule and laughter.

In the western world the earliest movements commenced among the sugar islands. On the 6th of January Vice-Admiral Byron arrived at St. Lucie with nine sail of the line, and there joined Rear-Admiral Barrington. This gave the British a decided superiority over d'Estaing, who retreated from place to place, and at last took refuge in Martinique, where he could not be attacked, and whence he would not issue. He was joined by a French squadron, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who, on his way thither, swept the undefended English forts and settlements on the African coast. [There was a handy-dandy game played here in the course of the year: to fortify Senegal, which they took from the English, the French weakened their own settlement at Goree, and, while they were holding Senegal, the English, under Sir Edward Hughes, took Goree.] Other reinforcements with fresh land troops arrived from France; but Byron's fleet was also reinforced; and the French continued to avoid an engagement. But in the month of June Byron sailed away to escort our homeward-bound West India fleet to a certain latitude, and as soon as he was gone d'Estaing detached a small force to St. Vincent, where the Caribs joined the French and forced the weak English garrison to capitulate. After this success, d'Estaing, with his grand fleet, which now consisted of 26 sail of the line besides frigates, and which had on board 9000 land troops, proceeded to Grenada, where Lord Macartney, the governor, had only 150 regulars and two or three hundred militia to oppose to him. On the 5th of July, Byron, who had returned from escorting the trade, appeared off the island, determined to attempt its relief and to bring

* Capt. Schomberg, Nav. Chronol.—Ann. Regist.



Elizabeth Castle, Jersey. From Print of 1780.

d'Estaing to action, having been erroneously informed that there were not more than 19 French sail of the line, besides frigates, in that quarter. The French admiral came out with 25 ships of the line and 12 frigates to fight Byron, who had only 21 ships of the line and one frigate, and who was embarrassed rather than assisted by a number of transports. A loose irregular action ensued, d'Estaing avoiding a close engagement, and keeping his fleet at a cautious distance whenever the action had the appearance of becoming general, and closing only when single ships of the British fleet became exposed to the fire of several of his own. His ships being cleaner than the English, he could increase or diminish his distance with the more ease. The 'Prince of Wales,' Barrington's ship, the 'Boyne,' and the 'Sultan,' which had begun the attack considerably a-head, and before d'Estaing's great superiority of force was discovered, suffered very severely; and the 'Grafton,' commanded by Captain Collingwood, the 'Cornwall,' and the 'Lion,' happening during part of the action to be to leeward of the British line, sustained the whole fire of the French fleet, and were greatly disabled, as was also the 'Monmouth,' Captain Fanshawe, who made a gallant attempt to stop the van of the enemy and bring them to close action. Byron seeing the disabled condition of so many of his ships, kept to windward, and formed his line so as to prevent the enemy from doubling upon him and cutting off his transports—an intention which some of their movements indicated.* About three in the afternoon d'Estaing, foiled in his attempts upon the transports, tacked to the southward with his whole fleet. Byron instantly tacked in the same manner, in order to protect three of his disabled ships. One of these ships, the 'Lion,' could not beat to windward, and must have been taken but for d'Estaing's caution and unwillingness to risk a close engagement. Night put an end to the action, the French fleet being then about three miles to leeward. In the course of the day the English ships which had approached nearest to St. George, the capital of Grenada, had seen the white flag flying over that place—a proof that Lord Macartney had been compelled to surrender. In the course of the night Byron sent off all his transports and Captain Fanshawe's ship, the 'Monmouth,' which stood in need of immediate repair, to St. Christopher, remaining with the rest of his fleet between them and the enemy. He fully expected that d'Estaing would renew the fight on the morrow; but, when the morning came, the French fleet was out of sight. D'Estaing had gone back to Grenada, counting a very large loss in killed and wounded, and claiming a great victory, though he had not, in reality, fought a decided battle.* Byron bore away to St. Christopher, and lay there for some short time, during which the greatest alarm prevailed among the rest of our West India islands. D'Estaing had boasted that he would take every one of them before the year was out; but he soon sailed away to Hispaniola, and then to the coast of Georgia and Carolina, where his presence was much wanted by the Americans, who

* Stedman. — Schomberg. — Byron's Dispatches.—Ann. Regist. According to Captain Schomberg, d'Estaing's loss, owing to his ships being crammed full of troops, was prodigious, amounting, in *killed alone*, to 1200 men. Byron's loss was stated at 183 killed and 346 wounded, including 4 officers among the killed, and 4 among the wounded.

seemed at one moment on the point of witnessing the entire subjugation of their southern States. In the month of January congress had dispatched General Lincoln to take the command of some regiments raised in North Carolina, and to unite them with the remnant of the army of Georgia,

MAJOR-GENERAL LINCOLN. From a Painting by Colonel Sargent, in the collection of the Massachusetts' Historical Society.

which had been broken up by Colonel Campbell, in the affair in front of Savannah. Lincoln, who found his regiments much weaker than he expected, took post on the north bank of the river about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah. His presence did not prevent Colonel Campbell from undertaking an expedition against Augusta, the principal town of Upper Georgia, situated on the southern bank of the river, and at the distance of 150 miles from the sea-coast. Upon Campbell's approach, the American troops fled from Augusta, and the inhabitants, following the example of the townspeople of Savannah, took the oath of allegiance to King George, and formed themselves into companies for their own defence. Here Campbell was not very far from a part of North Carolina where the majority of the population were known to be decided royalists. He detached Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton with 200 infantry mounted on horseback to encourage those people to take up arms. Hamilton met with considerable success, and defeated a body of 500 militia from the province of South Carolina. This same militia, however, defeated at Kettle-Creek a number of royalists from the interior of North Carolina, who were attempting to force their way into Georgia to form a junction with the British troops. After their defeat about 300 of these royalists found means to join the British army: seventy of them, who fled into South Carolina to throw themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen, were tried and convicted of treason against the United States. Five of them were executed upon this sentence. Shortly after this affair Colonel Campbell quitted the country to return to England, and Augusta was evacuated as being too distant a post to be supported. The American General Ashe then crossed the Savannah, entered the place, and followed the retiring garrison down the river as far as Brier Creek, behind which he took post. Ashe had not been there long when General Prevost, with about 900 men, partly American royalists, made a circuit, crossed the creek, got into his rear, and totally routed and dispersed his force. About 150 fell on the field or in the retreat; a brigadier-general, the second in command, was made prisoner, together with about 30 officers and 200 men; many more perished in the river Savannah; most of those who escaped returned to their homes, and when Ashe joined Lincoln on the other side of the river he had with him only 450 men. He had left behind him seven pieces of cannon, several stand of colours, almost all his arms, ammunition, and baggage. These disasters spread terror through the whole of the neighbouring state of South Carolina. The republican party there changed their governor, electing John Rutledge, a person of great decision of character; and the legislature passed an act empowering him and the council to do everything that appeared to him and them necessary for the public good. Under this species of dictatorship great exertions were made: the militia of the State were all called out; and, as the militia-men had thrown away their arms at Brier Creek at the beginning of the action, and had scampered off in a very unsoldier-like manner, severe laws were passed by the local congress or convention to prevent such conduct in future. Through Rutledge's exertions General Lincoln saw his army increased to 5000 men. Leaving General Moultrie, who had gained reputation by his defence of Sullivan Island, to defend the lower part of the Savannah, Lincoln with his main body marched up that river with the intention of crossing it near Augusta, and then descending by the opposite bank to the capital of Georgia. On the 28th of April General Prevost, with the view of obliging Lincoln to return, crossed the river into South Carolina with nearly the whole of the British army. Prevost had scarcely landed when Moultrie began a disorderly retreat, 800 of the 1000 men Lincoln had left with him being Carolina militia, who, notwithstanding Rutledge's laws and comminations, refused to fight or to defend the difficult passes, among swamps, creeks, gullies, and bogs, through which the British had to advance. Lincoln, who conceived that Prevost's movement was a mere feint to induce him to abandon his march up the river, merely sent Moultrie a reinforcement of 300 men, and then, crossing the river into Georgia, he hurried down the southern bank, making doubly sure of capturing the town of Savannah, which Prevost had left. Prevost's original intention was indeed nothing more than to make a feint; but, seeing Moultrie flying before him, he suddenly

changed his plan, and, encouraged by the assurances of many of the country people, he venturously continued his march for Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. Thus, on one side of the river Lincoln was hurrying to take Savannah, which Prevost had just quitted, and on the other side of the river Prevost was pushing on to take Charlestown, which Lincoln had been defending. But, as soon as Lincoln was informed of the bold movement of Prevost, he recrossed the river into South Carolina, and sent reinforcements forward for the defence of Charlestown. If Prevost had not been delayed by wretched roads and broken bridges he might assuredly have taken Charlestown by a *coup de main*; for, though strongly situated, and fortified towards the sea, it was open towards the land, where no enemy had been expected; the greatest confusion prevailed within the town; the royalist party began to murmur and to talk of rising, the republican party gave way to despondence. But Governor Rutledge arrived with 300 regular troops and a great body of militia: the negro slaves were set to work to make lines and abattis on the land side; the suburbs were burnt down; batteries were raised, and a great number of cannon, collected from the seaward forts, were turned with their muzzles inland. General Moultrie, too, who had been retreating faster than Prevost could follow, had thrown himself into the place with all of his detachment that remained. On the 11th of May the British appeared before the lines after crossing Ashley River, which almost washes one side of the town; but nearly at the same moment Count Pulawski, proceeding from an opposite direction and crossing Cooper River, which flows close by the other side of the town, entered Charlestown with the remnant of his legion. General Prevost, with an army less by one-third than that of the enemy (counting militia and all), summoned the place to surrender, and offered favourable terms of capitulation. As Governor Rutledge was desirous of consuming time so as to bring Lincoln in the rear of the besiegers, he returned an evasive answer to the summons, and ingeniously amused Prevost the whole of that day with messages and answers. It is clear, however, that Prevost, after a near view of the lines, and the knowledge of the force collected behind them, could never have thought of attempting an assault, with little or no artillery, and with Lincoln moving in his rear with another army equal in number to his own; and in the course of the ensuing night the British were all withdrawn across Ashley River. After foraging there for some days they retired towards the sea-coast, and finally took possession of John's Island, a small tract of ground separated from the Carolina coast by an inlet of the sea commonly called Stono River. Here they were attacked by General Lincoln on the 20th of June; but Lincoln was beaten off with great loss, and never again attempted to molest their retreat to Savannah. General Prevost carried off from Carolina a great supply of provisions, and left behind him at Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal—a most important position on the Carolina coast—a strong garrison under the command of Colonel Maitland. The hot and sickly season had now set in, and nothing of any consequence was done or attempted in these southern provinces during the months of July and August, nor, indeed, until the arrival of the grand French fleet under d'Estaing.* In the meanwhile Virginia had been attacked by the British under Sir George Collier, the present commander-in-chief of the naval force on the American station, and General Matthews, who had been detached from New York by Sir Henry Clinton. By the exports of tobacco from Virginia by the Chesapeak, the credit of congress with foreign nations was principally supported; and by the inland navigation of that deep bay the produce both of Virginia and North Carolina was conveyed to the middle colonies for the support of Washington's army. A permanent post on the Chesapeak would have enabled the British to inflict terrible mischief; but Clinton could not spare any very considerable force, and all that General Matthews took with him to the bay was a detachment of 1800 men, including all arms, and a small regiment of Irish volunteers. The transports on board of which this small force was embarked were convoyed by the admiral in person; but Sir George Collier only took with him one ship of the line, three small frigates, a sloop, a galley, and some private vessels armed for war, and acting as privateers. On the 8th of May the fleet entered the Chesapeak, and the next day anchored in Hampton Road, not far from the towns of Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Gosport. These were all thriving places: Norfolk and Portsmouth were the principal commercial towns in Virginia; and at Gosport the government of the State had established a sort of arsenal and dock-yard, in which they had collected an immense quantity of timber for ship-building, with naval stores to a considerable amount. To protect these places they had distributed a regiment of artillery along the shores of the bay and on the banks of Elizabeth River; and they had thrown up a number of fortifications, which were tolerably defensible on the side of the water, but weak and contemptible on the land side. The most important of these forts, called Fort Nelson, lay on the west side of Elizabeth River, and was commanded by a Major Matthews. On the morning of the 10th the greater part of Collier's squadron entered the river, and landed the troops towards evening about three miles below Fort Nelson. The weak American garrison fled from the fort in such haste that they left artillery and ammunition, bag and baggage, behind them: they did not even spare time to strike their flag, but left it flying. They took refuge in a deep and extensive swamp in the neighbourhood, called "The Dismals;" and General Matthews, who did not expect to carry the

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.—Ramsay.

fort until the following morning, and not then without a brush, took possession of the place and almost immediately afterwards of the prosperous town of Portsmouth, where he fixed his head-quarters. Having placed part of his small army in positions where they could not be attacked, and where they established his communication with Nelson Fort and Admiral Collier's ships, he employed the rest on excursions to Norfolk and Gosport, where all the vessels except such as were burnt by the Americans before their retreat, and an immense quantity of naval and military stores, merchandise, and provisions, were either taken or destroyed. Detachments were also sent up the Nansemond River to the town of Suffolk, where likewise immense quantities of provisions and stores, with some vessels richly laden, were captured or destroyed. The whole of the lower part of the Chesapeak felt the cruel visitation, and the 'Otter' sloop and the privateers, going far up the bay, took a great number of prizes, and burned, or caused the Americans to burn, a great many more vessels. In the end, they scarcely left any American craft floating on those waters. Before their flight from Portsmouth the provincials burned a fine ship of war of twenty-eight guns, which was just ready for launching; but the British found eight other ships of war upon the stocks, and burned them all. Two French merchantmen, one loaded with tobacco and the other with bale goods, were set on fire by their own crews or by the Americans. Portsmouth would have been a most important position to occupy, and it might easily have been made defensible and strong; but Sir Henry Clinton thought that he could not spare troops to occupy it, and Collier and Matthews, after demolishing the fort and destroying the navy-yard, returned to New York, from which, altogether, they had been absent only twenty-four days. A few days after their arrival from Virginia, Sir George Collier and General Matthews proceeded up the Hudson with a fresh detachment from the army at New York; and Clinton, as commander-in-chief, accompanied this expedition—the object of which was to drive Washington's people from Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point, where they were erecting fortifications. Early in June a division of the army was landed on the eastern side of the river on Verplank's Neck, and the commander-in-chief proceeded with the other to Stoney Point on the western bank. As they had not finished their works there, the Americans fled from Stoney Point without firing a gun. Clinton drew up some heavy cannon and mortars, and commenced a fire upon Fort Lafayette, the main defence of Verplank's Point, on the opposite side of the river, and which, though small, was a complete work, with palisades, a double ditch, chevaux-de-frise, abattis, and a bomb-proof chevalier or block-house in its centre. While Clinton thus fired across the river, the other detachment invested the fort on the land side, and the galleys and armed vessels battered it with close shots from the bed of the river. The bewildered garrison almost immediately surrendered as prisoners of war, upon no other condition than a promise of good usage. In acquiring these two important posts, which commanded the Hudson, and by means of which Washington had kept open a direct communication between the northern and middle colonies, the British sustained no other loss than one man wounded. Clinton left considerable garrisons, with instructions to complete the fortifications at Stoney Point as soon as possible, and then fell down the river to New York.* On the 4th of July a fleet of transports with 2600 land troops on board, and with a frigate, a brig, and a sloop for their escort, sailed from New York for Newhaven, the maritime capital of Connecticut, one of the most determined of the colonies, and which, from its populousness and productiveness, had been a principal support to the armies of congress. Clinton proposed inflicting a severe chastisement on the Connecticut men, and tempting Washington down from his high-lands on the Hudson to defend the sea coast. The command of the land troops was given to Major-General Tryon, late governor of New York, who was well acquainted with the country. Tryon landed and took possession of Newhaven with little difficulty; but when his troops were within the town many shots were fired at them from the windows. On the following day a proclamation was issued calling upon the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, and threatening destruction to all that persisted in rebellion. There was scarcely a place on the American continent where such a proclamation was likely to be less heeded; and Tryon sailed away after capturing or destroying all the artillery, ammunition, and public stores, all the vessels in the harbour, and everything round about that was *public* property. A fort was dismantled, but the town was not destroyed. The troops were next landed at Fairfield, a place on the coast, nearer to New York, where a hot reception was prepared for them. The town, however, was carried, and reduced to ashes, and the expedition, loaded with spoil, sailed away for the towns of Norwalk and Greenfield, which were both captured and destroyed by fire. Tryon then intended to make a descent at New London, the great rendezvous for the Connecticut privateers; but, as the militia of the state were now joined by some regular troops detached from Washington's main army, he returned towards New York to obtain reinforcements. The people of Connecticut were furious against Washington for not marching with his whole army to their relief, and for leaving their towns to be burnt by the enemy;† but the American commander-in-chief undertook operations upon the Hudson, which not only prevented Clinton from reinforcing Tryon, but also obliged him to recall all that devastating expedition. Before the garrison left at Stoney Point could put that place in any defensive order, Washington dis-

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.
† Marshall.—Washington's Letters.

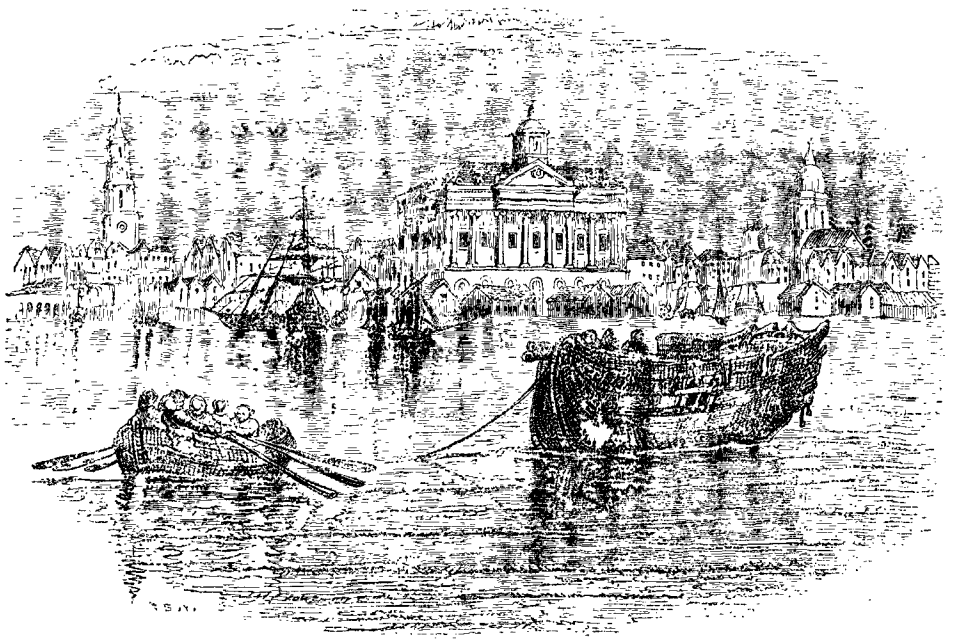
patched General Wayne with a considerable force to fall upon it by night. As the Americans had so recently left the incomplete works, they knew the best ways for re-entering them; and the English garrison of 500 or 600 men were not so vigilant as they ought to have been: they were taken by surprise in the middle of the night, and, after the loss of about 150 of their number in killed or wounded, the rest surrendered, and the American flag was once more hoisted over the works. Wayne, however, did not carry through his surprise without loss, and he was himself wounded in the head. As the morning dawned he opened a fire across the river—as Clinton had done before him—upon Fort Lafayette, expecting to see another strong detachment from Washington's army appear on the land side of that fort. But this besieging force did not arrive in time, and the garrison there gave

Brigadier-General Wayne. From a Painting by J. Kerring.

them a very discouraging reception when they came. Clinton immediately sent a detachment up the river in transports to assist that garrison, and soon followed himself, in force, entertaining a faint hope that Washington would quit the high country in order to defend Stoney Point. At the first appearance of the transports the Americans gave up their very short siege of Fort Lafayette, retreating with some loss; and their brethren on the opposite side of the river evacuated Stoney Point as rapidly as they had retaken it. The British flag was again hoisted, and a stronger garrison than before was left in the place. Perceiving that Washington was determined not to quit his strong and unassailable position, Clinton returned to New York. The possession of Fort Lafayette and Stoney Point by the British obliged the Americans, in order to maintain their intercourse between the provinces on the east and west sides of the Hudson, to make a laborious circuit of more than sixty miles through a rough and mountainous country. Instead of carrying their plan into execution against the town and privateers of New London, the British were obliged to proceed much farther north, in order to protect an infant town of their own from the fierce assault of the New Englanders. In the month of June General Francis Maclean, who commanded the king's troops in Nova Scotia, proceeded with a detachment of 650 men in transports convoyed by three sloops of war to the Bay of Penobscot, in order to form a settlement and establish a post which might serve to check the incursions of the Massachusetts men into Nova Scotia, and to obtain ship-timber for the use of the king's yards at Halifax and other places. Maclean selected a very strong piece of ground on a peninsula which had on one side of it a natural harbour, small but convenient, and easy of defence. Having, with great labour, cleared the spot of forest-trees and underwood, Maclean marked out the outlines of a small fort; but, before his people could make much progress, a hostile armament appeared in the bay. This had been fitted out by the executive government of Massachusetts, who had laid an embargo upon all the shipping in Boston Harbour, and had offered unusual bounty-money to all the men that would engage in the expedition. The force actually sent amounted to nineteen armed ships and brigantines carrying from ten to thirty-two guns each, and twenty-seven transports having on board 3000 land troops under the command of a General Lovel. They arrived in the bay of Penobscot on the 25th of June; but they were deterred from attempting to enter the harbour by the presence of the three English sloops of war which were anchored right across the mouth; and they lost three days in hesitation, or in seeking for a safer landing-place. At last, on the night of the 28th, they climbed up some steep precipices on the other side of that tongue of land, dragged up some artillery, and erected a battery within 750 yards of the unfurnished fort. But, in the meanwhile, Maclean had filled up his bastions with logs of timber, had carried a sort of chevaux-de-frise round the fort, had constructed platoons and mounted his artillery; and he now returned the fire of the besiegers with proper vigour, being far from despairing, even though he should be left to himself. To co-operate with the troops on the peninsula, the American squadron now made several attempts to enter the harbour; but it was constantly repulsed by the three sloops of war and a small battery thrown up on the beach. The Massachusetts troops, chiefly militia, or raw, undisciplined, and undisciplinable recruits, soon grew weary of the business and impatient to return to their homes. This, with the real difficulty of the undertaking, induced Lovel to apply to General Gates for a reinforcement of 400 regular troops. Gates complied, and ordered a regiment to Penobscot. But before this force arrived Sir George Collier hove in sight with a squadron and land troops; and upon his appearance the Americans ran from their works, embarked in their ships,

and fled in the most miserable disorder, every ship seeking her own safety without heeding her consorts. Two of the largest armed vessels endeavoured to run out of the bay and gain the open sea; but they were presently intercepted, when one was taken, and the other, running on shore, was blown up by her own crew. The rest of the American ships and transports ran up to the head of the bay and entered the mouth of the Penobscot river, where troops and sailors equally abandoned them to fly for their lives by land. The British sailors, close in their wake, took or destroyed nearly all the ships, and in the course of a few hours scarcely a trace was to be seen of this Massachusetts armament. The fugitives had landed in a wild country without provisions or any other necessaries, and had to explore their way for upwards of a hundred miles through a pathless desert, ere they could reach any supplies or any habitation. On their dreary way a fierce quarrel broke out between the seamen and the landsmen, and a battle was fought in that wilderness which cost the lives of fifty or sixty of their number. A great many more sunk under fatigue and famine, and perished miserably in the woods.* Having performed this service, and strengthened and supplied the brave Maclean, Sir George Collier returned to New York, where he found himself superseded by the arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot from England. Collier returned home, not leaving so good or so active a naval commander be-

* Stedman.

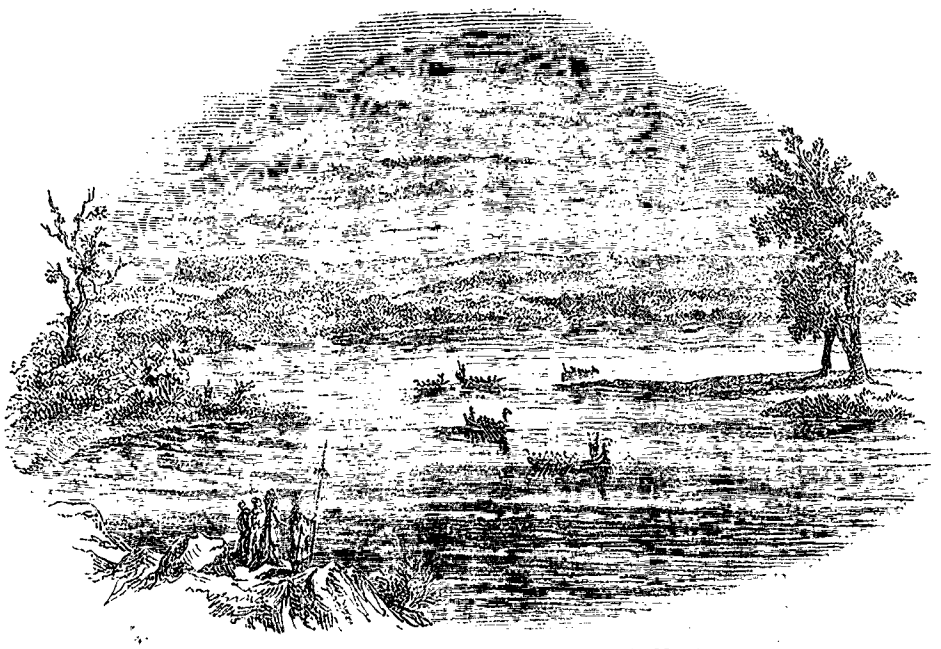


CHARLESTOWN. From a Painting by Thomas Leitch, 1774.

hind him. Arbuthnot had brought out an addition to the fleet and a reinforcement for the army; but Clinton was prevented from pursuing any more active operations by certain intelligence that d'Estaing, with the whole French fleet, was making for the coast of Georgia, intending a later visit to New York. The English commander-in-chief even withdrew the troops from Rhode Island, and left that place to the Americans.

About the beginning of September the French fleet, which counted twenty-four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, with a considerable land force and a long train of French and American privateers, appeared off the mouth of the Savannah River, where an English 50-gun ship, a small frigate, and two store-ships were surprised and captured, though not without some desperate fighting. As soon as d'Estaing thus arrived, General Lincoln moved from South Carolina by land, directing his march to the city of Savannah, and Governor Rutledge assembled all the militia to follow Lincoln, and dispatched from Charlestown a number of small vessels to assist the French in ascending the river and landing their troops. General Prevost, who was still in command of Georgia, called in all his garrisons and detachments, evacuated Sunbury and Beaufort, and set every soldier, every negro, and townsman to work to put the town of Savannah in the best possible state of defence. Captain Henry, who commanded the small naval force upon the Savannah river, which consisted only of four brigs and a few galleys, retired towards the town as the French crossed the bar, and when they came nearer he landed his ships' guns to be mounted on the batteries, and his sailors to work the guns.

His marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of a regiment in the garrison. Only one brig retained her guns, and she was placed above the town of Savannah, so as to cover the right of the British line; four or five vessels were sunk across the channel below the town to prevent the French frigates from coming up; and some smaller vessels were sunk above the town, and a boom was thrown across the river to prevent fire-rafts coming down. On the night of the 12th of September d'Estaing landed about 3000 men at Beaulieu, and, marching straight to Savannah, he, on the following morning, without waiting for the arrival of Lincoln's army, which he had engaged to do, summoned General Prevost to surrender the town to the arms of his most Christian majesty. The step was premature, the summons flighty and ridiculous, speaking of the greatness of his force and the value of his troops, who had lately stormed the fortifications at Grenada, and threatening to make General Prevost answerable in his own person if he persisted in a fruitless resistance. Prevost desired twenty-four hours to make up his mind and prepare the terms of capitulation; and the vain and confident Frenchman granted him the delay, nothing doubting that, at the expiration of the time, Savannah would be his without losing a man or wasting a shot. But, in that precious interval of time, the brave and able Colonel Maitland, who had had a long march to perform from Beaufort through a most difficult country, and who had not arrived in the morning, finished his toilsome journey, and threw himself into the town with 800 veterans. Upon this happy advent Prevost informed the count that the place would be defended to the last extremity. General Lincoln, with the South Carolina army, did not arrive till the 16th; and the first thing he did, upon arriving, was to quarrel with d'Estaing for not waiting for him, and for summoning the place in the name of the French king, and not in the name of congress. Many of the Americans whispered, or repeated aloud, the old suspicion, that the French meant to conquer for themselves. A few more ingredients of dissension, a little more exasperation on the one side or the other, and these allies might have fought a pitched battle in front of the English garrison: but d'Estaing made explanations and excuses, and Lincoln's choler abated. Even after the arrival of the American army much time was consumed in bringing up the heavy French artillery from the ships, and across a deep swampy country, where neither horses nor carriages could be procured, and where nearly everything was to be done by strength of arm. It was the 23rd of September before the allies began to break ground; and it was the 4th of October before their batteries were ready to open. The besieged were not idle during the interval: the defences were daily improved under the direction of Captain Moncrieff, an able officer of engineers; and two very successful sorties were made which cost the allies a considerable number in killed and wounded. Owing to the second of these sorties, and to the blunder and confusion it led to, the French fired upon the Americans, and the Americans fired upon the French. On the morning of the 4th of October the batteries began to play upon the town with 53 large cannon and 14 mortars; but, though this fire was kept up almost incessantly, it produced no visible impression on the works, and did not even do much injury to the houses in the town. Rutledge's militia, counting on an easy triumph and on a part of the spoil, kept pouring across the river, and raised the besieging armies to nearly 10,000 men! General Prevost's whole force, counting regulars, royalist militia, sailors, and volunteers, did not exceed 2500 men; but before the conclusion of the siege he contrived to mount nearly 100 guns of all kinds, and Moncrieff, with remarkable ingenuity, strengthened all the open or weak parts of the town with impalements, traverses, abattis, and redoubts, the last constructed of green spongy wood and trunks of trees, with the interstices filled up with mud and sand. It is said that when the French first landed there were not in all Savannah more than 12 pieces of artillery mounted and ready. D'Estaing became impatient and extremely uneasy, for he had good reason to apprehend that, while he was thus trying to take Savannah, the British fleet in the West Indies might take all the French islands. It was not without great difficulty that congress had prevailed on the cabinet of Versailles to give the count positive orders to afford them this assistance; and the orders would not have been given at all except under the hope and the understanding that the assistance was to be for a very short time. Moreover d'Estaing's sea-officers urged a variety of doubts and fears:—if the British fleet were to follow them to the Savannah river, the effect might be very fatal, as they had landed so many of their men to assist in the siege;—if they remained at the stormy season of the year upon this insecure coast, the fleet might be scattered by a storm, wrecked, or destroyed piecemeal by the English! All these reasons and apprehensions induced the count, contrary to the advice of Lincoln, to try the effects of an assault by storm, instead of carrying on the siege by regular approaches; and, on the morning of the 9th of October, before day-break, after a heavy cannonade and bombardment, and a very unsuccessful attempt to set fire to the wooden abattis, which were of green moist wood that would not burn, the French and Americans mixed, in two columns, advanced to the right of the British lines. The two columns together were 5000 strong. The principal column was led on by d'Estaing and Lincoln; the lesser one by Count Dillon, of an Irish family long in the service of France. Dillon, in the darkness and fog of the morning, got entangled in a swamp, and could not extricate himself until broad daylight, when the British saluted him with so terrible a fire that he was never able even to form, much less to penetrate into the rear of the British lines. The other column took a better road and was somewhat more successful.



MOHAWK INDIANS AND THEIR CANOES. From a Drawing by Mrs. Simcoe.

As soon, however, as they were discovered they became exposed to a continual blaze of musketry from a redoubt, and to a murderous cross-fire from the adjoining batteries, which mowed them down, whole ranks at a time, and threw the head of the column into confusion. D'Estaing and Lincoln urged on other men to fill up the frightful gaps. The column, sometimes staggering back and sometimes running forward, got at last to the foot of the redoubt. The conflict there was more terrible than ever. At one moment a French and an American standard were planted upon the parapet: but they were soon hurled back, and the assailants again began to stagger, and the whole column to reel like drunken men; for the well-posted armed brig, flanking the right of the British lines, now joined her fire to the fire of the batteries, and Colonel Maitland issued forth with the mixed corps of grenadiers and marines, and charged the broken column with the bayonet. This charge decided the affair: French and Americans were driven out of the ditch and far beyond it, leaving behind them about 900 in killed and wounded. Among the wounded who got off were d'Estaing himself, a French major-general, and several of the French officers of rank. The Polish count, Pulawski, here finished his career; he received a mortal wound under the redoubt, and died a few days afterwards. Thanks to the skill of Captain Moncrieff, the loss of the garrison was astonishingly small, not exceeding 55 in killed, wounded, and missing. D'Estaing now announced to Lincoln that he could not think of attempting another assault, and that he must forthwith give up the siege and look to the security of his fleet and army. Lincoln remonstrated, but the count would not lose a day more than was necessary for withdrawing the artillery and stores; and on the night of the 18th of October the allies moved from their ground and separated, with no very friendly feeling on either side. The French got on board their ships and made sail for the West Indies; the Americans recrossed the Savannah River into South Carolina, whence they came. D'Estaing had scarcely embarked when his fleet was dispersed by a storm; Lincoln was scarcely beyond the river when all the *militia* ran home, leaving him weak and disheartened. The campaign to the southward ended with the raising of the siege of Savannah, which was, in every sense, highly honourable to British arms.*

The only other operations of any great importance that took place on the American continent in the course of this year (with the exception of some Spanish movements in Florida), were in connexion with a campaign made by General Sullivan against the Indian tribes, beyond the Mohawk river, and upon the upper course of the Susquehanna. Sullivan conducted with him no fewer than 5000 men. On the 29th of August he came up with a body of 800 savages and 200 whites, commanded by Brandt, Butler, and other men who knew the art of war, and who made a good stand in spite of their inferiority of number. After their retreat Sullivan penetrated into the very heart of their country, which his parties scoured and laid waste in every direction. Houses, corn-fields, gardens, fruit trees, were burned and destroyed;—nothing

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Marshall.—Ramsay.—What took place at Savannah. By a British Officer present.—Ann. Regist.

was spared, nothing was suffered to remain that could afford sustenance to man or beast. Such were the positive orders of congress, who found in Sullivan an active and a willing agent. But, whilst the Americans were thus spreading devastation, and laying waste the Indian towns, the Indians on their part were making incursions into the provincial settlements, with an enlarged appetite for revenge, and with the plea that it was not possible to exceed the barbarities which had been committed by the white men in their territories. Congress passed a vote fully approving the conduct of Sullivan and his army; but afterwards all parties were discontented with the campaign, or brought to lament the retaliation which was the result of it. Washington, whose own army had been kept weak in consequence of the great force sent with Sullivan, and who sorely felt that from the beginning of the year to the end he had made no important movement, and had done absolutely nothing towards deciding the fate of the war, was in an ill humour against the whole Indian expedition; and when Sullivan censured the government and the board-of-war, and then complained of ill health and offered to resign his commission, congress readily gave him permission so to do. He retired in disgust from all public service.

During nearly the whole of the year Washington himself was dissatisfied with congress, believing they did not make all the exertions they might have done to increase his army. The exhausted state of a considerable part of the union, with the interruption of trade, and, in not a few places, the interruption of agriculture, must have made any great exertion exceedingly difficult; but it appears that the majority of congress considered that their business was done and finished by the French treaty, and that their independence could no longer be endangered by Great Britain, who would yield to her weakness and necessities. Most of these men sanguinely hoped that the last soldier and the last ship in America would be withdrawn in order to defend England from invasion. Washington, who, in his eagerness for more troops, may possibly have overrated the resources of the union and the power of congress, certainly took a more correct view of the strength of Great Britain; and he continued to represent that the battle was not over, that America had still much to fear, that the French navy was not equal to a prolonged contest with Great Britain, and that it would be very unwise to expect too much from France, or rely solely upon the politics and events of Europe. The leaders of the revolution had not gone thus far without splitting into parties and factions; and their contention was carried on, at times, with a violence and recklessness which greatly alarmed the commander-in-chief, and induced many persons to surmise that the whole fabric of independence would be undermined by it and brought to the ground. Most of the ministers or diplomatic agents of congress in Europe had quarrelled with one another, and had made a series of accusations and recriminations. Some of them were recalled, but this did not end the turmoil, as their conflicting causes were taken up by their respective friends in congress. Silas Deane was among the recalled; he was accused of having exceeded his powers in engaging French officers to go to the United States with promises of rank and pay, and of proceedings in other matters detrimental to the interests of America. Deane requested congress to examine his official conduct, and to pass a resolution either of approbation or of censure, as they might find he merited. The majority put him off from time to time; and Deane, in his rage, published an address to the people of the United States, in which he not only justified his own conduct, but showered the foulest accusations of selfishness, chicanery, and ambition upon the heads of all his opponents, not excepting even the highest names in the revolution. It was apprehended "that some of the tall trees must be torn up by the roots."* Deane supported his charges with a long array of circumstantial facts, or what he called facts. If half of them were true, then were the patriots of America as corrupt as any ministers or public men in the worst governments in Europe. Deane used no discretion as to the sources from which he drew his charges, and was altogether regardless of official decorum and secrecy. Thomas Paine, who was still acting as secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, and who, of course, had access to all the foreign dispatches, took up his caustic pen to reply to Deane's address, and to retort the worst of the charges therein made. He accused the great Silas of a fraudulent attempt to enrich himself by means of his agency, and at the expense of his country. In one of his papers signed "Common Sense," Paine alluded to some French money which had been sent over a considerable time before Louis XVI. entered into the war against England, and he declared that that money was a free gift from the French government, and not a loan, as represented in Silas Deane's account: and he said that this could be proved by correspondence and documents in the American foreign office. The French minister to congress thought it necessary to take notice of this declaration, in which the king, his master, was openly charged with sending aid to the revolted colonies of a power with which he was yet in alliance; and, as the charge was known to come from Paine, a person connected with the American government, M. Gerard, presented a memorial to congress. We suspect that the French diplomatist was urged on by his old friend Silas Deane, and by the party that supported him; for, as to clandestine aid sent by the French to America previously to any intimation of hostilities to Great Britain, the matter was too notorious to be discussed; and in so far as regarded the honour of the French government, it mattered little whether the money sent were a loan,

* Letter from Gouverneur Morris to Jay.

as stated by Silas Deane, or a gift, as declared by Thomas Paine. Paine, however, had been clearly guilty of an indiscretion in quoting diplomatic documents to prove what the French, and many Americans too, wished to keep secret; and he was called as a delinquent to the bar of congress. He immediately acknowledged himself the author of the paper in question. When he withdrew various resolutions were moved; as, that the declaration in regard to France was false, and that the secretary of the foreign committee ought to be dismissed, not only on this ground, but for violating his oath of office and misusing his trust, in publishing selections from the secret correspondence in his office. In the latter respect Paine was scarcely more guilty than his adversary, Silas Deane, and the other discontented diplomatists; but the great promoter of independence—the unrivalled pamphleteer—the prophet and champion of liberty, as he had been styled three years before, was comparatively a poor and friendless man, and he was made a peace-offering or a scape-goat. His character, his poverty, the history of his life, became themes of declamation in an assembly whose interests or views he had so essentially served. Gouverneur Morris, the warm friend of Silas Deane, had been treated by the author of Common Sense with some contempt; but never in the most aristocratic House of Commons or in the most lordly House of Lords was a poor man of obscure origin treated with more haughtiness than in this democratic assembly was the Suffolk staymaker by the young New York lawyer. The speech is a study for the believers in the doctrine of republican equality. Morris, after descanting upon the dangerous effect of Paine's disclosures, so highly dishonourable to his most Christian majesty, because in direct contradiction to repeated assurances of neutrality given to the British court, and very injurious to America, because they enabled the ministry of Great Britain to charge France with a breach of treaties, and call upon other courts for the performance of engagements entered into with a view to that contingency, exclaimed—"And who is the secretary, styling himself secretary of foreign affairs? And what would be the idea of a gentleman in Europe of this Mr. Paine? Would he not suppose him to be a man of the most affluent fortune, born in this country, of a respectable family, with wide and great connexions, and endued with the nicest sense of honour? Certainly he would suppose that all those pledges of fidelity were necessary to a people in our critical circumstances. But, alas! what would he think, should he accidentally be informed that this our secretary of foreign affairs is a mere adventurer from England, without fortune, without family or connexions, ignorant even of grammar?" [The young lawyer could hardly be a very impartial judge of Paine's grammar and diction, as he had himself very recently been engaged in pamphlet or newspaper controversy with the author of Common Sense.] Two whole days were devoted by congress to this important matter. Paine's friends said that they ought not to punish a citizen unheard—that they ought not to deprive Mr. Paine of his office without giving him a copy of the charge. Morris said that this was unnecessary; that Paine was only appointed during pleasure; that congress, the sovereign power who appointed him, might remove him when he no longer pleased them.* Even after the two days' debate no decision was come to; but before the question was renewed Thomas Paine thought it proper or prudent to send in his resignation. Yet in less than two years we shall find congress again availing themselves of the services of this strange man. At the present moment Paine's retirement was very far from producing calm and union in the body politic: the animosity and bitterness of party grew and spread even under circumstances which seemed to call imperatively for unanimity; so that Washington found himself obliged to declare that friends and foes were combining to pull down the fabric they had been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure.† The storm had been augmented by the publication in a New York newspaper (Rivington's Royal Gazette) of an extract from a letter written by Mr. Laurens, the president of congress, to governor Huiston, of Georgia, which letter had been found among the governor's papers seized by the British invaders. In this strictly confidential letter the president accused no inconsiderable portion of congress of being devoid of integrity and patriotism. "Were I to unfold to you," said the president, "the scenes of venality, peculation, and fraud which I have discovered, the disclosure would astonish you: nor would you, sir, be less astonished were I by a detail to prove to you that he must be a pitiful rogue who, when detected or suspected, meets not with powerful advocates among those who, in the present corrupt time, ought to exert all their powers in defence and support of these friend-plundered, much-injured, and I was almost going to say sinking States. Don't apprehend, sir, that I colour too high, or that any part of these intimations are the effect of rash judgment or despondency: I am warranted to say they are not: my opinion, my sentiments, are supported every day by the declaration of individuals: the difficulty lies in bringing men collectively to attack with vigour a proper object." The authenticity of this letter was never for a moment doubted;‡ and the most the Americans could hope was, that their president, notwithstanding his assertion to the contrary, had written it in a fit of despondency; or that he applied to many the unpatriotic vices of a few. The letter was read everywhere, and failed nowhere in producing comment, doubt, and suspicions, which were strongest in the places where the people had been most harassed and plundered for the support of the armies of congress.

* Life and Writings of Gouverneur Morris: Boston, 1832.
† Washington's Letters.
‡ Even the one-sided enthusiastic Gordon says—"It was known by several to contain a strong mark of authenticity—the truth."

The hopes of that body were revived and their exertions diminished when Spain threw her sword into their scale; for they calculated that the Spanish fleet being joined to the French must inevitably prove too much for the British navy. Their hearts were rejoiced by the intelligence of the junction of the French and Spaniards; and it was not till late in the year that they fully ascertained the miserable failure of that grand armada. In other quarters, however, Spain had given some trouble to England. Soon after the court of Madrid announced their union with France, Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Louisiana, who had been preparing beforehand, having formally recognized the independence of the United States, made an irruption with 2000 men into our colony of West Florida, which was defended by only 1600 men scattered over the whole country in different forts or posts. Ascending the course of the Mississippi, in one compact column, Don Bernardo, after a siege of nine days, reduced a British fort garrisoned with 500 men at the mouth of the Ibbeville. After this success, which was decisive of the campaign, the Spaniards proceeded up the river as far as the Natches, occupied all the forts and settlements which formed the western barrier of the province, and overran a fertile but very thinly peopled country 1200 miles in extent. The eastern part of the province, with the strong fort of Mobile, remained, however, untouched. At the same moment when Galvez began this campaign in Florida, the governor of Yucatan commenced hostilities against the British settlers and logwood cutters on the Bay of Honduras, and plundered the principal establishment at St. George's Key. But in doing this the Spaniards got into a hornets' nest. The logwood cutters, consisting chiefly of sailors and men of the most daring and enterprising spirit, retreated and kept together in an inaccessible place, until the governor of Jamaica (Dalling) dispatched Captain Dalrymple with a small party of bold Irish volunteers to the Mosquito shore to convey to them a supply of arms, and to collect, if possible, a more considerable force for their assistance. At the same juncture Sir Peter Parker dispatched the 'Porcupine' sloop-of-war to co-operate; and this sloop, having taken on board Captain Dalrymple and his party, presently made the Spaniards evacuate St. George's Key and all that part of the coast. The 'Porcupine' was presently joined by a small squadron under the command of the Honourable Captain John Luttrell, who had been cruising to intercept some rich Spanish register ships, which had, however, escaped him, and taken refuge under the strong fortress of St. Fernando de Omoa. A very little consultation between Luttrell and Pakenham, the captain of the 'Porcupine,' Captain Dalrymple, and the chiefs of the British bay-men, led to the bold determination of proceeding immediately to the attack of the fort. They had no artillery that they could land and carry to the spot, but they thought the business might be done by surprise and assault, without any cannon. A motley force of logwood cutters, sailors, soldiers, and volunteers, not exceeding altogether 500 men, went to St. Fernando de Omoa, which had a garrison of 600 men, with plenty of great guns. The attempt at surprise failed; the garrison discovered the approach of the assailants; yet, nevertheless, the works were carried by escalade, the sailors climbing up their face with single ropes, and going on in spite of a hot fire. When the Spanish governor was told that they were on the ramparts he would scarcely credit the fact; but when he attempted to keep his own men to their guns he found that they were panic-stricken and incapable of further resistance. One hundred of them escaped in the confusion of the assault, and the rest threw down their arms and were made prisoners of war. Sailors and soldiers, logwood cutters and Irish volunteers, then made straight for the harbour, wherein the register ships had sought refuge; but the Spaniards had removed the greater part of the treasure, which had been a temptation for the attack, and, perhaps, the occasion of some additional bravery, to a place of safety. This was a disappointment, but still there remained a galleon in the harbour, and an immense quantity of quicksilver; and these, with other objects that fell into the hands of the conquerors, were estimated at 3,000,000 of piastres. In consequence of this signal success a convention was arranged between the British and Spanish officers, for the liberation of the settlers and logwood cutters who had been taken at St. George's Key, or at other parts of the bay, and who had been treated during their short captivity with great severity. A small garrison was left in Fort St. Fernando de Omoa, but the unhealthiness of the station soon led to its evacuation, after the guns had been spiked and the works in part blown up.

Nearer home the valour of British seamen was tested in a very desperate action, remarkable in all its circumstances. The enemy they had to contend with was the famed John Paul, or, as he called himself, Paul Jones, a native of Scotland and the son of a gardener of Galloway. This adventurer, described by tradition as "a short, thick, little fellow about five feet eight inches in height, and of a dark swarthy complexion," had taken to the sea at a very early age; had acquired considerable nautical skill; had gone to America, made some money, and settled in Virginia in 1773. Upon the breaking out of the American war, he, like so many other natives of Britain of a higher condition, offered his services against his native country. Congress gave him a commission, under which he cruised among our West India Islands, picking up many prizes, and showing very superior address and audacity. In short, he acquired the name of the best of all corsair or privateer captains. In the month of May, 1777, Congress sent him to France, where he was appointed by Franklin and his brother commissioners to the command of a French-built ship under American colours. In the course of 1778 Paul Jones sailed upon a cruise to the coast of Britain, and picked up many

prizes in places where the American flag was unknown. Sailing round the Land's End he ran along the western coast to Solway Frith, which washes the coast of Galloway, on which he was born. He

PAUL JONES. From a French Print.

knew that coast well, and the defenceless state of all its smaller ports. He made a descent at the mouth of the Dee, near to Kirkcudbright, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk;* and he made another descent by night on the Cumberland coast, on the opposite side of the Frith, at the small town of Whitehaven, where he spiked the guns of the fort, and burnt one or two vessels. For some time he cruised up and down between the Solway and the Clyde, scaring the whole coast, where his name to this day is mentioned with horror; and then, returning to Brest with 200 prisoners, he boasted that with his single ship he had kept the north-western coast of England and southern coast of Scotland in a state of alarm. In the summer of the present year, 1779, he returned to cruise along our eastern coasts, no longer with a single ship, but with a squadron,† manned by French and Americans, and desperadoes from various other countries, tempted into the service by exaggerated accounts of the enormous amount of prize-money he had made. Some of that class of romance-writers who labour to confound fact and fiction have endeavoured to depict this John Paul, or Paul Jones, as an heroic misanthropist, or as an ardent republican: he was in truth nothing but a coarse and vulgar corsair, with money for his bait, with a perfect indifference to all other considerations, with a brute kind of courage, and with some sailor-skill,—a ruffian who would have fought under the colours of the Dey of Algiers as readily as under those of his most Christian majesty or of congress. There are accounts which say he had taken his final leave of his own country in order to escape a final exit under the gallows-tree. In his present cruise he alarmed all the defenceless parts of the eastern coast from Flamborough Head to the Frith of Tay; but his great object was to intercept the Baltic trade, which was under the convoy of Captain Richard Pearson in the ship 'Serapis' of 40 guns, and Captain Piercy in the 'Countess of Scarborough,' an armed ship of 20 guns. This fleet had arrived safely off the Yorkshire coast, when the bailiff of the corporation of the town of Scarborough sent off to inform Captain Pearson that a flying squadron of enemy's ships had been seen the day before standing to the southward. The English commodore then made the signal for his convoy to bear down under his lee; and he himself made way to get between the enemy's ships and the convoy. It was on the 23rd of September: and at one o'clock three large ships and a brig were discovered from the masthead of the 'Serapis' standing to, as if in expectation of prizes. At four o'clock in the afternoon the enemy were close in sight, and in addition to their force a cutter appeared. Answering to the signals of Captain Pearson, the 'Countess of Scarborough' came up, and the merchant-vessels made the best of their way in-shore. The 'Serapis' and the 'Countess' remained between the flying merchant men and the advancing enemy. About seven o'clock Paul Jones, in the 'Bon Homme Richard,' a two-decker carrying 40 guns, engaged Captain Pearson in the 'Serapis' within musket-shot; and, after firing two or three broadsides, backed his topsails, dropped within pistol-shot on the 'Serapis's' quarter, and then filling again attempted to board. Captain Pearson repulsed the corsair in this attempt, and Jones sheered off; but, after one or two manœuvres, and more than one accident, the two ships, the 'Bon Homme Richard' and the 'Serapis,' dropped alongside of each other head and stern, and so close that the muzzles of the guns touched and grated. In this close contact the action continued with the greatest fury from half-past eight till half-past ten, during which time Jones, who had far more men, vainly attempted to board, and the 'Serapis' was set on fire ten or twelve times. Every time the fire was extinguished; and Captain Pearson had, on the whole, the best of the battle, when one of the frigates, after assisting in disabling the 'Countess of Scarborough,' came up to the assistance of the 'Bon Homme Richard,' and kept constantly sailing round and raking the 'Serapis' till almost every man on the quarter or main-decks was killed or wounded. The calamity was increased by the accidental ignition of a cartridge of powder near one of the lower-deck ports—the flames spread from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, and blew up

* He carried off all the plate and other valuable articles. It is said that Paul and his father had formerly lived in the house, in Lord Selkirk's service.

† Gordon says,—"The small squadron which the captain commanded in 1779 was fitted out at the expense of his most Christian majesty, who honoured him with a French commission. Monsieur de Sartine, the minister of the marine, requested Dr. Franklin to strengthen the squadron by ordering the 'Alliance' to join it, which was immediately done." The 'Alliance' was the frigate that went round and round the 'Serapis,' raking her fore and aft, while she was engaged with the 'Bon Homme Richard.'

the whole of the officers and people that were quartered abaft the main-mast. After a desperate and last effort to board Paul Jones, Captain Pearson hauled down his colours. Two-thirds of his men were killed and wounded, and his main-mast went by the board just as he struck. But the 'Bon Homme Richard' was in a still more pitiful condition: her quarters and counter on the lower deck were entirely driven in; the whole of her guns on that deck were dismounted, all her decks were strewed with killed and wounded; she had scarcely a fourth of her crew on their legs; she was on fire in two different places, and had seven feet water in her hold. On the next day Paul Jones was obliged to quit her, and she sank at sea (it is said) with a great number of her wounded men on board. Captain Piercy, who, in his armed ship of 20 guns, had been closely engaged with a frigate of 32 guns, a 12-gun brig, and a cutter, was also obliged to strike; but his defence was equally brave, and the captors suffered most severely. The convoy were enabled to take shelter in the harbours on the coast, and they all escaped. It is said that during the engagement Paul Jones was seen without his coat, and with his shirt-sleeves tucked up beyond his elbows, running about his ship, and brandishing a naked cutlass to keep his men to their guns. It would have been better for Paul to die there than to have been taken, for if he had been brought prisoner into England he would assuredly have been hanged. The French government publicly gave him thanks in the name of Louis XVI., and conferred upon him the Order of Merit. A little later congress sent him a vote of thanks, and gave him the command ofa ne w ship called the 'America.' Captain Pearson upon his return to England was knighted by George III.; and both he and Captain Piercy received several popular tokens of gratitude and admiration.* On the 6th of October an action, more remarkable for the desperateness with which it was fought than for the force engaged, took place off Ushant between the 'Quebec,' Captain Farmer, of 32 guns, and the 'Rambler' cutter, and a large French frigate and cutter. The two frigates fought at close quarters for three hours and a half—both were totally dismasted—when the 'Quebec,' by firing through her sails, which were lying over her side, took fire and continued burning. Captain Farmer, severely wounded, was requested to leave his ship, but he refused, and was blown up with her. A good many men had been killed in the action; 2 midshipmen and 14 seamen were saved by a boat put out by the 'Rambler' cutter; a Russian vessel which happened to pass soon after picked up 13 more of the crew; and all the rest perished in the air or in the water. The English cutter had beaten off the French cutter. A pension was conferred on the widow of Captain Farmer, and his son was, rather unnecessarily, made a baronet. In other naval actions which took place in the course of the year success was almost invariably in favour of the British. The East India Company built at their own expense, and presented to Government, three fine 74-gun ships, and offered bounty-money for raising 6000 seamen. In this branch of history there remains to be mentioned a little circumstance honourable to France: our great circumnavigator Captain Cook was then engaged in his third and last voyage of discovery and survey; and the French court issued an order to all its naval commanders not to molest or interrupt him on any account, as his pursuits were for the advancement of science and the universal benefit of the civilized world.

The operations of the war and the whole course of events had not been calculated to gain confidence and strength to the administration, or to bring up Lord North's parliamentary majorities, which had been declining and dwindling for the two last years. From four to one they had fallen to less than two to one; and we shall soon find North contending against a minority which had nearly all the eloquence on its side with little more than thin majorities of scores or tens. Perhaps he was weakened somewhat by the elevation of Thurlow to the chancellorship and the House of Peers. Wedderburn had succeeded Thurlow as attorney-general, and Wallace had taken Wedderburn's place of solicitor-general. There were some changes in the cabinet, though not any likely to increase or materially decrease its strength. The Earl of Suffolk had died in the course of the year, and his office of secretary-of-state for the northern department was filled by Lord Weymouth, who remained secretary for the southern department at the same time. Weymouth now resigned both secretaryships, and Lord Hillsborough was appointed to the southern department, and Lord Stormont, late ambassador at Paris,* became secretary for the northern department. The Earl of Carlisle, late commissioner to America, was appointed first lord of trade and plantations — or president of a board which had but recently been revived by Lord North, and which was soon to fall to pieces under the eloquent attacks of Burke.† Earl Gower, lord-president of the council, resigned that office, and was succeeded by the Earl of Bathurst. The great Bedford party had for some time shown strong symptoms of falling off from Lord North; and it was understood that there were greater differences among ministers themselves. A most immediately alarming subject was the disaffection of the Irish, which seemed to be approaching the limits of insurrection and rebellion.

* Schomberg.—Gordon.—Stedman.—Ann. Regist.—Letter of Captain Pearson to the Admiralty.

* Lord Stormont had passed his life in diplomacy, and had resided many years on the continent—at the courts of Dresden and Vienna—before he was, in a difficult moment, removed to Paris. He was a man of considerable abilities and acquirements, but he was exceedingly unpopular from the belief that he had been slow in detecting the hostile plans of France. George III., as in the case of Lord George Germaine, Admiral Palliser, and others, certainly showed in such matters an unwise disregard of popular feeling and prejudice; and when he had once selected a servant it was difficult to procure his removal.

† The Board of Trade and Plantations had for some years been absorbed and included in the new office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, held at this moment by Lord George Germaine.

Parliament assembled on the 25th of November. In his opening speech the king called upon the two Houses to exert their efforts, along with him, in defence of the country, attacked by an unjust and unprovoked war, and contending with one of the most dangerous confederacies ever formed against the crown and people of Great Britain. His majesty had no decisive victories to report; but he congratulated his hearers on the important fact that the designs and attempts of France and Spain to invade this kingdom had been frustrated and disappointed. In the whole speech, which was a short one, there was not a syllable about America or the Americans. It stated that the French and Spaniards were still menacing us with great armaments and preparations; but his majesty added, that he trusted we were well prepared to meet every attack and repel every insult—that he knew the character of his brave people, and that national spirit which had so often checked and defeated the projects of ambition and injustice, and preserved the liberties of Europe from the encroaching power of the House of Bourbon, &c. The speech, however, dwelt emphatically upon the subject of Ireland. His majesty stated that he had not been inattentive to the state of that *loyal and faithful* kingdom; that he had, in consequence of the addresses of parliament presented to him in the last session, ordered such papers to be laid before them as might assist their deliberations on this important business; and he recommended it to them to consider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that kingdom, by such regulations and methods as might most effectually promote the common strength, wealth, and interests of all his dominions. The Commons were told that it was with extreme concern that his majesty saw the great and inevitable expenses which his naval and military forces would require; and the speech ended with the declaration that, "trusting in divine providence and in the justice of his cause," his majesty was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. The address was opposed in the Lords by the Marquess of Rockingham, who declared that our diplomacy had been conducted without skill, and our fate concealed from us till the last moment by the shuffling cabinet—that Lord Stormont had been deceived and duped by the craft of France, and Lord Grantham by the artifices of Spain. The address spoke of the blessings of living under his majesty's happy government. This, Lord Rockingham said, was insulting the common sense of the House, as the blessings were all turned into curses, and security and honour were banished the kingdom. He remembered what glory and lustre there was when his majesty first ascended the throne; and he attributed the woful change which had taken place to a pernicious system of unconstitutional control. He said that this system had reduced the nation to an unexampled degree of degradation. He attacked the first lord of the admiralty with invectives, arguments, and some stubborn facts. He was astonished that that servant of the crown should dare remain in office, when he knew that, at this moment of imminent danger, the greatest and the best of our naval officers were driven from the service by his being at the head of the admiralty. He threw Paul Jones and his exploits in the face of Sandwich, and bitterly reproached him for leaving the coasts in so defenceless a state. He attributed all the discontents in Ireland to the procrastination, folly, and bad faith of ministers, who had promised to do what they had not done, and who had provoked the intemperate language used and the high demands made by the Irish people. Taking up the subject of America, on which neither the speech nor the address said one word, the marquess severely censured the last proclamation issued by the king's commissioners, which he called an accursed manifesto, the forerunner of a war of the most horrid nature—a war to the last degree bloody, malignant, and diabolical. In conclusion, Rockingham moved an amendment, omitting every clause and word of the address except the title, and inserting instead a prayer, beseeching his majesty to reflect on the extent of territory, the power, the opulence, the reputation abroad, and the concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his reign; and now on the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered state of the whole, after all the enormous grants of successive parliaments; and requesting his majesty, as the only cure left, to resort to new counsels and new counsellors without further loss of time. A precisely similar amendment was moved in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish; and in both Houses the arguments and invectives employed were very nearly the same. Collectively, and even after deducting party exaggeration, they formed a mass which one would have thought heavy enough to crush a much stronger administration. The ministry were accused of ruining both army and navy by their base compliances with court predilections, by their fear and jealousy of every officer of merit, by their criminal tardiness, and by their utter want of a consistent plan of military operations. They were told they did well in mentioning providence, as they had no other ally. It was said that, great as their imbecility might be, it was scarcely great enough to account for all that had happened—that there must be treachery at the bottom. Charles Fox exclaimed that treachery, and not ignorance, must have prevailed in the national councils, to reduce the nation to so miserable a condition: the minister might flatter himself with the protection of a majority, or with security from the law; but, when a nation was reduced to such a state of wretchedness and distraction that the laws could afford the people no relief, they would afford the ministers who had caused the evil but little protection. What the law of the land could not, the law of nature would accomplish—the people would inevitably take up arms; and the first characters in the kingdom would be seen in the ranks. Lord

North indignantly replied to this charge of treachery, which, he observed, had lately become a favourite topic with gentlemen in opposition. He asked why they did not come forward like men, and make good their vague accusations?—why they did not follow them up with specific charges? There were laws, he said, for the protection of innocence; and, if his accusers adhered to the laws, he was safe. He defended, with considerable ingenuity, the management of the war; he showed that, from the numerous points at which we were assailed, and from the extensive range of our operations, it was impossible to keep always at every one point a force superior to the enemy: he vindicated the honour of the navy, and he affirmed that the fleets which France and Spain had ruined their finances to raise had gained no honour and no decisive advantage, and were already falling into weakness and decrepitude. Their immense armaments, he said, had paraded and paraded to no purpose, and their millions had been spent in vain. In both Houses the amendment was rejected—in the Lords by a majority of exactly two to one, 82 against 41; in the Commons by 233 against 134. In the course of this debate the troubled state of Ireland was frequently alluded to; and, with oratorical unfairness, every mischief there was attributed to the present ministry, just as if Ireland had not been misgoverned for centuries! On the 1st of December the Earl of Shelburne moved a resolution declaring ministers highly censurable for having neglected to take measures for the relief of Ireland, in conformity with the address of the House of Lords to his majesty on the 11th of May last. In introducing this motion Shelburne declared that the government of Ireland had been abdicated, and that the people were justified by the principles of the constitution and by the laws of self-preservation in taking back its powers into their own hands. He read the address of both Houses of the Irish parliament, which declared that nothing less than a free trade would rescue that kingdom from ruin; and he asserted—what was perfectly true—that all classes and creeds, Church of England men, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and dissenters of all sorts, Whigs and Tories, placemen, pensioners, and country gentlemen, concurred in this opinion. Lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state, defended the conduct of ministers, maintaining that no delay could be fairly imputed; that measures for the relief of Ireland must flow from parliament, and were not to be entered upon without proper information and preparation; that ministers had been earnestly employed in collecting information and making arrangements, the result of which would soon be communicated. The debate was rendered remarkable by some words that fell from Lord Gower, who had so recently resigned his post of president of the council. After saying that he must in fairness oppose the motion, as the men who were the object of it seemed to require a few days for their exculpation, he declared that *he had seen such things pass of late at the council table, that no man of honour or conscience could any longer sit there!* Shelburne's motion was rejected by 82 against 37. On the very same day Lord North communicated to the House of Commons some additional papers respecting Ireland, and gave notice that he would, in something more than a week, move for a committee of the whole house to enter upon that business. Notwithstanding this notice, an Irish peer, the Earl of Upper Ossory, sitting in the House of Commons, moved, only five days after—on the 6th of December—a vote of censure upon ministers for their neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and was seconded by Lord Middleton. Lord North was there to speak for himself and his colleagues, and the ministry never was so ably defended as by himself. He reasoned that the distresses of Ireland could not with justice be attributed to the present or to any recent administration; that the grievances complained of originated long ago; that the restrictions upon the trade and industry of the Irish arose from our general system of trade, a system narrow but old, a short-sighted policy which, though conceived in ignorance and founded on prejudice, was so confirmed by habit that it seemed to have become a part of our very constitution. He referred to the attempts which had been made in the two preceding sessions to obtain a moderate relaxation of illiberal restrictions; and he showed how the strongest prejudices, both within the House and without, had been armed against those well-meant attempts. He said that the few members of parliament who had undertaken the task had found that it was a very invidious one, and that their constituents, and the English people in general, and the majority of the house, were averse to the affording any favour to Ireland which they fancied could either interfere with our old trade laws, or affect any branch of the English commerce or manufactures. Some little had been done; and it was owing to the temper, the prejudices, the habits of the English parliament and people that more had not been done. Still he could say that the present ministers had been the best and warmest friends to Ireland, and had done more for her than any other cabinet for a century past. They had enlarged the trade of the Irish; they had given bounties to encourage the Irish Newfoundland fishery, and to promote the growth of hemp and tobacco; they had permitted the exportation of woollen cloth and several other articles; and they could challenge the praise of having conferred, with warm goodwill, many benefits on the Irish people. Burke's friend, the Irish Earl Nugent, opposed the motion as unfair. His lordship seems to have considered that it would be unjust to attribute to ministers the faults of the English nation, and all their mischievous errors in political economy; and in a calm and rational way he quitted the mere struggle of party, to explain or enforce some of the fundamental doctrines of that healing science. In general the opposition pursued the questionable and dangerous course of drawing parallels be-

tween Ireland and America. They asserted, that ministers, because they had failed in reducing the colonies by force, were ready to make large concessions to the sister kingdom; but that Ireland had suffered more from the loss of her share in the trade of America than from any other cause. They said that, if the thunders of the cabinet had not been hurled against Ireland, if Dublin had not been treated like Boston, if Cork had not been burnt and Waterford reduced to ashes, like so many towns in America, it was not through any lenity, humanity, or a more enlightened policy in ministers, but from the tremendous appearance of things, and the real dangers of the present awful moment, which had compelled their insolence and their arrogance to give way to fear and humiliation.* Mr. Fox, who appeared for the first time since his recovery from a wound received in a duel with Mr. Adams, which had been provoked by some words that fell from him on the first night of the session, spoke with great eloquence and vivacity; and the debate was prolonged to nearly an hour after midnight, when Lord Ossory's motion was rejected by a majority of 173 against 100. Just one week after this debate—on the 13th of December, the minister brought forward his promised scheme of relief to Ireland. It consisted of three propositions. 1st. To allow a free export of wool, woollens, and wool-flocks: 2nd. To allow a free export of glass and all kinds of glass manufacture whatever: 3rd. To allow a free trade with all the British plantations upon certain considerations, the basis of which was to be an equality of customs, &c. Lord North, who had roused himself to an unusual degree of exertion, supported his propositions, and urged the necessity of affording relief to Ireland, in a speech of considerable length, and which was much admired for its ability and knowledge of the subject. He entered minutely into the natural and inherent rights of Ireland; he combated many inveterate prejudices, and he proclaimed, like a statesman, that the benefits of the two countries must be reciprocal, their interests mutual; and he collected very happily into one point of view all the more liberal notions of commerce and policy which Burke, and a few more men in advance of the political economy of their time, had laboured to make familiar to a somewhat obtuse and slow-learning parliament and public. It might be very true that ministers were moved by their fears and apprehensions; but this also must have been the case with a large majority of the House, with men on both sides of it;—for the very individuals who had voted against commercial concessions to Ireland the year before, now supported this large and handsome instalment; and Lord North's three resolutions were agreed to without the smallest opposition. Bills founded on the two first propositions were instantly brought in; and they passed both Houses with the utmost facility, and received the royal assent before the Christmas recess. As the third proposition was more complex in its nature and seemed to call for a variety of inquiry, it was suffered to lie over the holidays, not only to afford time for consideration here, but for acquiring some knowledge of the effect likely to be produced by the measure in Ireland. It happened fortunately for both countries that the majority of the Irish parliament, in spite of some stirring harangues intended to prove that the concession was not large enough, and had merely been given in dread of the bayonets of associated Irishmen, chose to consider the scheme as satisfactory, to receive the acts as a boon, and to express great loyalty and affection. The third proposition was therefore soon carried, and a few other benefits were conferred on the Irish, such as allowing them to become members of the Turkey or Levant company, to export English gold coin, and to import foreign hops.*

A general outcry had been raised against the enormous expenses of the last few years, and as early as the 7th of December an unexpected motion was made by the Duke of Richmond in the Upper House for an address, to beseech his majesty to reflect on the manifold distresses and difficulties of the country; to represent that the waste of the public treasure required instant remedy, that profusion was not vigour, and that it was become indispensably necessary to adopt that true economy which, by reforming all useless expenses, creates confidence in government, gives energy to its exertions, and provides the means for their continuance;—and humbly to submit to his majesty, that a considerable reduction of the civil list would be an example well worthy his majesty's paternal affection for his people and his own dignity, and could not fail of diffusing its influence through every department of the state;—and further to assure his majesty that that House would readily concur in promoting so desirable a purpose, and that every one of its members would cheerfully submit to such reductions of emoluments in any office he might hold as his majesty might think proper to make. His grace entered into a detailed statement of the present vast military establishment by sea and land, which, he said, would not fall much short of 300,000 men, a force exceeding the

* While the armed associations and the non-importation agreements were continuing in full force, in order still further to compel, through the motives of fear, the British government to concede a free trade, the Irish from nearly every county and town had instructed their representatives in their own parliament to vote a money bill for six months only, instead of for two years, as had been usual. Some of the best friends to that country, and the most sensible men in it, thought that this ought not to be done until ministers had refused the boon asked from them. But the Dublin mob were too impatient to wait for anything, and, adopting the principle that the best way to procure the free trade was to destroy and terrify the friends of government, or, as they termed them, "the enemies of Ireland," on the 15th of November they broke the windows and furniture of Mr. Scott, the attorney-general, then marched to the Parliament House, and detached a body to the Four Courts to seize the attorney-general, Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Monk Mason. Fortunately those three gentlemen had time to escape and conceal themselves. The mob then broke some more windows, and, stationing themselves in front of the Parliament House, and uttering terrible yells, they stopped all the members that were going in, and swore them to be true to Ireland, and vote for the short money bill. That bill was accordingly carried on the following day; and, when the attorney-general complained of the popular excesses and of the treatment he had received, he found little sympathy in the House. In fact the riot had been excited and directed by the patriotic members.

* Ann. Regis.

ability of any power in Europe to support for a continuance. He showed by a number of calculations that the American war since its beginning had added 63,000,000*l.* to the national debt, and that the standing interest of the whole debt would not amount to less than 8,000,000*l.* a year. Deceived like others by the semblance of success which attended the financial operations of Necker in France, and exaggerating the consequences of some economical measures adopted in that country, his grace represented that our formidable and neighbouring enemy was rising to wealth as fast as we were sinking in poverty. It was now, he said, by economy and by economy alone that we could hope to work out our national salvation. It must begin somewhere, and he thought that the example would come best from the sovereign. It would then have a general effect, and he could not doubt, that after such a beginning there would not be one of their lordships but would cheerfully relinquish such a part of his pay or public emoluments as his majesty might think proper to recommend! The example would go still further. It would spread through the different departments of the state, and through all classes of society, and it would tend to restrain that boundless profusion in expenditure which now prevailed. He had no wish to abridge the splendour and dignity of the crown; and he was certain that his motion could not produce that effect. Parliament only a few years before had augmented the civil list to the enormous amount of 900,000*l.* a-year, and he only proposed to bring it back again to that state in which both the honour and splendour of the crown had been well supported in much happier times. His grace said that he had no intention of deducting from the pensions settled on persons who had wasted their fortunes in the service of the country; and that the Pelhams, the Walpoles, the Pitts were names remembered with sufficient gratitude to make *their* pensions sacred. [The Duke of Newcastle was indeed said to have spent 500,000*l.* of his own during nearly the half-century he clung to office; but his brother Mr. Pelham had little or no fortune to waste, and the same might be said of Walpole, and still more of Pitt, who, besides the pension conferred on his family after his death, had enjoyed pensions to his wife and pay and pensions to himself, and had gained during his life-time, and solely as a politician, good funded money and a large estate. We are not aware what may have been the amount of the national bounty conferred on the Pelhams, but one of Walpole's sons alone—the well-known Horace—was enjoying at this very moment, in sinecure places, more than 6000*l.* a-year of the public money.] The lords in administration were compelled to confess that our expenditure was enormous, and even that there had been some want of economy under the present ministry; but they observed that war was ever expensive, and that England at present was obliged to contend with one of the most formidable confederacies Europe had ever known. They wished to see a more clear and satisfactory method adopted in stating the public accounts; and they also wished for a strict economy; but they opposed the motion, particularly from a conviction that it could not be of any great service, or at all adequate to the object proposed. They insisted that the civil list could not bear any diminution, and that it would be degrading to parliament, after so recently voting an augmentation, to declare that they were unable to continue the income which had been so freely granted. Lord Chancellor Thurlow doubted whether the nation were so poor or reduced as represented by the noble mover. He asked who knew of those distresses? and how were they before the house? upon what investigation was such a conclusion drawn? He remarked that the complaint of the waste of the public money was also vague and not substantiated by any kind of proofs. Very few of their lordships were prepared for retrenchment in their own emoluments, and some who voted with the Duke of Richmond would have been in a consternation if his motion had been carried. It was rejected by 77 against 36, including ten proxies on one side, and three on the other. Eight days later—on the 15th of December—the Earl of Shelburne drew the attention of their lordships to the large sums of money recently set down as extraordinaries of the army, and, after a long speech, in which he compared these expenses to those contracted in former wars, and in which he said that the greater part of the money was taken out of the pockets of the public to be put into the pockets of the minister's *contracting friends*, he moved a resolution to the effect, that the alarming addition annually making to the present enormous national debt, under the head of extraordinaries incurred in the different services, required immediate check and control, as the increasing the public expense beyond the grants of parliament was an invasion of the rights of parliament, and as the present reduced and deplorable state of the landed and mercantile interests of Great Britain and Ireland rendered the utmost economy indispensably necessary. The defence on the part of ministers is described as having been extremely *short and dry*. The conduct of the noble premier in the other house was, however, warmly vindicated: it was said that he was clean-handed in the most eminent degree, and that he would go out of office in a state of poverty, if that event were to happen on the morrow. Nobody who knew anything of Lord North could fancy that he was greedy for money, or in the habit of making any by unfair means; but what was suspected—and it might have been proved—was, that he was in the habit of strengthening the cause of government in both Houses of parliament, and in boroughs and corporations, if not by direct drafts upon the treasury, by appliances of the civil list or of the extraordinaries money, and by allowing shameful abuses in army and navy contracts and government bargains—a system which has been pursued since North's time by

ministers who were as indifferent to money as he, and who died in a state of pauperism or insolvency. Shelburne's motion was rejected by a majority of 81 including 21 proxies, against 41 including four proxies. The noble mover then acquainted the House with the purport of a second proposition, which was for appointing a committee to inquire into the several branches of the public expenditure, and to consider what reductions or savings could be made; and he moved that this should be taken into consideration on the 8th of February. This was agreed to. On the same 15th of December Burke took up the subject of economical reform, in the House of Commons, and gave notice that after the Christmas recess he would propose some very important regulations. This was the first opening of that plan of public economy which gained him so much celebrity. His speech was wonderfully fine and infinitely varied. His friend and disciple Fox came in and spoke also with great eloquence, deploring that there was not virtue enough within those walls to carry through the plan of reformation which his honourable friend had to propose, though the virtue of necessity must at last animate the people, and, through them, animate and correct that house. And by this time the people were animated or excited by the opposition speeches in both houses bearing upon the question of expenditure and the necessity of economy. Thanks from the city of London were voted to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Shelburne for their past motions, accompanied with full approbation of the motion announced for the 8th of February, and with an assurance of every constitutional support in the power of the city to give. Meetings were called and held in various counties; strong petitions were framed, and associations were entered into, with the object, not merely of obtaining a reduction of expenditure and taxation, but also *a reform of parliament*. The Christmas holidays were devoted to this work. The great county of York led the way and set the example to the rest of the kingdom, being guided and directed by its veteran member, Sir George Saville. On the 30th of December a very numerous meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, including some of the richest men and the noblest in the county, was held in the city of York. Their petition to the House of Commons ran in these strong terms: "That this nation hath been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; that many of our valuable colonies, having actually declared themselves independent, have formed a strict confederacy with France and Spain, the dangerous and inveterate enemies of Great Britain; that the consequence of those combined misfortunes hath been a large addition to the national debt, and heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burthens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, your petitioners observe with grief, that, notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money hath been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country. Your petitioners, conceiving that the true end of every legitimate government is not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community, and considering that by the constitution of this realm the national purse is intrusted in a peculiar manner to the custody of this honourable house, beg leave further to represent, that, until effectual measures be taken to redress the oppressive grievances herein stated, the grant of any additional sum of public money, beyond the produce of the present taxes, will be injurious to the rights and property of the people, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of parliament. Your petitioners therefore, appealing to the justice of this honourable House, do most earnestly request, that, before any new burthens are laid upon this country, effectual measures may be taken by this House to inquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such manner as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem meet." Before the meeting separated a permanent committee of 61 members was named, to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and to prepare a plan of association, on legal and constitutional grounds, in order to support a laudable reform and the restoration of freedom of parliament. In a very short time the several counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hants, Hertford, Sussex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derby, held meetings of the same kind, drew up petitions nearly in the same words, and entered into associations and correspondence. The great cities of York and Bristol, the towns of Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcastle, Reading, and Bridgewater, also petitioned; and the county of Northampton agreed to instruct their members on the points of the petition.

A.D. 1780. In the city of London the whigs had no longer that absolute supremacy which they had enjoyed a few years before; but, though somewhat late, the metropolis was equally warm when it began. On the 10th of February the Court of Common Council took into consideration the ruinous expenditure of public money and other grievances, and carried unanimously a motion for a petition to be presented to the House of Commons; and a committee of eight aldermen and sixteen

commoners was appointed to draw up the petition, and to correspond with the reforming associations and committees of the several counties. It was also ordered that these their votes and resolutions should be published in the newspapers. Efforts were made by the ministerial party to get up counter-petitions and protests; and in the counties of Sussex and Hertford a considerable number—represented as the majority—of the nobility and land-interest signed a protest; and in several other parts of the kingdom counter-meetings were held, with the intention of proving that the county associations and corresponding committees were asserting more than was true, and hazarding, for party purposes, an insurrection or revolution. Upon the whole, however, these efforts were considered as a failure. The strong petition from York and the numerous other papers of the same kind were pouring into the House, when Burke—on the 11th of February—rose to introduce his promised plan of economical reform. His speech on this occasion was even more admired than his prelude delivered on the 15th of December. It was considered as placing him not merely in the first rank of orators, but also in the very first rank of practical statesmen. "It must remain," said Dunning, "as a monument to be handed down to posterity of his uncommon zeal, unrivalled industry, astonishing abilities, and invincible perseverance." Burke had indeed entered into every detail of public accounts; and, with a few excusable lapses, he treated the whole matter as an admirable man of business, and as a reformer who, in the heat and vehemence of projection, could respect and revere vested rights and collective interests. This admirable speech was immediately printed and passed through a great number of editions; and it may still be read with instruction and delight. In the House it was listened to with mixed feelings of astonishment and admiration; the voice of party was hushed, and the orator was applauded even by men whose purses were immediately touched or menaced by his eloquence. The whole of the scheme was comprised in five bills, which were afterwards brought severally before Parliament, and which embraced—the sale of forest-lands belonging to the crown; the abolition of the inferior and perplexed royal jurisdictions of Wales, Cornwall, Chester, and Lancaster; the abolition of the court offices of treasurer, comptroller, cofferer, keepers of the stag, buck, and fox-hounds, wardrobe, jewels, robes, &c., &c.; the abolition of the recently created office of *third* secretary of state; the diminution of offices in the ordnance and mint departments; the abolition of the patent offices of the exchequer; the regulation of the army, navy, and pension pay offices, with some other departments not under proper control; and, above all, a better arrangement of the civil list, so as to prevent for the future any accumulation of debt, and so as to secure punctual and fair payment to the least powerful claimants, the salaries and pensions of the first lord of the treasury himself, the chancellor of the exchequer, &c., being the last to be paid. With reference to this last point, and to the difficulty that poorer or weaker claimants encountered in getting their money, Burke said,—"As things now stand, every man, in proportion to his consequence at court, tends to add to the expense of the civil list, by all manner of jobs, if not for himself, yet for his dependents!" Lord North, after passing very high encomiums on the author of the plan, assured the House that no member in it was more zealous for the establishment of a permanent system of economy than he was; but then he intimated that subjects so numerous and various required time for reflection; and he added that some of them affected the king's patrimonial income, on which latter account he thought the crown should be consulted. He therefore proposed postponing the bills which related to the crown lands, and to Wales and the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster; and this was agreed to after some debate. All the other bills were brought in; but the last of them, for uniting the duchy of Cornwall to the crown, was withdrawn by mutual consent, as the rights of the Prince of Wales were nearly concerned in it, and as his royal highness, being a minor, could not give a legal assent. The portions of the plan submitted to deliberation occupied a considerable part of the months of March, April, and May, and gave rise to many animated debates and several very close divisions. The clause for abolishing the office of third secretary of state was negatived by a majority of only seven. On the 13th of March a majority of 207 to 199 carried the clause abolishing the board of trade.* In the mean time the Earl of Shelburne had made his motion promised for the 8th of February, for the appointment of a committee, to consist of members of both Houses possessing neither employments nor pensions, to examine the public expenditure and the mode of accounting for the same; more particularly to inquire into the manner of making all contracts; and at the same time to take into consideration what saving could be made, consistent with public dignity, justice, and gratitude, by an abolition of old and newly created offices, &c. His lordship

* The great saving thus made, for a time—the board of trade being subsequently restored—was about 6000*l.* per annum. The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, as they were called, were eight in number, with net salaries varying from 700*l.* to 800*l.* each. In former days they had done some service to the country, and they had included in their body the illustrious name of John Locke. Of late years they had been considered as useless appendages of the ministry—as men that drew salaries, voted with government, and did little else. Gibbon, who was one of them, and whose private fortune was small and reduced, could, nevertheless, join in the laugh created by Burke's sallies. "The fancy of a hostile orator," says the amiable, easy-tempered historian, "might paint, in the strong colours of ridicule, 'the perpetual virtual adjournments and the unbroken sitting vacation of the board of trade!' But it must be allowed that our duty was not intolerably severe, and that I enjoyed many days and weeks of repose, without being called away from my library to the office. * * * * I can never forget the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the House, and even by those whose existence he proscribed. *The lords* of trade blushed at their insignificancy, and Mr. Eden's appeal to the *two thousand five hundred* volumes of our reports served only to excite a general laugh."—*Memoirs.* Gibbon had only been appointed in the month of July of the preceding year. The loss of his place induced him to retire to Lausanne, where he finished *his History*. Richard Cumberland, the dramatic writer, was secretary to the board.

declared that a regard to the constitution was as *strong* a motive with him in making this proposition as a regard to economy—that the money wasted went to subvert the honour and rights of parliament—that his chief object was to annihilate that undue influence operating upon both Houses which, if not eradicated, would prove the destruction of this country. He supported his motion by precedents, showing that commissions of accounts had been passed almost regularly through the reigns of William and Anne, and down to the first year of George I., when they were discontinued. The Earl of Coventry seconded the motion, and described the country as being in very distressed circumstances, rents falling, the value of land sinking, and farmers going to ruin. The Duke of Grafton also affirmed, as from his own knowledge, that the whole kingdom was in a very bad condition; that there was nothing but discontent and dissatisfaction; and that the petitions recently presented spoke the genuine sense of the people. On the other hand, the new Lord Chesterfield, who had a place at court, declared that the majority of the people were prosperous and satisfied under the present government, and that the county petitions and associations were the last struggles of an expiring faction. Lord Mansfield, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and others, urged that the motion was a violation of the inherent, exclusive privilege of the other House to control the public expenditure. Upon a division, it was negatived by a majority of 101 against 55. Colonel Barré then proposed the subject in a more proper place. Three days after the introduction of Burke's plan, the colonel stated in the Commons, that he did not consider that reform sufficiently extensive; that he thought it iniquitous to leave men of overgrown wealth in possession of great salaries for which they did nothing, or worse than nothing; that the army extraordinaries were excessive, and to him unintelligible; and that therefore he should on some early day move for a committee of accounts, to consist only of a few men acting with the consciousness that the eyes of the public were fixed upon them. To the surprise of all sides of the House, Lord North highly applauded the proposal, expressing his own surprise that a measure of such obvious utility had not been thought of sooner. He declared that no man could be more ready than himself to adopt any plan that appeared likely to promote economy, and reduce the public expenses to order and limit. The opposition congratulated the minister; and Barré said he would bring in a bill for the purpose. Lord North, however, set to work himself, and on the 2nd of March brought in a bill of his own framing, proposing as commissioners of accounts gentlemen who had no seat in parliament. Barré bitterly complained of this procedure, which, he said, was unfair, and altogether new in parliamentary history. But, after these expressions of personal feeling, he declared that he would concur and rejoice in the measure though the merit should be imputed to another. A great portion of the opposition, though they appear to have been prepared to support the propositions if left in the hands of Barré, now spoke against the whole measure, calling it a ministerial trick to create new places and salaries, and insisting that the commission would do no good. The bill, however, was carried through the House; and Sir Guy Carleton, late governor and commander-in-chief in canada, and five other less known gentlemen, were appointed commissioners of accounts. On the 15th of February Sir George Saville moved that an account of all places held by patent from the crown, with the amount of the salaries annexed to them, and a list of the persons at present holding them, should be laid before the House. This motion being agreed to, he next moved that an account of all subsisting pensions, granted by the crown during pleasure or otherwise, specifying the amount of such pensions and the persons to whom they were granted, should be laid before the House. Sir George observed that his friend Mr. Burke, with the liberality of his nature, had not included in his plan of economy any inquiry into subjects of this nature; but that, however laudable such tenderness might be, the people, roused by their feelings and their necessities, demanded a strict and rigid inquiry. But here Sir George Saville encountered a most determined opposition. The debate was broken off by a sudden illness of the speaker; and, when the subject was revived, the minister moved an amendment, restricting the account to such pensions only as were paid at the exchequer, and excepting those paid out of the privy purse. When he saw that this proposal gave great dissatisfaction, he qualified it by moving in addition that the general amount of all pensions, however paid, should be given, but without any specification of names, and without stating the sums paid to each particular person, except in the case of those who were paid from the exchequer. He argued that it would be wanton and cruel to expose the necessities of ancient and noble families, whose fortunes were too narrow for the support of their rank—to expose the man who had a pension to the envy and malice of the man who had none—to hold him up to private malice and party malevolence as the price for the favour conferred on him by the crown—to furnish out matter for a feast to newspapers and party writers, to be dressed up by them in their own manner, for the entertainment of the public, at the expense of some of the noblest and perhaps most meritorious members of the state. He said that the true nature of the pension-list was very little known and understood—that all was not pension that appeared on that list—that several large salaries were, in exchequer language, classed under that denomination—that, if these payments, for which services were rendered, were deducted from the list, together with the four shillings-in-the-pound tax taken off all places and pensions, the total remaining would not be found to exceed

50,000*l.* a-year, which was 10,000*l.* a-year less than Mr. Burke, in his economical reform, thought reasonable to allot to that article of public expense. He said he was certain that, if the people of England only knew that all that could possibly be gotten by exposing the names of several honourable persons on the pension-list would amount to no more than a few thousands a-year, their hearts would revolt at the idea of such a motion. He also urged that the money granted to the sovereign on the civil list was granted without control, and became his personal property, of which he could as freely dispose as any private owner disposed of the rents of his estate. The opposition answered, that pensions granted for honourable service were not marks of disgrace, and that none who had any good claim to the public bounty could be ashamed of seeing their names published to the world. They represented that in Ireland, where the holders of pensions were as proud and as delicate as Englishmen in the same predicament, the pension-list was every second year laid before parliament, and published in all the Irish newspapers, without any of the painful effects on individuals which the minister spoke of. The debate became exceedingly warm, and for some time Lord North was left singly to bear the heat and brunt of the day. At last Wedderburn, the attorney-general, and his friend and countryman Mr. Dundas, lord advocate of Scotland (afterwards Lord Melville), entered the lists with their chief. Upon this Colonel Barré remarked that the minister could find no Englishman base enough to support him, and that his only help was in Scotsmen. This national remark and direct personality caused a great uproar in the House. Upon a division, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, Lord North's amendments were carried; but by a majority of only 2, the numbers being 188 against 186. The opposition expected a victory, and attributed their defeat to the accidental absence of a few of their friends. On the 10th of March a similar motion was made in the Upper House by Lord Howard of Effingham, but it was there negatived by 51 against 24. In the course of the debate some strong reflections were cast on the pauperized, dependent condition of a considerable portion of the Scottish peerage—a case which party itself could scarcely exaggerate. As Mr. Fox had fought a duel at the beginning of it, duelling seemed likely to become a fashion of this session. In consequence of the sudden and harsh removal of two lords-lieutenants, apparently on account of their conduct in regard to county petitions and associations, and of votes given in parliament, Lord Shelburne moved for an address, to desire that his majesty would be graciously pleased to acquaint the House whether he had been advised, and by whom, to dismiss the said two noble lords for their conduct in parliament. The motion was negatived on a division by 92 against 39. But in the course of his speech, which ranged over promotions and other matters connected with the army, Shelburne indulged in some personalities at the expense of Mr. Fullarton, member for Plympton, and late secretary to Lord Stormont in his embassy to Paris. Fullarton had just been appointed to the command of a newly raised regiment; and Shelburne spoke contemptuously of his soldiership, calling him a *commis*, a mere clerk, and one who had little regard for the honour and liberty of his country. A few days after this explosion Fullarton complained to the House of Commons of the ungentlemanlike behaviour of the Earl of Shelburne, who, he said, with all the aristocratic insolence that marked his character, had asserted in the other House that he and his regiment were as ready to act against the liberties of England as against her enemies. Two days after—on the 22nd of March—the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fullarton met in Hyde Park with seconds and pistols; and his lordship was wounded at the second shot. As soon as the news was heard in the city the committee of common council recently appointed to correspond with the county committees, &c., sent a message to his lordship, to express their anxiety for the preservation of the valuable life of so true a friend of the people and defender of the liberties of Englishmen, and respectfully to inquire after his lordship's safety, endangered in consequence of his upright and spirited conduct in parliament. Other addresses of the same kind came up from the corresponding committees in the country. On the afternoon of the day on which the duel was fought, Sir James Lowther observed in the House of Commons, that this method of fighting, in consequence of parliamentary debate and hasty words, seemed growing into such a custom, that it behoved the House to interpose their authority and put an end to what must otherwise put an end to all freedom of discussion, and reduce the British parliament to the condition of a Polish diet. Mr. Fullarton's friends said it would be indelicate to enter into the business in that gentleman's absence: the Earl of Shelburne's friends contended that the words spoken by that noble lord were strictly parliamentary, and contained no impropriety, or nothing to be interpreted in a private or personal manner. Fox's recent duel was introduced in the same conversation, which ended in nothing, except the hope expressed that duels and wounds would make men in parliament "speak with *better manners*." Sir Philip Jennings Clerke reproduced his bill for excluding contractors from the House of Commons, and this time it was carried and passed through all its stages with little opposition from ministers. On the 5th of April there arose a hot debate on the army estimates and the new levies. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke exclaimed against the Cinque Ports regiment, which, he said, the minister, as Lord Warden, had raised himself, and to the command of which he had appointed his son, who had never before held any military command. Lord North's son was in the House, and immediately rose to speak for himself. It was his maiden speech, and was listened

to with interest. He declared that he neither received any pay, nor was entitled to any future rank in the army, so that the trouble and expense, and the honour, were all that he could possibly derive from the command. The debate, however, was continued, and was extended to other newly raised corps, particularly the regiments embodied by Mr. Fullarton and by Colonel Holroyd, the bosom-friend of Gibbon the historian, and soon afterwards made an Irish peer.* Holroyd defended himself with much animation, retorting sharply on Fox, who was his principal assailant. He declared that when the French and Spanish fleets were off our coasts, and threatening us with an invasion, he had offered to raise some light troops without any expense to the country—that this business had cost him a considerable sum of money—that all the officers had come from old regiments—that he had looked for no remuneration, and that government had nothing in their gift which could compensate for the necessary neglect of his private affairs and the desertion of his home, a home which he had scarcely seen since the breaking out of this present war. He further declared, that no man in that House, or in England, was more independent than he was in principle, disposition, and situation—that he was not personally known to any member of the administration, but that in the present crisis he thought it his duty to support the servants of the public against those who were endeavouring *to take the government by storm.* The county petitions, which had been ordered to be taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House, gave rise to many debates, and to some unmannerly personalities, which proved that the hope expressed of some improvement in that respect was illusory or premature. On the 6th of April a great public meeting was held in Westminster, with the advice and concurrence of the corresponding committees in other parts of the kingdom, and with the avowed intention of giving weight to the county petitions, which were already heavy enough to make the speaker's table groan under them. Mr. Fox presided at the meeting, and was supported by the Dukes of Devonshire and Portland, and other great oppositionists. He read a report of the corresponding committee, and commented on it with a very exciting eloquence. Government chose to consider that this great assemblage of people was intended to overawe parliament; some magistrates fancied it must end in a riot; and therefore troops were drawn out and stationed in the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall. A few days after a loud outcry was raised against the ordering out of the troops; but for the present afternoon and night the House, sitting in committee, was occupied in discussing the famous resolution moved by Dunning,—*That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.* Dunning said, that all the petitions agreed in the one great fundamental point, that limits ought to be set to the alarming influence of the crown, and to the expenditure of the public money, by means of which that vast increase of influence had been obtained. He sharply criticised the conduct of ministers with regard to the economical plan of Burke, which they were reducing to a nullity—to a thing naked and shorn, which could be of little or no benefit to the country. He trusted, however, that the people of England would resent the insult they had received from men who added mockery and contempt to oppression and neglect. Those who supported him maintained, among other things, that it was solely through the corrupt influence of the crown that Lord North had been enabled to keep his office; that his whole business for years past had been to frame excuses and expedients in order to find supplies from year to year; and that he had no method in his finance, no comprehensive scheme of any kind. The speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, who was greatly dissatisfied with ministers upon personal grounds and interests, and who ha shown his animosity on a preceding evening, now supported Dunning's motion, and proclaimed his own inward conviction, that the power of the crown was exorbitant, and corrupt influence on the increase. After an unsuccessful attempt made by Mr. Dundas to finish the debate, Lord North rose to defend his own conduct. He spoke at considerable length and with some feeling; declaring that he was ready to retire from office whenever his sovereign and the people wished it; and adding that, if he had continued so long at his post, it was because the people of Great Britain had no high opinion of the patriotism and wisdom of his opponents, "but knew them to be men who had formerly acted against the rights and liberties of the country, and who were now pursuing measures subversive of the constitution. When, however, he looked round the House he could not but perceive that his strength had declined and was declining, and that Dunning's motion must be carried against him. The ingenious Lord Advocate of Scotland again came to his rescue, but fighting or parrying in a very curious manner, which was in itself an additional confession of weakness and instability. Dundas proposed, as an amendment, to prefix to Dunning's proposition the words—"That it is now necessary to declare." His aim appears to have been to strengthen the original proposition in such a *manner* as to render it unpalatable to some, and thus secure its rejection; or, it may be, that he counted upon nothing more than prolonging the debate so as to weary out the House. Unexpectedly the opposition readily acceded to the amendment; and at a late hour the motion in that shape was carried by 233 against 215. Dunning then moved a second proposition—That it was competent to that House to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it should seem expedient to

* By the title of Baron Sheffield. Lord Sheffield obtained an English barony in 1802, and was made Earl of Sheffield in the Irish peerage in 1816.

the wisdom of the House so to do. Lord North requested that the committee would not proceed any farther that night; but the question was, nevertheless, put, and carried without a division. Nor did the business of the night end here. The leaders of the new majority, who had been for so many years in a seemingly hopeless minority, resolved to take advantage of this flood of tide; and Mr. Thomas Pitt moved another resolution—That it was the opinion of the committee that it was the duty of the House to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and official redress of the grievances complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns of the kingdom. The minister now implored that they would not proceed any farther that night; but the triumphant opposition were obdurate, and this resolution also was put and carried without a division. Nor was Lord North even yet allowed to retire to his peaceful slumber—for Mr. Fox stood up and moved that the three resolutions should be immediately reported. The perplexed minister said that this was unusual, violent, arbitrary; but the torrent was too strong to be resisted; the resolutions were severally reported and received, and were agreed to and passed by the House without a division. On the 10th of April—the House being again in committee on the subject of the petitions,—Dunning, continuing his vigorous attack, moved another resolution—That, in order to secure the independence of parliament, and obviate all suspicion of its purity, the proper officer should lay before the House, within seven days after the meeting of parliament, every session, an account of all monies paid out of the civil list, or any part of the public revenue, to or for the use of or in trust for any member of parliament, since the last recess. A faint resistance was made, upon the grounds that the Commons, by passing resolutions which were, in fact, tests, might occasion a difference with the other House; and then the resolution was carried triumphantly. As soon as this was done, Dunning proposed another resolution:—That the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, master of the household, clerkships of the green cloth, with all their deputies, should be rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Commons. This produced a long and earnest debate in a very full House; but when, at a late hour, the question was called for, the motion was carried, though only by a majority of *two*, the numbers being 215 against 213. Three days after the opposition received a further check by the rejection of a bill brought in by Mr. Crewe for excluding all revenue officers from voting at elections of members of parliament; and nearly at the same time the Lords threw out Sir George Saville's contractors' bill. On the 14th of April it was announced that the speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, who was in a very ill humour with the administration, was bodily and seriously ill; *and this* announcement led to an adjournment of ten days, in spite of some strong objections urged by the minister. Dunning moved the adjournment, and the whole body of opposition supported it. When the House re-assembled—on the 24th of April—Dunning moved an address requesting his majesty not to dissolve or prorogue parliament until proper measures should be taken by that House to diminish the influence of the crown, and to correct the other evils complained of in the petitions of the people. Dunning, Fox, Burke, and the other leaders of the opposition were in evident fear that their recently found majority would fall away from them on this extreme question; and they laboured hard to show that those new converts to their political creed had committed themselves by their former votes and resolutions—that they had gone so far that they must go farther, and that it would be ruinous to their character for principle and consistency if they hung back from this question. A few of these gentlemen, however, declared that they could not hold themselves fettered in their conduct by any former resolutions or opinions; but that they should estimate every question that came before them by its own intrinsic merits, and consider its probable consequences without retrospect or reference to other motions. They said it did not necessarily follow that those who had supported the resolutions of the 6th of April were bound to approve the address now proposed; they had promised to endeavour to procure redress for the people; but they did not thereby give up the right of exercising their own judgment as to the best means of obtaining that great end, or upon the measure of redress which it might be right and necessary to obtain. The ministerial benches cheered on these old or new friends, and reproached the opposition as guilty of unfair and unparliamentary conduct in endeavouring to put gentlemen out of countenance by reminding them of their former conduct, opinions, and votes. The debate ran out to a great length, but when the question was put, at midnight, in a very full House, Dunning's motion was rejected by a majority of 51—the numbers being 254 against 203. Hereupon Mr. Fox rose and spoke with a heat and a bitterness which seemed to import that he had expected the address would have been carried, and that he was now in an agony of disappointment. A loud, rude roar of voices was raised to put him down—raised by the majority, as the minority affirmed, through their unwillingness to hear the deserters treated as they merited. But Fox would not be silenced, and his friends appealed to the chair to stop, by its authority, the unmannerly disorder. And then the speaker knit his heavy brows and raised his sonorous voice, and called on every side of the House "To order! to order!" And, having ordered the officers to clear the bar, he insisted that every member should take his place and hold his tongue. The accomplished orator then proceeded to deliver what was considered the keenest philippic ever

heard in that House. No calls to order could check the torrent of his eloquence or restrain the bitterness of his invective. He declared that the vote of that night was scandalous, disgraceful, treacherous; that it was impossible to contemplate, without a mixture of the greatest surprise and indignation, the conduct of a set of men who, after resolving that the influence of the crown was increased, and ought to be diminished—that the grievances of the people ought to be redressed—who, after pledging themselves to that House, to the nation, to their constituents, to each other, that it was their duty to redress the grievances complained of—had now shamefully fled from that solemn engagement. It was shameful, it was unmanly, it was treacherous! The gentlemen he meant were not those who had all along voted with ministers, but men who sate on his side of the House, and who had voted with him on the 6th of April. He held in the greatest contempt the regular ministerial phalanx—they were slaves of the worst kind, because they sold themselves; yet, base as they might be, they had some virtues to pride themselves on—fidelity to their leader, and consistency in their conduct; and they had not added to their other demerits the absurdity and treachery of one day resolving an opinion to be true, and the next day declaring it to be a falsehood. They had not deceived their patrons, their friends, or their country with false hopes and delusive promises. Dunning spoke after Fox, and with equal heat, if not with equal eloquence. He declared that the division of that night was decisive as to the petitions of the people; that it amounted to a total rejection of their general and ardent prayer, and that all hope of obtaining redress for the people from that House was at an end. Lord North replied to Fox in a long speech, in which he laboured to show that his opponents' attacks and fears were equally unfounded; that the giving a negative to a single proposition, which went to interfere with the most important part of the royal prerogative, could not be considered as deciding the fate of the petitions, and as amounting to a rejection of the whole. He said that the resolutions of the 6th of April were still in being; that other measures might be proposed on them; and that those who did not approve of the means of redress proposed this day might readily concur in others. For some time the opposition, dispirited by their defeat, were undecided as to the means they should next adopt; but on the 19th of May Sergeant Adair moved the withholding the grant of any further supplies till the grievances of the people were redressed. The House was now much thinned; there was little or no debate, and the motion was negatived by 89 against 54. A week later Dunning was outvoted, by 177 against 134, on an amendment to the motion for bringing up the report of the committee on the 10th of April. The amendment, being for the chairman to leave the chair, put an end to the committee. Except incidentally, the affairs of America were not debated at any great length during this session; but on the 5th of May General Conway brought in a bill for restoring peace with the colonies. This plan pleased neither ministers nor the opposition, and it was got rid of, without a direct negative, by passing to the order of the day.

The House began to be very thinly attended, and the debates but languid, when the proceedings of a madman, and an outbreak of popular fanaticism, called many members back from the country, and gave a new animation to the great centre of our politics. It had not been suspected that there existed such a stock of bigotry and intolerance in the nation; yet, in the course of the preceding year, some proof of its existence had been given in the part of the country beyond the Tweed. The act passed in 1778 in favour of the oppressed Roman Catholics did not extend to Scotland; but, as the papists in that country were more persecuted and oppressed than their co-religionists in England, and as they had high claims upon government and the legislature of the United Kingdom by their loyal, peaceable, and exemplary behaviour, it was wisely determined to bring about their admission into the benefits of the repealing act. To their honour, the general assembly of the Scottish church rejected by a large majority a proposal to petition and remonstrate against the bill while it was pending in parliament. But this liberality of sentiment was alien to the breasts of all the sour fanatics in Scotland, and a cry of horror and alarm, and a confident assertion that popery was to be re-established, were immediately spread throughout the country. A dissenting clergyman of Edinburgh took the lead in a fiery pamphlet, which was published at the expense of a society calling itself a "Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge." The precious composition was printed by thousands at a time, and was industriously circulated in every city, town, and village in the lowlands: branch societies were formed, and other pamphlets, hotter than the fires of Smithfield, were printed and distributed, so that in a brief space of time the one constant vision in the eyes of the people was the monstrous trio of the pope, the devil, and Sir George Saville, the original mover of the bill in the House of Commons. Unhappily some of the inferior church courts differed widely in their opinion from the majority of the general assembly; and not a few of the most popular preachers took up the cry that the church was in danger and anti-Christ coming back, and made the pulpit ring and shake with terrible warnings and comminations. The synod of Glasgow adopted resolutions for opposing any bill which might be brought into parliament for any relief of the Catholics in Scotland; and other synods and presbyteries followed the example, denouncing the curse of God and the hatred and vengeance of the people against all such as should attempt to revise the old penal statutes against papists. But the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, which assembled at Edinburgh, and

which included men distinguished for their advanced civilization and their literature, and the beautiful spirit of toleration inseparable from such acquirements, positively refused to sanction any measure, or to join in any outcry for impeding the just and benevolent intentions of the legislature. This their determination led directly to the formation in Edinburgh of a "Committee for the Protestant Interest;" and this body, consisting chiefly of shopkeepers and apprentices, whose heads had been turned by a one-sided study of a gloomy divinity, soon outstripped the Christian Knowledge Society and all other religious assemblages. They established committees of correspondence in various parts of the kingdom; they filled the newspapers with their votes and resolutions; and their zeal was soon rewarded with disgraceful riots and sharp persecutions. The unfortunate Romanists thought it needful to entreat Lord North to forego any intention of putting them on the same footing as their brethren in England, as such an attempt would evidently endanger their lives and properties and the whole peace of the country. A letter to this effect was published in the newspapers; but the zealots determined, nevertheless, to continue their holy war. On the night of the 29th of January of the preceding year (1779) copies of the following letter were dropped in the streets, lanes, and closes of Edinburgh:—"Men and brethren, whoever shall find this letter will take it as a warning to meet at Leith Wynd, on Wednesday next, in the evening, to pull down that pillar of popery lately erected there. Signed, A Protestant. P. S. Please to read this carefully, keep it clean, and drop it somewhere else. For king and country. Unity."—The summons was obeyed, and at the time appointed all the rabble of that ancient city assembled at the pillar of popery, which was the habitation of a Catholic priest with a chapel attached to it. Their first operation was to break all the windows; but they soon broke open the doors. The magistrates came to the spot, but they could not prevent the mob from continuing their work of destruction—the furniture and everything in the house was demolished, and then they set fire to the house itself. On the following morning a party of the same champions of Christianity repaired to another Catholic chapel situate in Black Friars Wynd, and there they broke everything to pieces, and either destroyed as barbarians, or carried off as thieves, a valuable collection of books. This over, they paraded through the streets, breaking the windows of every house that harboured or was supposed to harbour a papist or a friend to papists. In the evening they assembled in still greater numbers with the laudable intention of knocking down the house of Principal Robertson, whose labours as an historian had gained for him a European reputation, and whose private virtues had endeared him to all who knew him. Fortunately for that amiable author and divine a party of dragoons arrived in time to save his house and library; and through this timely arrival, and the assurances of the magistrates that all thoughts of bringing in the bill were laid aside in London, the rabble dispersed and went quietly home. In all these transactions it was evident that a considerable part of the magistracy of Edinburgh partook of the mob feeling. The provost issued a tardy proclamation against riots, turned out of the city a lieutenant of the navy in command of a press-gang who offered to quell them, and also objected to the interference of the Duke of Buccleugh, who was in command of a fencible regiment. Even in his proclamation the provost yielded the question, stating that, in order to remove the fears and apprehensions of *many well-meaning people*, he informed them that the bill for repealing the penal statutes against papists in Scotland was totally thrown aside; and that therefore it was expected that the *good* people of Edinburgh would avoid connecting themselves with any tumultuous assembly for the future. The alarmed or suffering Catholics found no support in the provost or in any other part of the magistracy, and when the riots were over they were still obliged to skulk and conceal themselves. Glasgow, which had still more of the Covenanting and Cameronian spirit, would have proceeded in the same manner, but there was no Roman Catholic chapel there and not a priest to be found; however, the mob fell upon the house of Mr. Bagnal, a gentleman from Staffordshire, who had established a very advantageous pottery, and who was suspected of popery; and they destroyed his property, grossly insulted himself and his family, and drove them from their homes.* The whole matter was too important to escape the notice of parliament. Wilkes, in the House of Commons, asked the lord advocate (Dundas) whether it was intended to keep a promise made to pass a bill for the relief of the Catholics in Scotland? Dundas replied, that, in consequence of the popular violence in all parts of Scotland, it had been agreed to defer any bill of that kind until popular prejudices should have somewhat subsided. Shortly after Burke presented a petition from the Catholics of Edinburgh for compensation for the damages they had sustained, and for future security. Charles Fox, in urging the House to attend to the petition, broadly announced the doctrines of complete religious toleration, maintaining that, undeterred by broils and paltry insurrections, parliament ought to repeal the penal laws *in toto*. By this time the flame of fanaticism had been kindled in England also; and eighty-five Christian corresponding societies, affiliated to that of Edinburgh, were formed in different parts of the country. Lord George Gordon

* Annual Register.—Narrative of the late Riots in Edinburgh:—Sketches of Popular Tumults, Illustrative of the Evils of Social Ignorance.—It was shortly after these disgraceful riots that Paul Jones appeared off Scotland, and the people of Galloway and other parts of the coasts held in dread and plundered by that adventurer applied to government for arms, ammunition, &c., to repel the attacks. Government declined complying with the demand, and were, on that account, bitterly censured by the opposition. Their implied excuse was, that it was not safe to put arms into the hands of men who might, in the fury of their intolerance, make a very bad use of them. Hence the coasts were scourged by a handful of marauders, the Scottish shipping captured, and their fisheries interrupted,

(brother to the Duke of Gordon), who had thrown his straw and rubbish into the fire in Scotland, to kindle the blaze, was chief superintendent of the conflagration in England. This noble lord, who was in his twenty-ninth year, had been sitting for some time in the House of Commons, where he was chiefly known by his eccentric habits, strange slovenly dress, and by a progressive insanity which sometimes looked like oratorical inspiration. The fanatics and madmen of England chose this noble Scots madman for their president, and he undertook to raise hand and voice in parliament against the pope, the devil, and Sir George Saville, and all the monstrous men who thought it wrong to imitate the intolerance of the ancient religion. And many were the wild speeches the madman made about the danger of the church, and the intolerance and cruelty of popery. In replying to Fox he maintained that it would be highly inexpedient, and next to impossible, to give to the Catholics in Scotland the same measure of toleration which had been dealt out to the Catholics of Ireland and England: and towards the end of the session—in May, 1779—he moved that the petition presented by Burke should be thrown over the table. In the speech with which he introduced and supported this motion, he declared that every man in Scotland, except a few papists, was ripe for insurrection, and would die rather than submit! He had accustomed himself for some time to speak of the mighty power of the Protestant Association, and of coming down to the House backed by 150,000 men, and of presenting petitions to the king, to the Prince of Wales, to both Houses of parliament, with far more and infinitely better signatures than such documents had ever borne. On one occasion he said in the House that he would present a petition long enough to reach from the speaker's chair to the centre window at Whitehall—out of which Charles I. had walked to his execution.* At the beginning of the present session—in November, 1779—he had made a very inflammatory speech, asserting, among other extravagances, that the people of Scotland were thoroughly convinced *the king was a papist;* and during the whole course of the session he had continued to give stronger and still stronger proofs of his insanity. He interrupted a great many debates with threats and warnings, and he not unfrequently divided the House upon questions about religion, wherein he stood nearly or entirely alone. The House laughed at him, and apprehended no danger from his threats. He had presented several anti-Catholic petitions from the county of Kent, when he thought proper to make a loud appeal to the fanatics of London, in order to procure a longer and stronger petition from them. Aided by the heads of the Protestant Association he canvassed the capital and the neighbourhood; and, as president and champion, he advertised in the newspapers for signatures, and for a hearty concurrence against popery and a papistically inclined government. He told them that, if they united as one man for the honour of God and the liberties of the people, the unhappy kingdom might yet experience the blessing of divine providence, and the restoration of confidence and love among brethren; but that, if they continued obstinate in error or permitted the spreading of idolatry and corruption, nothing could be expected except division among the people, distraction in the senate, and discontent in the camp, with all the other calamities attendant on those nations whom God has given up to arbitrary power and despotism. Like the associations for economical and parliamentary reforms, this Protestant Association had its ramifications, its committees, and its correspondents, in most parts of England, while to Scotland it looked as to a tower of strength. As Lord George Gordon was very poor, other less noble fanatics furnished funds to support the necessary expenses. His inflammatory harangues at the meetings of the protestant Association were printed, published, and scattered far and wide. He told all good protestants that for his part he would run all hazards, and that if they were too lukewarm to run all hazards with him they must look out for another president and leader—that, in presenting to the House of Commons a proper protestant petition, he expected to be backed by a host of good Christians—that if he was attended by less than 20,000 men he would not present the petition at all—and then, like a quarter-master-general of the protestant world, he appointed the places where they should assemble on the great day, and the lines of march they should pursue in order to concentrate in front of the Houses of parliament.* St. George's Fields was to be the chief starting place, and every man was to wear a blue cockade. On the 26th of May he had given notice in the House that he meant to present a petition, and to come down to the House with all those who had signed it. On the appointed day—the 2nd of June—60,000, or, according to some accounts, 100,000 petitioners and associators met in St. George's Fields, and ranged themselves in four separate bodies, one of which was entirely composed of Scotsmen. After a stirring harangue from Lord George, the several columns struck off by different roads for Westminster, the largest one marching through Newington Butts and the Borough to London Bridge, and thence through the heart of the city, walking six a-breast, and being preceded by a very tall protestant, who carried on his head the anti-popery petition, said to be signed by 120,000 names and *marks* made by such enlightened protestants as could not write. The columns, as appointed, concentrated near the Houses of parliament, and filled and blocked up all the streets and avenues leading to them. The honest madmen were by this time joined by all the knaves and cut-purses of London; and, while the members of the Protestant Association shouted

* Wilkes's Letters.

* Speech delivered at a grand meeting of the Associated Protestants at Coachmakers' Hall, Noble-street, on Monday the 29th of May.

"No Popery! no Popery!" the members of the fraternity of thieves picked pockets, and did all they could to create a profitable riot. As the peers and the members of the House of Commons came down they were compelled to put on blue cockades, and to join the cry of "No Popery!" But many of them were not let off so easily. The Archbishop of York and sundry bishops, the Duke of Northumberland and various temporal peers, were treated with great indignity; the Bishop of Lichfield had his gown torn from his back; the Bishop of Lincoln (brother of Lord Chancellor Thurlow), after having his carriage demolished, fled into a house, and, being pursued (though perhaps only by his own fears), went out of the garret window (some said disguised as a woman) and over the roof into another house; Lord Stormont and Lord Boston fell into the hands of the mob and were most rudely handled. At this very moment, the Duke of Richmond, in the Lords, was introducing a motion for annual parliaments, and something very like universal suffrage. The universal rabble without threatened to rush into the House; but the door-keepers shut them out. A motion was made by Lord Townshend that the peers should issue forth in a body to rescue their brethren outside; but thereupon there arose a debate, whether the mace should go with them or not; and it was determined in the negative, for fear the mace should be broken or stolen, and should never return. Next their lordships indulged in accusations and recriminations: the opposition charged the ministers with being the original cause of all this mischief, by their scandalous and cowardly concessions to the No-Popery rioters in Scotland, and called them loudly to account for not having provided for the present evil, of which so much previous notice had been given. Lord Hillsborough replied that orders had been given on the preceding day for the attendance of the magistrates. One of the magistrates, being called to their lordships' bar, declared that he had been able to collect only a very few constables, and that no civil force could put down a mob so immense and so determined. Yet Lord Shelburne and other oppositionists violently reprobated a suggestion to call out the military to act under the magistrates. Nothing was done to stop the progress of the multitude; and the peers retired one by one, until the House was left with no one in it except Lord Mansfield and a few servants. In the House of Commons there was far more excitement and violence, for the noble madman went in as a member to present the petition, while his followers outside the House tore the clothes from the backs of several gentlemen who were known to have voted for Sir George Saville's bill, and kept up a deafening and incessant roar of "Repeal the bill! Repeal!" "No Popery! No Popery!" "Lord George Gordon! Lord George!" And, when Lord George had been for some short time within the House, they began to thunder at the doors and to threaten to break them open. Several members threatened him with instant death if the sanctity of the House should thus be violated by the mob he had collected; and it is said that Mr. Henry Herbert, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, followed Lord George closely with that avowed determination, and that General Murray, brother to the Duke of Athol, and a relation of Lord George, held his sword ready to pass it through the madman on the first irruption of the mob.* General Conway also declared that he would defend the entrance into the House with his sword, and die on the threshold, before the rioters should enter. When something like order was restored, Lord George moved for bringing up and *immediately* considering the petition; and he was seconded by Alderman Bull. The first proposition was granted as a matter of course; but the second was instantly met by an amendment, to put off the consideration of the petition for four days. During the debate Lord George went more than once into the lobby to harangue the mob, and to encourage them to persevere, inasmuch as terror would be sure to induce the king and ministers to grant the prayer of the petition. He also told the mob what members were speaking against the petition, and gave a false account of what they had said or were saying. When he returned into the House Colonel Holroyd took hold of his lordship, saying that he had hitherto imputed his conduct to madness, but now found there was more of malice than of madness in it, and that if he repeated such proceedings he would immediately move for his commitment to Newgate. Lord George then lamented that a person for whom he had so much respect should consider him in that light. His lordship went no more into the lobby, but addressed the mob from the top of the gallery stairs. It is said that he particularly denounced Mr. Burke as one of the most popishly inclined members of that House and one of the strongest opposers of the petition. The frouzy multitude, who said they were assembled for the honour of God, continued to make "a prodigious smell"† in the lobby, and a most fiendish uproar, and to threaten destruction to all who opposed their will and the protestant interest. But, undeterred by these menaces, the House adopted the amendment; and only six men were bigots or cowards enough to vote with Lord George. Their names and their disgrace should always be recorded: they were—Alderman Bull, Lord Verney, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, Sir Michael le Fleming, Sir James Lowther, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Mr. Polhill, and Mr. Tollemache. On the other side were 192 members. About nine o'clock in the evening, and not before, Mr. Addington, an active Middlesex magistrate, arrived in Palace-yard with a party of horse and foot guards, who were hissed and hooted by the mob. When, however, Addington addressed them, told them he would order the soldiers away if they would promise to be quiet, and actually sent off the cavalry at a hand-gallop, the mob gave him

* Sir N. Wraxall, Memoirs.
† Sir J. Lowther's examination.

three cheers, and immediately began to disperse. The House then adjourned. As the associated protestants returned to their homes one division of them passed by the chapel of the Bavarian ambassador in Warwick-street, Golden-square, broke it open, destroyed what was in it, and set fire to the building; and another body did the same by the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador in Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Some troops arrived, but not in time enough to prevent the mischief. Although the following day was a Saturday the Lords met; but the Commons did not, having adjourned till Tuesday, the 6th. Lord Bathurst, now lord president, who had been rudely used and kicked by the mob on the Friday, moved an address praying his majesty to give immediate orders for prosecuting, in the most effectual manner, the authors, abettors, and instruments of the outrages committed on the preceding day, both in the vicinity of the Houses of parliament and upon the houses and chapels of several of the foreign ministers. Everything in London and Westminster seemed perfectly quiet; and their lordships probably conceived that all danger was over. But, whatever was their impression, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Shelburne made the subject a party matter, and expressed sentiments calculated to rekindle rather than to quench the fanatic fire out of doors. Richmond criticised the religious part of the Quebec Act; and Shelburne said that the Catholics had received more than a protestant government ought to have given. Lord Bathurst's motion was, however, agreed to; and, after despatching some other business, the House adjourned till the 6th. No lord, spiritual or temporal, received any molestation. But late that night, when men had got their weekly pay and their Saturday's drink, a mob assembled in Moorfields and did some mischief to the poor Catholics living in that neighbourhood. On Sunday morning troops were sent to the spot, but they had strict orders not to fire; and their efforts to seize the ringleaders were badly seconded by the civic authorities, who, for the most part, either partook in the prevailing fanaticism or were afraid of provoking the fanatics. A popish chapel and several houses occupied by Catholics were completely destroyed; and, while the fanatics were demolishing altars and crosses, the thieves picked pockets, and the more decent kind of zealots looked on. "The mob," says a writer of the day, "knew the military did not dare to fire without the command of the civil power. The military, seeing they were not to be used effectually, endeavoured to keep upon good terms with those who might, with impunity, as they did in many places, pull their noses and spit in their faces. Hence reports at the time, as if the soldiery had in some measure joined with the mob."* Conspicuous among the fools or cowards that permitted the growth and extension of these disgraceful excesses was the lord mayor—one Kennett, who did nothing himself, and permitted nothing to be done by others. A single charge by one troop of horse, a few broken heads, would, at this stage of the business, have scattered the mob and prevented further mischief. On the following morning—Monday, June the 5th—a privy council was held at St. James's; but nothing was done except the issuing of a proclamation offering a reward of 500*l.* for the discovery of those persons who had been concerned in demolishing and setting fire to the Sardinian and Bavarian chapels. After the council there was a grand drawing-room, as his majesty's birthday* was to be celebrated; and a wretched ode, written by the very worst rhymester that ever figured even among poet-laureates,† was to be "chaunted and recitatived by a parcel of hoarse and squeaking choristers, for the edification of the bishops, pages, maids of honour, and gentlemen-pensioners."‡ In the course of the morning, however, some rioters who had been apprehended were fully committed to Newgate by the magistrates. A party of the Guards, who escorted the delinquents to prison, were pelted by the mob. At an early hour in the morning the house of Sir George Saville in Leicester-fields was attacked and stripped: part of the furniture was burned before the door, a more valuable portion was carried off by the thieves, and fire was set to the building. A column of the rioters proceeded to the house of Lord George Gordon in Welbeck-street, and regaled his lordship with a bonfire made of materials brought from Catholic houses and chapels in Moorfields. Another party went to Virginia-lane, Wapping, and a third to Nightingale-lane, East Smithfield, where they severally destroyed the Catholic chapels, and committed other outrages. Two respectable and intelligent tradesmen—Mr. Rainsforth, of Stanhope-street, Clare-market, and Mr. Maberly, of Little Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields—who had been active in apprehending some of the rioters, and who had appeared as evidence against the prisoners now in Newgate,—experienced the vindictive fury of the mob: their houses and shops were broken open and stripped, and such parts of their property as were not stolen were committed to the flames. The whole of that night saw the great capital completely in the hands of the mob. On Tuesday, the 6th, about two hundred members of the House of Commons had the courage to attend their parliamentary duty notwithstanding the threats of the crowd through which they had to pass. They found Westminster Hall and the avenues to the House lined with military, horse and foot. Some of the Lords also met. Lord Sandwich, in attempting to reach the House, was dragged out of his carriage, which was broken to pieces, and was then almost torn to pieces himself. Mr. Hyde, a justice of the peace, hastened to his

* Fanaticism and Treason, an octavo volume of the day, as quoted in Sketches of Popular Tumults.

* The birthday had not been kept on the real day—the 4th of June—because it was a Sunday.

† William Whitehead, Esq.

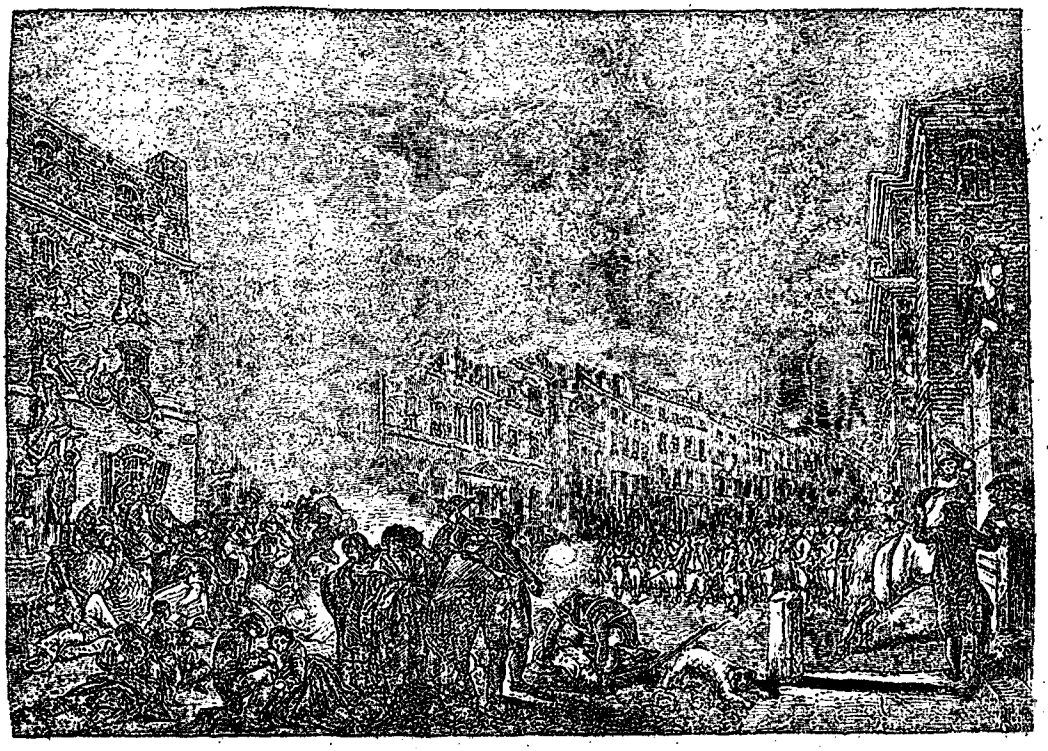
‡ See Letter of the late Duke of Buccleugh to Walter Scott, in Lockhart's Life of Scott.

rescue with a small party of light horse, and found his lordship at the end of Parliament-street, in the hands of the mob, and severely wounded on the head. There was a resolute, impudent fellow, with a bludgeon in his hand, who said that if he did not murder him then he would murder him before he had done with him. Most of the rabble had now oaken sticks in their hands as well as blue cockades in their hats. Here and there was seen a flag or banner with the motto, "No Popery"—words which they chalked on the carriages of all the lords and members that went down to the Houses in coaches. When Justice Hyde had rescued Lord Sandwich, he attempted to disperse the mob by riding among them; but the light horse did not even strike with the flats of their sabres. As the crowd was giving way a fellow hoisted a flag, and called out, "To Hyde's house a-hoy!" That gentleman lived in St. Martin's-street; and in a very short time his house was pulled down. Lord George Gordon, who appears to have been alarmed at the effects of his own madness, had issued a hand-bill, in the name of the Protestant Association, to disavow the riots, and had gone down to the House of Commons with the blue cockade in his hat. Colonel Herbert bade him take off that badge of sedition, and threatened to do it himself if he refused. Lord George instantly obeyed, and put the cockade in his pocket. Burke, in an animated speech, bewailed the deplorable condition to which parliament was reduced, with a bludgeon-mob waiting for them in the streets, and a military force with fixed bayonets at their doors to support the freedom of debate! A few resolutions, however, were passed, one being an assertion of their own privileges; the second appointing a committee to inquire into the outrages and to discover their authors, promoters, and abettors; the third, ordering a prosecution by the attorney-general; and the fourth for an address to his majesty for the reimbursement of the foreign ministers, to the amount of the damages they had sustained by the rioters. In the course of the debates Burke, Sir George Saville, and other members of opposition left off opposing ministers, and strongly recommended unanimity and defensive associations. Burke insisted that in a moment of such danger the ministers' hands ought to be strengthened, and other political differences forgotten; but his friend Fox still clung to party-feeling, refusing to support government, and proclaiming that society and its laws were dissolved by the vices and monstrous follies of the administration. Sinking the dignity of parliament in their fears, the majority of the House agreed to another resolution, which was moved by the minister—That, when the present tumults were subsided, they would take into due consideration the petitions from many of his majesty's protestant subjects. At this moment dreadful news arrived from the city, and, after some talk, which came to nothing, about expelling Lord George and committing him to the Tower, the House adjourned in haste and confusion. At a much earlier hour the House of Lords, without entering upon any business, had adjourned *till the 19th.**

The mob about six o'clock in the evening marched down Holborn to Newgate, declaring that they would release their brother rioters. When they arrived at the doors of the prison they demanded their comrades, and when the keeper, Mr. Akerman, refused, they began to break the windows of his house, and to batter the gates of the prison with sledge-hammers and pick-axes. But, soon tiring of this hard work, they collected firebrands and whatever combustibles they could find, and flung them into the keeper's dwelling-house. The flames spread rapidly, and the yell of the mob without was joined by the maddening cries of the felons within, agitated in different ways by the hope of escape and liberty, and the dread of being burned to death. The fire spread from the keeper's house to the chapel, and thence to some doors and passages leading into the wards and cells. Part of the mob then rushed in, showing a familiar acquaintance with all the intricacies of the prison, which, no doubt, had been the temporary habitation of many of them, and still held their friends or kindred. Their activity was amazing; they dragged out the prisoners by the hair of their head, by the legs or arms, or whatever part they could lay hold of; and it appears that of three hundred and more delinquents, four of whom were under sentence of death and ordered for execution on the Thursday following, not one perished in that rapid and tremendous conflagration. In the space of a few hours nothing was left of the strongest and most durable prison in England, which had been recently rebuilt at the cost of 140,000*l.*, except some bare stone walls too thick and strong to yield to the force of fire. On the same Tuesday evening the new prison at Clerkenwell was broken open and all the felons and other prisoners there were turned loose upon society—their first impulse, of course, being to join the mob and increase the havock, to plunder, drink, burn, and destroy. The decent fools, the real members of the Protestant Association, had retired before this, and were now wringing their hands at the mischief they had made: the rioters were composed of the lowest rabble of London and its populous neighbourhood, who cared more for a pot of beer or a glass of gin than for the whole protestant interest; but when these fellows were joined by all the highwaymen and footpads, cut-purses, and professional housebreakers—by all the inmates of all the prisons—their excesses became far more frightful. As a proper object of their spite the felons proceeded to the house of Sir John Fielding, the active police magistrate, who had committed many of them to the cells from which they had escaped, and they destroyed or stole furniture, books, papers, and everything in it. At about twelve o'clock at night another desperate gang attacked the house of Lord Mansfield, the vener-

* Ann. Regist.

able lord chief justice, in Bloomsbury Square. Having broken down the doors and windows, they flung the superb furniture into the square, where great fires were kindled to destroy it. They then proceeded to his lordship's library—rich in other books besides those of law—and they destroyed many thousand volumes, together with many valuable manuscripts, papers, and deeds. The rich wardrobe of wearing apparel and some very fine pictures they burned; but the wine in the cellar they drank till they were raving mad. Lord and Lady Mansfield made their escape through a back door, a few minutes before the rioters broke in, and they were conducted by a gentleman to a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. When this gentleman returned to Bloomsbury Square, and when nearly all the mischief was done, he found that a detachment of Foot Guards had at last arrived on the spot. He requested the officer in command to enter the house with his



THE GREAT LONDON RIOTS. From the Picture by Wheatley.

men; the officer replied that the justices of the peace had all run away, and that, consequently, it was impossible for the military to act. "It seems, in fact," says a recent writer, who has carefully collected the particulars from the accounts of eye-witnesses and from legal depositions, "to have been some hours after this before a magistrate was found; and during the time that was thus lost the fury of the mob was increased to such a pitch by the liquor they had drank, that, when the soldiers at last fired, even the sight of their companions falling dead beside them produced little or no effect. The business, certainly, could not have been worse managed. This, it will be observed, was the first time the rioters had transformed themselves almost into actual madmen by drink; and it was when they were in this state, careless of what befel them, and almost unconscious of what they were doing, that the authorities, hitherto so patient, for the first time determined to use force against them. How much more effective, in the way of intimidation and repression, would something like this vigour have been if earlier resorted to—how much less cruel in reality to its infatuated objects themselves! The scene here altogether appears to have been terrific in the extreme. The violence and ferocity of the ruffians, armed with sledge-hammers and other instruments of destruction, who burst into the house—the savage shouts of the surrounding multitude—the wholesale desolation—the row of bonfires blazing in the street, heaped with the contents of the sacked mansion, with splendid furniture, books, pictures, and manuscripts, the loss of which was irreparable—the drunken wretches staggering against each other, or rolling on the ground—the pealing of the musketry, followed the next instant by the screams of the wounded and the dying, and the roar of vengeance from ten thousand throats—soon after this, the fires lighted in every room, and,

finally, the flames rushing upwards from windows and roof in one magnificent conflagration;—all these horrors may well be conceived to have formed a picture, or rather a succession of pictures, which, thus exhibited under the dark sky of midnight, would seem hardly of this world. The inhabitants thronged from every part of the town to the spot; and during this night, indeed, all London was awake, the houses in many parts being lighted up as in a general illumination."* The scenes which took place on the following day—Wednesday the 7th of June—were still more dreadful. All the shops were shut, and bits of blue silk, by way of flags, were hung out at most houses, with the words "No Popery" chalked on the doors and window-shutters, in the view of deprecating the fury of the sovereign mob, who now, however, plundered and ill treated all classes, only giving the Catholics the preference.† Fellows armed with iron bars torn from the railing in front of Lord Mansfield's house went through the town extorting money from all they met, and shouting, "No Popery!" One fellow in particular, who was mounted on horseback (and who was probably a highwayman by profession), refused to take anything but gold. A party on their way to burn Lord Mansfield's villa, at Caen Wood, Highgate, were met and turned back by a detachment of cavalry. The King's Bench Prison, the New Gaol, the Borough Clink, the Surrey Bridewell, the Fleet, were all burned to-day, and not a prison was left standing in London except the Poultry Compter. Two attacks were made on the Bank of England, but the assailants were repulsed by a strong body of soldiers who had now orders to use their arms, and who, at this particular point, killed and wounded a great many. The Mansion House, the British Museum, the Royal Exchange, and the Tower, were all set down in written lists, circulated among the mob, for attack and destruction. But by this time there were 25,000 men, between regulars and militia, in London; and the king taking upon himself, or rather forcing upon them a responsibility which ministers were evidently afraid of, had issued a proclamation authorising the military to act where necessary, although the magistrates should not attend to read the Riot Act. Some of the first to act were a party of militia who had marched twenty-five miles during the day, and who proceeded under the command of Colonel Holroyd from Lincoln's Inn Fields into Holborn, which was then the great centre of mischief.‡ A Mr. Langdale, who lived at Holborn Bridge, was doubly exposed as a Catholic and as a great distiller; his extensive premises were broken open in the evening, and everything was destroyed except the gin and other intoxicating spirits which were drunk by the rioters, many of whom literally drank themselves dead. In one place the kennel of the street ran down with these ardent spirits, and men, women, and children were seen on their knees drinking them as they flowed. Fire was set to the distillery and warehouse, and many, too drunk to move, perished in the flames they had kindled. Mr. Langdale's loss was estimated at nearly 100,000*l.* The fire, according to an eye-witness, mounted in the air like the irruption of a volcano.* Six-and-thirty great fires were blazing in different quarters of the town, and nothing but the serenity of the night saved London from destruction. In streets where there were no fires, numbers of persons were seen removing their goods and effects at midnight, and a universal panic prevailed, as no man could know how long the merciful wind would be still, or to what point the mob would next carry their fury. The tremendous roar of the countless rabble was heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers' muskets as if firing in platoons; and in various places everything seemed to betoken universal anarchy and approaching desolation. Sleep and rest were things not thought of:—the streets were swarming with people, and uproar, confusion, and terror reigned in every part.† Some of the respectable inhabitants had, however, recovered from their strange consternation, and had formed themselves into armed associations, which acted with the regular troops and the militia. In some few instances, where the rabble had procured arms, the fire of the troops was returned; but nothing like a determined resistance was made anywhere. A detachment of the Guards soon beat them from Blackfriars Bridge, where, with an evident eye to plunder, they had attacked and set fire to the toll gates: several of them were killed at this point by musketry, and others were thrown, or in their panic threw themselves, over the bridge into the Thames. The Fleet prison was set fire to in the course of the night; but the fire was not extinguished, nor was the mob in that quarter dispersed, until the following morning, when the troops discharged their muskets right into the crowd. Among those who were shot here was a young chimney-sweeper, who had forty guineas in his pocket! In the course of this day—Thursday the 8th of June—various encounters took place, attended with numerous wounds and no inconsiderable loss of life; but before night a mournful tranquillity was restored. The immense rabble, which had so recently appeared irresistible, was scattered like chaff before the wind, and those who, upon the appearance of such a numerous banditti, wondered whence they came, now ex-

* Sketches of Popular Tumults, Illustrative of the Evils of Social Ignorance.—Lond. 1837.

† It was no time for laughing; but ludicrous circumstances were not wanting. The poor foreign *Jews* in Houndsditch chalked in large letters on their doors, "This House is a true protestant." An Italian clown—a precursor of the great Joseph Grimaldi—chalked on *his* door, "No religion."

‡ Gibbon, writing on the 8th, says—"The tumult has been dreadful; and even the remedy of military force and martial law is unpleasant. But government, with 15,000 regulars in town, and every gentleman (but one) on their side, must extinguish the flame. The execution of last night was severe; perhaps it must be repeated to-night.: . . . Colonel Holroyd was all last night in Holborn among the flames with the Northumberland militia."—*Letters.*

* Wraxall.

† A Plain and Succinct Narrative of the late Riots, &c. This work bears the name of William Vincent, but was really written by Thomas Holcroft, the well-known novelist and dramatist, author of the 'Road to Ruin,' &c., and of one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography that ever proceeded from the pen of man.

pressed as much wonder whither they could be gone. The return of killed made to Lord Amherst, the commander-in-chief, amounted to 210, of wounded to 248; but this account was certainly defective, as many of the dead and wounded were removed by their friends; and no list could be taken of those who had perished in the fires or by the abuse of unrectified spirits. "Powder and ball," says a writer at the time, "do not seem to have been so fatal to them as their own inordinate appetites. Numbers, it is said, and at various places, died of inebriation; especially at the distilleries of the unfortunate Mr. Langdale. . . In the streets men were lying upon bulks and stalls, and at the doors of empty houses, drunk to a state of insensibility and to a contempt of danger; boys and women were in the same condition, and many of the latter with infants in their arms." The House of Commons met on the following day—Friday the 9th—but, although the riot was entirely quelled, the House declined entering upon business, as Westminster was thronged with troops, and as the whole capital had the appearance of being under martial law; and they adjourned till the 19th, the day fixed by the Lords. The metropolis, in fact, resembled in many places a city recently stormed and sacked; all business was at an end,—the Royal Exchange, and other public buildings, were occupied by the troops,—the shops were all shut up,—the streets were silent and empty, except where firemen were labouring to extinguish the smouldering fires. On Saturday the 10th Lord George Gordon was apprehended upon a warrant from the secretary-of-state, and after a short examination before several lords of the privy council, in which he is said to have behaved like a driveller and a coward, he was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. He was attended to the place of his confinement by a stronger guard than was ever known to attend any state prisoner; but his mad adherents were so completely discomfited, and the mass of the respectable people were so thoroughly awake, that a couple of constables would have been escort enough.*

On the 19th of June, when both houses reassembled, the king delivered a long speech from the throne to explain and justify the strong measures which had been adopted, and which, if they had been adopted on Saturday night or Sunday morning instead of on Thursday, would infallibly have stopped the riot with far less cost of human life. He stated that he had directed copies of the proclamations to be laid before parliament, and he concluded with declaring that he considered it his first duty and chief glory *to maintain and preserve the established religion.* This speech was generally approved on all sides, and the customary addresses were carried without opposition. There was, however, no small degree of censure thrown upon the administration for negligence and delay; and they were blamed for not employing the troops sooner, by the very men who would have raised a terrible outcry against any premature recourse to arms. Lord Mansfield, in the Upper House, justified the proclamations, and explained that the metropolis was not and never had been under martial law. He said that the late riots amounted to overt acts of high-treason, and were besides accompanied with felonies, as the burning of houses, plundering of property, &c., and that this was sufficient legal ground for the king's proclamation calling out the military. He showed that under such circumstances the military must act with and under the civil power, and that if the soldiers exceeded their proper power they were to be tried and punished not by martial law, but by the common and statute laws of the realm. The great and aged lawyer made one slight allusion to his own serious losses which affected all present: he said that he had formed his opinions without consulting his books, adding, "Indeed I have no books to consult."* On the following day, June 20th, the Commons went into a committee of the whole House upon the petitions praying for the repeal of Sir George Saville's tolerating act. Wilkes, who was now chamberlain of the city, and who had behaved with great spirit and judgment during the riots,† vehemently attacked a petition from the city which had been brought up by Alderman Sawbridge; and he also reprobated the conduct of the Lord Mayor and Alderman Bull, declaring (and with perfect truth) that, if the chief magistrate had done his duty, the riot would have been suppressed in its beginning at Moorfields. But the Lord Mayor, who was afterwards prosecuted by the Attorney-General for his negligence, and convicted, had done worse than nothing: and Alderman Bull, an intolerant bigot himself, had permitted the constables of his ward to wear the blue cockades of the Protestant Association, and had paraded through the streets at the very height of the riot linked arm-in-arm with Lord George Gordon. Several of the zealots in the House spoke in favour of the petitions, but not one of them had the face to move for the repeal of the bill complained of. Alderman Bull and Sir Joseph Mawbey were the chief speakers on the side of intolerance; but Lord North, Lord Beauchamp, Sir George Saville, Wilkes, Burke, and Fox spoke for the first time all on the same side, and supported the doctrine of toleration on grounds much larger than those on which Sir George

* Ann. Regist.—"Our danger," says Gibbon, a few days after, "is at an end, but our disgrace will be lasting; and the month of June, 1780, will ever be marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism, which I had supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain, perhaps beyond any other country in Europe."—*Letters.*

* "The measures of government," says Gibbon, "have been seasonable and vigorous; and even the opposition have been forced to confess that the military power was applied and regulated with the utmost propriety."—*Letters.*

† On the night of the 8th, John Wilkes mounted guard in St. Sepulchre's churchyard, with a good party of horse and foot and armed inhabitants of his ward. Some one said, that he, who had raised so many mobs, could not well be afraid to quell them. But Wilkes's sagacity must have told him the wide difference between exciting and calming—raising and quelling.

Saville had framed his bill. Burke spoke for three hours, and Fox almost as long. Burke, after expressing the warmest attachment to the Church of England—the fanatic rabble for some time past had been calling him a Jesuit in disguise—declared his detestation of everything like persecution and intolerance, and moved five resolutions in favour of freedom of conscience and in reprobation of the late disgraceful excesses, which had begun in bigotry and ended in a sink of all the vices that disgrace humanity. These resolutions were all agreed to. Many members, however, thought it necessary to do something to quiet the minds of the petitioners, and to remove the dread of popery; and Lord Beauchamp moved a series of resolutions, importing, that the effect and operation of Sir George Saville's act had been misrepresented and misunderstood—that the said act did not repeal or alter the several statutes against the popish religion previous to the statute of the 11th and 12th of William III.—that no ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority was given by the said act to the pope or the see of Rome—that the House of Commons did, and ever would, watch over the interests of the protestant religion with the most unremitting attention—and that all attempts to seduce the youth of this kingdom from the established church to popery were highly criminal, according to the laws in force, and were a proper subject for further regulation, &c. And, as a consequence or sequel to this last resolution, a bill was brought in and passed through the House of Commons for more effectually preventing papists from teaching, or taking upon themselves the education or government of, the children of protestants. Burke, who considered that this was going back on the road of toleration, drew up a strong petition against this bill to the other House—a petition which is said to have had a very powerful effect on the Chancellor Thurlow. When the bill was carried up to the Lords, it was opposed not merely by many lay lords, but also by most of the bench of bishops, who expressed very improved sentiments on the subject of religious liberty. Some timid peers seemed to think that it might be necessary to pass the bill in order to allay the fears of the protestant petitioners; but other lords, in a higher spirit, said that it would be a great indignity to pass a bill which would have the appearance of being forced upon them by outrage and threats. It is certain the bill never had a chance of getting through that House. On the 4th of July a motion for postponing the third reading for a week was carried by a majority of 27 to 19; a decision which was equivalent to the rejection of the bill. Four days after the king prorogued parliament, as their lordships knew he intended to do. In his speech his majesty dwelt at some length on the recent disturbances; and he thanked parliament for their magnanimity and perseverance in prosecuting the war, which he again called a just and necessary war. "These exertions," said he, "have already been attended with success by sea and land; and the late important and prosperous turn of affairs in North America affords the fairest prospect of the returning loyalty and affection of my subjects in the colonies, and of their happy re-union with their parent country." This royal hope proved illusory; but we shall presently see that the events of the war had given some grounds for its indulgence.

In the course of the month of July the vengeance of the laws fell upon the rioters: 59 were capitally convicted, more than 20 were executed, and the rest were transported for life. The trial of Lord George Gordon was delayed till the month of January 1781, when it appeared to the jury that his case did not amount to high treason, and he was acquitted. He was ably defended by Mr. Kenyon and Mr. Erskine; but the best excuse he had to plead was the fact of his insanity. Of this he soon after gave many indubitable proofs, his last and strangest freak of all being *to turn Jew.*

We proceed to the mixed and complicated story of war and foreign policy. As the Spaniards persevered in their siege of Gibraltar, and as their treaty with the Barbary States stopped the supplies of provisions, the garrison began to feel the approaches of want, and it became necessary to send out supplies from England. Sir George Rodney, who had recently been appointed to the chief naval command in the West Indies, was ordered on his way thither to relieve Gibraltar, which was blockaded by sea as well as by land. Rodney had a fine squadron, and more good fortune than had of late attended our navy. On the 8th of January, when he had only been a few days at sea, he fell in with a rich Spanish convoy going from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, and consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, a fine new 64, four frigates, and two other armed vessels, every one of which was taken. The greater part of these vessels were laden with wheat, flour, and other provisions, much wanted by the garrison of Gibraltar:—these he took with him, sending the rest to England. On the 16th of January, being off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with a Spanish fleet of eleven ships of the line under Don Juan de Langara, who had fancied he would be strong enough to intercept the supplies which he knew the English were sending to Gibraltar. But when the Spaniard discovered that Rodney was far superior in force, he attempted to escape. He was favoured by a rough gale, a terrible sea, and a dangerous coast; but Rodney, with great daring and still more ability, got between him and the shore, changing the signal for a line of battle abreast to that for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up by rotation. The headmost ships came up with the Spaniards about four o'clock in the evening, and began the engagement with fury. Night soon fell, and it was a dark one; —the tempest increased, and the shore under the lee was one dreaded by sailors, being the shoal of St. Lucar. Nevertheless the action was continued, and the Spaniards, unable to avoid a close engagement, fought for a long time with the greatest bravery. Rather early in the action the 'San

Domingo' of 70 guns and 600 men blew up, and nearly involved in her ruin the English ship with which she was engaged. It was two hours after midnight before the battle was over. The Spanish admiral's ship of 80 guns was taken, and three other ships of the line also struck to Rodney, and were carried safely into port. Two other 70-gun ships ran upon the breakers and were totally lost, and of the whole Spanish fleet only four ships escaped into Cadiz. From this terrible blow the Spanish navy did not recover during the war. Rodney proceeded triumphantly to the relief of Gibraltar, and after lying there for some weeks, and sending up the Mediterranean supplies for our garrison at Port Mahon, made the best of his way to the West Indies with a part of the fleet, while the other ships, under the command of Admiral Digby, returned to the Channel. On his way home Digby captured a French ship of the line, and two or three vessels laden with military stores.* The battle of St. Vincent raised the spirit of the country; but it was soon succeeded by a very serious loss. Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, was apprised by his spies in England that the united fleets of East and West Indiamen were about to sail under a very weak escort; and he detached Admirals Cordova and Gaston, with every ship he could spare, to intercept these fleets at their point of separation off the Azores. So successful was this operation that scarcely a vessel escaped except two English ships of war that were giving convoy. Nearly 60 sail were carried into the harbour of Cadiz, which had never before seen so rich a prize. In the East Indiamen were 1800 soldiers to recruit the troops of the king and the company; and in the West Indiamen were valuable goods and warlike stores. The booty in stores and merchandise alone was estimated at nearly 2,000,000*l.* sterling.†

If Rodney had succeeded in crippling the navy of Spain, there were certain schemes now actively pushed for raising us new enemies at sea, and with the decided intention of overthrowing, along with our maritime power, the whole code of laws which we had established for the regulation of maritime affairs in times of war. The Spanish cabinet claimed the merit of the system of "Armed Neutrality;" and, if that idea had long before presented itself to the minds of various continental statesmen, it must be admitted that Florida Blanca was most active in recommending it, and giving it actual operation. In consequence of the large shipments of ammunition and other materials of war made to the American colonies by neutral, and, *professedly*, friendly states, and more particularly by the Dutch, England had from the beginning of the war exercised the right she claimed of stopping and searching neutral vessels wherever she could find them; and, when the French joined the war, she attempted to stop neutral vessels going to the French ports with warlike stores, &c. She had also acted upon another established principle—established at least by her own admiralty courts—that a neutral flag could not cover or protect the cargoes and property of subjects of a state with which she was at war; and her cruisers had stopped Dutch and other vessels carrying French and American property. Hence she had involved herself in many quarrels with neutral powers, who pretended that a neutral flag ought to exempt all ships from search or detention.* The first or most violent quarrel was raised by the Dutch, who quoted all their great writers on international law, but who had themselves infringed nearly all the laws of nations, pursuing a line of conduct wholly incompatible with neutrality. They not only permitted the exportation to America of ammunition and arms, but they also gave open encouragement to the American privateers, which frequented the Dutch West Indian islands to dispose of the English prizes they had made; and, as early as the year 1776, one of their West Indian governors had seemed to recognise the independence of the United States by firing a salute to their flag. When Sir Joseph Yorke, our ambassador at the Hague, remonstrated in high language, the States General recalled their governor, and denied any intention of recognising the independence of America, or doing anything contrary to the friendly and close alliance which united them with Great Britain. But, by degrees, the French party, always powerful in Holland, gained the ascendency; the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other great trading towns were determined not to forego a commerce from which they derived enormous profits; and, as soon as there appeared a probability of success in braving the over-engaged navy of Great Britain, their envoy Count Welderen was instructed to complain to the court of St. James's; and their ships continued their voyages to France and to America, with whatever goods or stores those states required. The British government, in reply to Count Welderen, represented the vital necessity of vigilance and caution; admitted that, possibly, in some cases, too much rigour might have been exercised by our cruisers in intercepting neutral vessels, and promised full indemnification in any case where the cargo seized was not strictly contraband, or the property of an enemy. Shortly after this—on the 22nd of November, 1778—Sir Joseph Yorke delivered a memorial to the deputies of the States General, in which he represented that the moderation and equity of the king, his master, would not permit him to disregard the complaints of the subjects of their high mightinesses, and that his majesty had declared his intention to release the Dutch vessels under conditions the most amicable and the least disadvantageous—that, the war, however, still con-

* Capt. Shomberg, Nav. Chron.—Ann. Reg.—General Munday, Life of Lord Rodney. In private letters Rodney hinted that, in spite of the darkness of the night, the tempest, and the terrible lee shore, he might have done a good deal more in the battle off St. Vincent, if he had been better seconded by his captains.

† Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of Spanish Kings of House of Bourbon.

* No power had so rigorously insisted on the right of search as Spain had done, in order to protect her anti-social monstrous monopoly in her South American colonies; but Florida Blanca maintained that Spain had a right to prevent, by all means, *smuggling* to her own territories; and that British search and Spanish search were different things.

tinuing, and his enemies striving to push matters to extremities, his majesty was obliged to guard against danger—that, wishing, nevertheless, to involve his good neighbours and allies as little as possible, his majesty still forbore to claim such succour from their high mightinesses as they were bound to grant by the most explicit and solemn treaties, whenever such succours might be on his part required, namely, the treaty of 1678 and the separate article of 1716—that he was ordered by his majesty to propose an amicable conference respecting such warlike articles as Great Britain, without yielding to her enemies, could not possibly suffer them to be supplied with—that it was not his majesty's intention, nor was it his wish, to cause the least interruption to the commerce of Holland usually carried on with France, *except in warlike and naval stores;* and even this restriction would be exercised with every possible degree of generosity. "I therefore," concluded Sir Joseph, "have taken the liberty to request an audience, to know whether their high mightinesses are resolved to open a conference with me. On my part I entreat you to assure their high mightinesses, that, as well from my being authorized by his majesty as from my being personally disposed, after a residence in this country of *twenty-seven years*, their high mightinesses will find in me every readiness to attend to their complaints, and every regard for their welfare; and I flatter myself that in the course of the conference I shall convince them, that, whatever forced and affected turn may have been given to the conduct of my court, it has been founded on justice, moderation, and the necessity of our situation." Sixteen days after this the Duke de Vauguyon, French ambassador at the Hague, presented a counter-memorial, to show their high mightinesses how anxious the king, *his* master, was to perpetuate the perfect harmony subsisting between France and the States General, and how desirous he was that they should continue to enjoy the advantages of their neutrality and a free trade, and all the liberty which of right belonged to them as an independent state. But he demanded a clear and explicit answer, whether they intended to maintain or annul the reciprocal regulations which the French court desired to consolidate; and he informed them that the least departure from those principles would oblige his majesty to put an end to all the advantages which he had promised to their flag. As the States General hesitated to give an open compliance to the will of France, which would have provoked an immediate war with England, the French court, on the 14th of January following, issued an order revoking all the benefits promised to the Dutch flag, excepting only in the case of ships belonging to the city of Amsterdam, which was said to have made "the most patriotic exertions" to persuade the republic to procure from the court of London that unlimited liberty of trade which belonged to their flag, and which was upheld by the rights of nations. In the following month of April (1779) Sir Joseph Yorke presented another memorial to the States General, in which, after appealing again to the ancient treaties between Great Britain and the United Provinces, he warned them that, by listening to the proposals of France, they would not only infringe those treaties, but undermine their own independence and sap the very basis of their government. "Your high mightinesses," said he, "are too well instructed not to feel that a foreign power, which takes upon itself the right of granting particular favours to part of your government (the city of Amsterdam) to the prejudice of the rest, can have no other view than to sow discord, and to break the ties which unite you; and that, if other powers were to follow the same example, the republic would be torn to pieces by an internal combustion, and a universal anarchy would succeed. . . . . What right has France to dictate to your high mightinesses the arrangements you ought to make with England? When and how has that court obtained any such right? The treaty which your high mightinesses do, and which the king might, reclaim contains nothing of that kind; it must, therefore, be sought for in the ambitious views of that power which has made a league with the rebels of America, and now endeavours to bring other states into it with them." He represented that, while the French had gone so far as to dictate to them what they were to do during the present troubles, his Britannic majesty, far from imitating any such arbitrary conduct, only proposed a conference with his ambassador, which their high mightinesses had thought proper to decline. He dwelt again upon the indispensable necessity of stopping the export of those materials which might enable the enemies of Great Britain to redouble their efforts; he assured them that the other branches of their trade should be respected, notwithstanding the advantages that might result from it to the enemy; but he added that his sovereign was under the necessity of excepting the transportation of naval stores, and particularly *timber*, to the ports of France, even if they were escorted by Dutch men-of-war. The king of Great Britain, he said, always thought it derogatory from the dignity of sovereignty to sow discord in any neighbouring state; but he hinted that, if the republic condescended to adopt the views of France, and to submit to her favouring one part at the expense of the rest, his majesty might be obliged to take methods for making amends to those members of the republic that might be hurt by the partiality of his enemies. But, as little attention was paid to these representations, Sir Joseph Yorke was instructed to demand from the States General the succours stipulated by the treaties—a demand which might have been made from the beginning of the war with France, and which had not been made only out of a delicate regard to the weakness of Holland, which would have left her open to a French invasion. As Spain had now joined the confederacy, Sir Joseph, in his memorial, declared that the moment was now come which was to decide whe-

ther Great Britain, which had spent so much blood and treasure to succour other states and maintain the reformed religion, was to be abandoned by her most ancient friends and allies, and left unprotected, except by her own courage and internal strength, to contend against the whole House of Bourbon. Four months passed without any answer being returned to this paper; and when about three months of the time had elapsed the Dutch gave a fresh provocation by admitting into their ports Paul Jones, with the English prizes he had made off Scarborough. Sir Joseph Yorke demanded the detention of the ships and crews, representing that Paul Jones was a subject of his Britannic majesty, a rebel, and a pirate. Their high mightinesses replied that they would not examine this question, or whether the prizes taken were legal or illegal; that they were not authorised to pass judgment either upon the prizes or the person of Paul Jones; but that they would oblige him to put to sea again without unloading the English ships or disposing of what was in them. Sir Joseph then renewed his demand in a more pressing manner, trusting that, at least, our two ships of war, the 'Serapis' and the 'Countess of Scarborough,' would be delivered up; but he received no other reply than that their high mightinesses would in no respect take upon them to be judges of the legality or illegality of those who had on the open sea taken any vessels which did not belong to their country; that they only opened their ports to give them shelter from storms or other disasters, and then obliged them to put to sea again with their prizes, in order that they might be liable to be retaken in the same state in which they were taken, &c. On the 26th of November Sir Joseph Yorke again required the succours stipulated by treaty, and received for answer a flat refusal, accompanied by fresh complaints of the stoppage of their ships and the interruption of their trade. The British government remonstrated; but by this time the Dutch, besides giving ear to the French, had listened to the grand project of Florida Blanca, and in common with other nations had felt the effects of the blockade of Gibraltar and the temporary dominion of the Spaniards in the Straits. Charles III. had been induced to order that all vessels carrying English property, whether under a neutral flag or not, should be detained or conducted into Spanish ports, in order to undergo the same treatment as was practised by the English against neutral vessels carrying Spanish property, or property belonging to the allies of Spain. By this regulation Florida Blanca hoped to obtain one of two things —to restrain the conduct of the English, or, by way of reprisals, to compensate for the losses incurred by Spain and her allies. As he had calculated, he was attacked by all the neutral powers, by Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Prussia, and Holland, who, together with the trading states of Italy, demanded that a stop should be put to measures so injurious to their commerce. The Spanish minister answered that, if these neutral powers would defend their flags against the English when conveying Spanish effects, then the Spaniards would respect their flags even when carrying English effects; but, if they allowed the English navy to detain and confiscate Spanish property under a neutral flag, Spain must persist in her present course.* During the active correspondence which Florida Blanca carried on with every court in Europe upon this subject, Catherine, the Empress of Russia, forgetting that it was only owing to the friendship and assistance of England that she had been enabled to create a little navy, entered with her usual warmth into the project of abridging our naval power, and proposed drawing up a maritime code of her own, for the benefit of all trading neutral nations. The basis of this code was to be the principle that "free bottoms make free goods," or, that neutral states were to carry on their usual commerce with belligerent powers, and even to convey from one port to another of a belligerent power all goods whatsoever, except what could be deemed contraband in consequence of previous treaties.† But, before the czarina issued her celebrated Manifesto in favour of the Armed Neutrality, the English, no longer keeping any terms with the Dutch, sent out Commodore Fielding with a good squadron to intercept a Dutch fleet (said to be bound for the Mediterranean, but, in reality, chiefly destined for French ports with stores, &c.) under the convoy of Count Beyland. On the 1st of January of the present year (1780) Fielding came up with these Dutchmen a little to the westward of the Isle of Wight, and desired that he might be allowed to examine the merchant vessels. The Dutch admiral refused, and fired on the boats which were sent off to search the vessels. The English commodore then fired a shot a-head of the count's ship, and the Dutchman replied by a whole broadside. Fielding then fired a broadside himself, upon which Beyland, who, besides the merchantmen, had only two ships of the line and two frigates, struck his colours. The English seized seven of the trading vessels, which were principally laden with warlike or naval stores; but the rest escaped in the darkness of the night and got safe into Brest. Count Beyland was given to understand that he might hoist his colours and proceed on his voyage. He hoisted his flag and saluted the British flag; but he declared he could not proceed unless the seven merchant vessels were restored to him; and he sailed into Spithead, and came to anchor close to Fielding's squadron. In reply to the remonstrances of the Dutch ambassador the British cabinet stated, that, as the Dutch not only refused to England the aid they were bound to give, but also continued to assist the enemy with naval stores, they could no longer expect the benefits of friendship and alliance. They were also told that, if the House of Bourbon

* Florida Blanca's Representation (MS.), as cited by Archdeacon Coxe, 'Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

† Id. Id.

succeeded in their present endeavours, the ruin of Holland and of all the United Provinces would speedily follow the ruin of Great Britain. But by Russia, Prussia, and other neutral powers the affair with Count Beyland was held to be a violent and unwarrantable aggression that justified and called for an immediate concert among nations; and, backed by Frederick the Great of Prussia, by Sweden, and by Denmark, and eager for the glory of giving maritime laws to Europe, Catherine, on the 26th of February, published her Manifesto. In addition to the principle already mentioned, she laid it down that no port was to be considered as blockaded or closed to neutral vessels, unless there was present a sufficient naval force to maintain the blockade, and to render any entrance into the port difficult and dangerous. [Before this period Great Britain had insisted upon the virtues of a paper blockade.] And the declaration ended with the announcement that her imperial majesty had equipped her navy, and was determined to protect the honour of her flag and the trade of her subjects. This hostile announcement was the more unpalatable as, when she had begun her naval preparations, Catherine had intimated that she intended them to assist England, expressing the greatest attachment to the interests of this country, and her extreme abhorrence of our revolted subjects in America, and of the kings in Europe who were assisting them. At one time there was even a negotiation on foot for sending Russian troops as auxiliaries to the British in North America. The King of Spain immediately acquiesced in the new maritime code, and France declared that the principles of the manifesto were conformable to those which Louis XVI. was making war to maintain. The Dutch, though they applauded the manifesto, were deterred by their fear or their caution from committing themselves by any express adhesion to the league by which its principles were to be supported; and they continued for some time to exchange diplomatic notes with England, as if still anxious for a return to their old friendly footing. On the 21st of March Sir Joseph Yorke addressed another memorial to the States General, reminding them, among other matters, of their strange conduct in prohibiting the exportation of provisions for the use of the besieged British garrison of Gibraltar, while they were actually conveying ammunition and stores for the use of the Spanish besiegers! He declared that, unless the Dutch, within three weeks, gave a satisfactory answer to the demand for succours, their conduct would be considered as a total breach of their alliance with England. The States General replied that they could not consult the several states of the United Provinces within so short a time as three weeks—taking no notice of the fact that they had already had eight months for deliberation. At the expiration of the three weeks the British court declared that the particular stipulations favourable to the trade and navigation of the United Provinces, and contained in the treaty of 1674, were *pro tempore* suspended. Sir Joseph Yorke, however, continued at the Hague, and Count Welderen in London. In the course of the summer Denmark and Sweden joined the Armed Neutrality, and Prussia was, rather reluctantly, included in that league. Frederick endeavoured to engage Catherine in a treaty to guarantee the possessions of the Dutch in every part of the globe in case England should declare war against them. The czarina shrunk from this proposition; but it became, nevertheless, certain that Holland would soon be included, not merely in the Armed Neutrality, but among the open enemies of England and close allies of the United States of America. If the great Frederick had been able to control the personal caprices of the Empress Catherine, there would have been a general war or crusade against England.*

In America the British army had, for once, attempted an active winter campaign. In the last days of December Sir Henry Clinton, leaving General Knyphausen to take care of New York, sailed away from Sandy Hook for Charlestown, in South Carolina, having 5000 men with him, and a good escort of ships of the line commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot. But the ships had not proceeded far when they were driven from their course by a long and terrible storm. Some of the transports were taken by the enemy, others were lost, and all were more or less damaged. One vessel, carrying the heavy ordnance for the siege of Charlestown, foundered at sea; nearly all the horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry perished during the passage; and it was not until the 11th of February that Clinton was enabled to disembark on John's Island, about thirty miles from Charlestown. Owing to other necessary delays it was the 29th of March before the advance of Clinton's army crossed Ashby River, and landed on Charlestown Neck, and the 1st of April before ground was broken in front of the American works. Having had long warning of the uncomfortable visit they were to expect, the Americans had greatly strengthened positions which were very strong by nature. They had built a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries right across the peninsula from Ashby River to Cooper River, and had mounted upon them eighty cannons and mortars. In front of this line they had dug a deep canal, which was filled with water, and besides this they had thrown two rows of abattis, and made a double picketed ditch. And in the centre of their works they had erected a kind of citadel, strongly built and bomb-proof. In addition to these defences on the only side on which Charlestown could be approached by land, they had, on the water-side, erected numerous batteries to prevent the approach of ships.† But a still more effectual protection on that side was the bar or sand-bank that rendered the approach imprac-

* Manifestos and other State Papers, as published in Ann. Regist., Almon's Remembrancer, &c. &c.

† The defences of Charlestown had been constructed under the direction of a Frenchman—one M. Laumay—in the service of congress.

ticable to our largest ships of war, and difficult and dangerous to smaller craft. Yet, just within the bar, there was a place called Five-Fathom Hole with a sufficient depth of water to float second or third-rate ships; and there was moored the American commodore, Whipple, with nine ships, the largest carrying forty-four and the smallest sixteen guns. And then again, behind the bar and Whipple's squadron was Fort Moultrie, upon Sullivan Island, which was far stronger now than when (in 1776) it had repulsed Clinton and cut up Sir Peter Parker's ships. Within the lines of Charlestown was the American General Lincoln, with a force, including militia, of 5000 men. But even before ground was broke—on the very first appearance of Arbuthnot's squadron—Whipple quitted his station and retired to Sullivan Island, leaving the English to pass the bar at their leisure. In some instances Arbuthnot was obliged to lighten his ships by taking out their guns, provisions, and water, during which he was never molested except by a few shots. Almost as soon as the English got into Five-Fathom Hole Whipple retired from Sullivan Island to Charlestown, and, while he kept some of his ships afloat in Cooper River, he sank the rest across the mouth of it. This was a most important precaution—for, if the British ships had been permitted to enter Cooper River, the American lines might have been raked by them; and the only communication between the town and the country would have been cut off. As soon as Clinton had finished his first parallel and begun to erect his batteries, Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and flowing tide, sailed past Fort Moultrie towards the town. In his whole squadron, which consisted of one 50-gun ship, two of 44, four frigates, and a sloop, he only lost in killed and wounded 27 men, and his ships were but little injured. Being unable to enter Cooper River, he anchored just without range of the shot from the town batteries. Sir Henry Clinton then summoned Lincoln to surrender. The American general replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity; and he had scarcely sent this message when he was reinforced by General Woodford, who crossed Cooper River and entered the town with 700 regular troops. The English batteries were now opened, and soon made a very visible impression. To assist in preserving his communications Lincoln had sent all his cavalry outside the lines, with orders to traverse and keep open the country beyond Cooper River. Clinton being accurately informed as to the station and condition of this force, detached Colonel Tarleton, one of the most active, daring, and successful of cavalry officers, to cut off Lincoln's horse. On the night of the 14th of April Tarleton surprised them at a place called Biggins Bridge, about thirty miles from Charlestown, gave them a complete rout, and took all their stores, camp-equipage, and baggage. Tarleton also secured some two or three hundred horses, which were greatly wanted in the English camp; but some of his dragoons disgraced their success by violence and cruelty. It should appear that the flying Americans left a quantity of rum behind them, and that the fellows drank of this till they were mad. By this defeat a passage was opened across the head of Cooper River, and, as a reinforcement arrived from New York, Clinton sent a much stronger detachment to occupy or scour the country beyond that river, under the command of Earl Cornwallis, who performed the duty so effectually as to cut off all supplies from Charlestown and all hopes of retreat for Lincoln and his garrison. A council-of-war was then called, and by their advice Lincoln made an offer to surrender upon certain conditions, which were thought too favourable by Clinton, and instantly rejected. The engineering, and, in a manner, the whole of the siege, was under the direction of Moncrieff, who had so ably defended Savannah. The British continued their approaches, girding the lines more and more closely. A second parallel was completed by the 20th of April—a third by the 6th of May; and on this same day the garrison of Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan Island, surrendered to Captain Hudson of the navy, and the broken remains of Lincoln's cavalry, which had been collected with great pains by Colonel White, were again defeated and completely routed by Colonel Tarleton. Clinton's third parallel was pushed so near to the American works as to touch the canal, and this canal was drained by means of another excavation. There was nothing but consternation and despair in the town. In order to spare the towns-people the horrors of an assault and storm, Sir Henry Clinton sent in his conditions of surrender, which were not unnecessarily severe, or more than circumstances justified. But the garrison was not yet sufficiently humbled; the conditions were rejected, and hostilities were recommenced with additional fury. During a terrible fire, which lasted almost without intermission for two days, the besiegers advanced to the very verge of the ditch and drove the Americans from several of their guns. The terrified inhabitants then joined in a petition to Lincoln, imploring him to accept the terms which had been offered, and probably using the stronger arguments which are not uncommon in such situations. Lincoln sent out a flag of truce to implore for the terms which he had so recently refused. Clinton did not raise his demands, but instantly signed the capitulation. The garrison were allowed some of the honours of war: they were to march out and deposit their arms between the canal and their lines; but the drums were not to beat a British march, nor were the colours to be reversed; the regular troops and seamen, keeping their baggage, were to remain prisoners of war: the militia were to return to their homes as prisoners on parole: the citizens of all descriptions were also to be considered as prisoners on parole, but their property was to be respected *as long as they kept their word*: the officers of the army and navy were to retain their

servants, swords, pistols, and baggage, unsearched, &c. On the same day—the 12th of May—the garrison piled their arms, and General Leslie's division took possession of Charlestown. The British loss, during the siege, amounted only to 76 killed and 189 wounded. The besieged, who had made on the whole but a spiritless defence, lost about an equal number. But the prisoners presented a very imposing total: there were the deputy-governor, half the members of the council of the province*, seven generals, a commodore, three battalions of artillery, and 5000 men; to which remain to be added about 1000 American and French seamen. Nearly 400 pieces of ordnance were taken, and the whole naval force collected there was either captured or destroyed. The blow completely paralyzed all the southern States, and carried doubt and dismay to every part of the union.† Congress had expected assistance from the Spaniards in Florida, and assistance from the French fleet in the West Indies; but these allies were too much occupied with schemes of conquest for themselves to bestow much thought on Charlestown. [Nearly at the same time that Sir Henry Clinton sailed from New York, Don Bernardo de Galves had sailed from New Orleans with a strong squadron, and a united army of Spaniards, negroes, and mulattos, to reduce Fort Mobile, which he had not touched during his campaign in Florida the year before. Mobile, which had scarcely any fortifications deserving the name, and no other garrison than a company of the 60th regiment, 36 sailors, 45 militia men, and 60 blacks, was invested in form, and compelled, on the 14th of March, to surrender to the Spaniards, who thus remained masters of nearly the whole of Florida, with the exception of Pensacola, a place of some strength on the opposite side of the Bay of Mobile.] Sir Henry Clinton published an address to the inhabitants of South Carolina, representing that, upon his first arrival in that province, he had taken no steps to excite the loyal inhabitants to rise in favour of government, as, whilst his troops were employed in the siege of Charlestown, he might have been unable to assist them, and he was particularly desirous not to draw the king's friends into danger whilst there was any doubt of his success; but that now that his success was proved he trusted that one and all would heartily join him, as the helping hand of every man was wanted to re-establish peace and good government. He suggested that those who had families might form a militia to remain at home to preserve peace and good order in their several districts; whilst the young and unmarried might assist the king's troops in driving their *oppressors*, and all persons acting under the authority of congress, far from the province, intimating that they might serve under officers of their own choice, and be allowed, while on service, the same pay, ammunition, and provisions as the king's troops, and never be obliged to march beyond North Carolina on the one side or Georgia on the other. A few days after this address Clinton issued a proclamation, promising effectual countenance, protection, and support to all faithful and peaceable subjects, and denouncing exemplary severity, with confiscation of property, against those who should hereafter appear in arms within the province, or who should attempt to compel others to do so, or should hinder or intimidate any of the king's faithful and loving subjects from joining his forces or performing any of those duties which their allegiance required. In the mean while he had undertaken three expeditions, with the object of clearing the country of all the remaining forces of congress—the first and most considerable, under Lord Cornwallis, towards the frontiers of North Carolina; the second to the district called Ninety-Six, on the south-west side of the river Santee; and the third up the Savannah River, towards Augusta, where Lincoln had left a garrison. Lord Cornwallis had not gone far when he received intelligence that Colonel Buford, who had arrived too late to be able to throw succours into Charlestown, had taken post on the banks of the Santee with a considerable body of horse and foot. His lordship instantly detached the active and daring Tarleton, who made a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, surprised Buford at the Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, surrounded him and summoned him to surrender, offering the same terms which had been granted to Lincoln at Charlestown. Buford refused the terms, and then sustained one of Tarleton's fiercest charges, which broke his ill-prepared and dispirited corps to pieces. The American colonel fled headlong from the field with a few cavalry; about a hundred infantry, who were in the advance, escaped also; but nearly all the rest were killed on the spot or taken prisoners, together with all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Tarleton, who was a sort of partisan officer, who made war like a guerilla, and whose legion was composed of the desperadoes of the army, never preserved that degree of discipline which was common to the rest of the army: his own character, the character of his men, and the desperate, dare-devil service on which they were almost constantly employed, were irreconcilable with the milder spirit and gentler habits of troops of the line, kept constantly under the eye of the commander-in-chief and staff. On the present occasion their victory seems to have been disgraced by a slaughter, which was the less pardonable, as their own loss was so very trifling, amounting only to five killed and fifteen wounded. But Buford, who had behaved without skill and without courage, not content with exclaiming against Tarleton for cruelty, falsely and most absurdly accused him of treachery and perfidy, in order to cover his defeat.*

After this sharp affair at Waxhaws, there was scarcely the semblance of opposition in South Caro-

* Rutledge, the governor, and the other half of the members of the council, had fled out of the town while they were able so to do.

† Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Marshall, Life of Washington.

* Stedman.—Marshall.

lina and Georgia: the troops of congress were prisoners, were scattered or destroyed; the spirit of resistance seemed broken; and the people in almost every part of that country seemed willing to submit. Clinton's two other detachments never saw an enemy; but they received the submission of the inhabitants, who either gave their paroles to the commanding officers, or took the oath of allegiance. On the 1st of June a joint proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot as commissioners for restoring peace, assuring to such of the inhabitants as would return to their allegiance a full and free pardon, with all those rights and immunities which they had formerly enjoyed, with an exemption from all taxation whatsoever, save by their own legislature; but excepting such, and only such, as were polluted with the blood of their fellow citizens shed under the mock forms of justice for their loyalty to their sovereign and their attachment to the British government. Most of the people round Charlestown came in and offered to take up arms; and not a few actually enrolled themselves under the old banner. Two hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants of the town agreed in an address of congratulation on the return of the province to its old connexion with Great Britain. This paper was strongly drawn, and it resented the arbitrary high-handed practices of the fugitive governor Rutledge, which had made as many converts as the success of Clinton's arms. It declared that, although the right of taxation by parliament had been all along odious to the Americans, the people of that province had never relished the notion of independence, which was first promulgated in the northern colonies—that they looked back with painful regret to a quarrel which had subverted their old constitution and form of government, and produced a rank democracy, which, however fine in theory, had in practice exhibited a system of tyrannic domination only to be found among the uncivilised part of mankind—and that they regretted the rejection of the king's overtures for reconciliation, and were determined to make every effort for the restoration of his authority. On the 4th of June* Clinton issued a third proclamation, declaring that all the inhabitants of the province who were prisoners on parole, except those who had been in the military lines in Fort Moultrie or in Charlestown at the time of the surrender, or who were in actual confinement, should be freed and exempted from their paroles, and be restored to all the rights and liberties of citizens and inhabitants. On the next day Clinton embarked for New York, having received information that a French armament was expected on that part of the coast to co-operate with General Washington. He left behind him about 4000 men under the command of Lord Cornwallis, whose principal care for some time was devoted to civil affairs and the re-establishment of order and government.

* It was dated on the 3rd, but issued on the 4th, the king's birthday.

Cornwallis kept up a correspondence with the royalists in North Carolina, requesting them to attend to their harvest, collect provisions, and remain quiet until he could enter their province with the king's troops, which, on account of the hot and unhealthy season and other circumstances, he could not do till the beginning of September. In spite, however, of this prudent warning some over-eager royalists assembled in arms towards the end of June, and were immediately attacked and dispersed by the militia of the province. This premature insurrection brought on a frightful persecution of the royalists in every part of North Carolina: they were thrown into prisons, their property was seized, and many of them were tried and hanged as traitors. For some weeks not a day passed without an execution. To escape this extreme fate, or the insupportable persecutions, 800 of the North Carolina royalists, instead of waiting for Cornwallis, assembled under a Colonel Bryan, and, marching by an indirect road, joined a detachment of the British army stationed at the town of Camden, in South Carolina. They arrived in a dreadful plight. "Upon their marching into Camden," says an eye-witness, "they presented to our view the horrors of a civil war. Many of them had not seen their families for months, having lived in the woods to avoid the persecution. Numbers of them were in rags. Most of them were men of property: there were men in Bryan's corps who possessed some hundreds of acres of land, farms highly cultivated and well stocked; these, with families and friends, they had abandoned, to manifest their attachment to the British government."* At the same time extraordinary exertions were made by the republican party in Virginia to reinforce their brethren in North Carolina; and congress ordered Washington to detach a considerable part of his army—the troops of Maryland and Delaware, and the 1st regiment of artillery, all under the command of Kalb, the German—in that direction. With this encouragement, and with a total disregard of their paroles or oaths of allegiance, the republicans of Charlestown and South Carolina began to concert measures for overwhelming Cornwallis, and driving every British soldier and every American royalist out of the country. And, when intelligence was received that Kalb had reached the heart of North Carolina and united his force with 3000 militia, and that the government of Virginia had voted 5000 men, several American officers, who had been employed by Cornwallis, began to desert. One Lisle, who had taken the oath of allegiance, and obtained rank and command, waited until his battalion of militia was supplied from the royal stores with arms and ammunition, and then decamped with all his men to join the republicans. A similar instance of treachery occurred in another part of the province. A colonel of militia, who was intrusted with the escort of some sick and wounded English soldiers, instead of conveying

* Stedman.

them to Charlestown carried them into North Carolina, and gave them up as prisoners of war to Kalb. As it was determined to make an extreme effort, congress sent General Gates to take the supreme command of the army of the south, and on the 25th of July Gates reached the camp in North Carolina, and on the 27th he put the army in motion. In consequence of these movements Lord Rawdon, who commanded the advanced detachments of the British, abandoned several outposts and concentrated his force at Camden. Here he was joined early in August by Lord Cornwallis, who brought a few men with him; but still the entire force at Camden did not exceed 2000 men. After some skirmishing, and two attacks on detached positions, one at Rocky Mount and the other at Hanging Rock—both conducted by Colonel Sumter, assisted by Lisle, and both unsuccessful—Gates, with a force of 6000 men, moved forward to Camden with a full assurance of victory. Instead of retreating or waiting for him, Cornwallis and Rawdon advanced some miles to meet him; and on the night of the 15th of August the advanced guards of the two armies rather unexpectedly met, and fired upon each other in the dark. But both were presently halted and formed into line, and the firing ceased as if by mutual consent. The two generals had determined to wait till the dawn of day. As soon as it was light Cornwallis discovered that the ground which he occupied was exceedingly favourable, and such as to render the numerical superiority of the enemy of less consequence. Two swamps secured his flanks and narrowed the ground in his front by which Gates must advance. The royal army now formed in two lines, the first consisting of two divisions under Lord Rawdon and Colonel Webster, with two three-pounders and two six-pounders; the second consisting of the 71st regiment with two six-pounders, and of some squadrons of horse. Gates's arrangement was nearly the same. But he made some movements on his left as if intending a change of disposition; and, seizing the moment, Cornwallis ordered Colonel Webster to advance and charge the enemy on their left. This order was executed with so much spirit that the Virginia militia, which chiefly composed Gates's left, threw down their loaded muskets and fled from the field without firing them, and their example was presently followed by nearly the whole of the North Carolina division, which formed Gates's centre. The American second line or reserve was now brought into action; and Gates, riding after his militia, endeavoured to rally them—but all in vain; the militia-men ran on like a torrent, and afterwards spread themselves through the woods in every direction. Gates, believing that all was lost, never returned to the field of battle, but, accompanied by only a few friends, fled to Charlotte, about 80 miles off. On the side of the Americans none fought or behaved like men except two brigades of regular troops, who were left under Kalb without support and without orders what to do. Kalb had some artillery, of which he made good use when Lord Rawdon advanced to charge him: he kept his ground for nearly three quarters of an hour, and sustained more than one bayonet charge without yielding an inch; but Kalb himself fell covered with wounds, and then his men broke and fled in all directions, being pursued by Cornwallis's cavalry, who followed them all the way to Hanging Rock, or nearly 22 miles from the scene of the action. Never was victory more complete. All Gates's corps were broken and scattered, and of his 6000 men it would have been difficult that evening to have collected 60 on any one point, except as prisoners in the British camp. The militia had fled too soon and too fast to lose many lives or to leave many prisoners; but between 800 and 900 Americans were killed in the action and in the pursuit, and about 1000 were taken, of whom many were wounded. Kalb's wounds proved mortal. Gates lost all his baggage and camp equipage, many stands of colours, seven pieces of artillery, and a large quantity of military stores and provisions collected in 150 waggons. The loss of the British amounted to about 70 killed and 250 wounded, the greatest loss being sustained by the 33rd regiment under Webster and the volunteers of Ireland under Lord Rawdon, who had borne nearly the whole weight of the action.* "The road for some miles," says Stedman, "was strewed with the American wounded and killed, who had been overtaken in the pursuit. The number of dead horses, broken waggons, and baggage, scattered on the road, formed a perfect scene of horror and confusion: the arms, knapsacks, and accoutrements found were innumerable; such was the terror and dismay of the Americans. The number of killed, wounded, and taken exceeded the number of British regular troops in the action by at least 300." The American prisoners and wounded were treated with the greatest humanity. Congress, who had dispatched Gates with the confident assurance that the "conqueror of Burgoyne," as he was called, would prove the saviour of the south, were greatly cast down, and, in their dejection, began to discover that Gates was not a very wise or very great general, and that Washington was right in affirming, as he still continued to do, that militia regiments were not to be depended upon in a contest with regular troops. But not even Washington could have expected such shameless pusillanimity as had been shown in this affair. When Gates began his flight Colonel Sumter (the American Tarleton) was on the other side of the Wateree, with the intention of striking into the heart of South Carolina. After the battle, Cornwallis detached Tarleton with some cavalry and mounted infantry to intercept and cut off the adventurous partisan. Sumter, warned of Gates's defeat, had begun his retreat towards North Carolina, and was within a few hours' march of a friendly settlement, and thought himself already

* Stedman.—Marshall.

out of danger, when Tarleton fell upon him, before his men could arm or mount. He lost 150 in killed and wounded, and upwards of 300 in prisoners, all his stores, ammunition, baggage, and artillery, and 1000 stand of arms. Tarleton had moved so rapidly that he had left half of his detachment behind him, overpowered with heat and fatigue. He made his attack with only 100 dragoons and 60 of the light infantry; and the only loss he sustained amounted to nine killed and six wounded. Most of Sumter's people were militia. Lord Cornwallis now sent again emissaries into North Carolina to assure the royalists that he would march into their country as soon as he could get up some necessary supplies from Charlestown, and to invite them to fly to arms and seize the most violent of their persecutors, with all the magazines and stores collected for the use of the republican army. But before he began his march he gave some examples of severity. The estates of all those who had broken their parole or their oath, and who had left the province, were ordered to be sequestered: a commissioner was appointed to seize upon them, and, after an allowance for the support of the wives and families of such delinquents, the residue of the annual produce of the estates was to be applied to the public service. Instant death was denounced against those who, after taking protections and accepting service under the British government, should desert; and, to show that this would not remain, as it had hitherto done, a mere threat, he hanged some few of the South Carolina militia who had been taken in the battle near Camden with arms in their hands and British protections in their pockets: and as, by letters found upon some of the officers of Gates's army, it was discovered that sundry persons of superior rank, who had been prisoners upon parole in Charlestown, had been corresponding with the enemy, he ordered them to be put on board the prison-ships. On the 8th of September Cornwallis began his march from Camden into the back parts of North Carolina, while Major Ferguson, with a corps of American loyal militia, was to advance right through the country towards the frontiers of Virginia, and Tarleton with the cavalry and the light infantry to pursue an intermediate course. For some time all went on well, and towards the end of September, Tarleton having effected a junction with the chief division of the army, Cornwallis took possession of Charlotte. There was hardly any fighting; but the patroles and couriers were frequently shot at and killed from behind trees, and the foraging parties were generally thinned by American rifles, fired by men who lay in ambush and then fled into the woods. Cornwallis was preparing to advance farther into North Carolina, when he received intelligence that Colonel Ferguson had been defeated and killed, and the American royalists with him cut to pieces or made prisoners, by an overwhelming force of hardy mountaineers from the extreme western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and wild and fierce men from Kentucky and other settlements westward of the Alleghany mountains, who were in good part mounted on fleet horses, and armed with rifles. The victors hanged on the spot ten of their prisoners, and treated the rest with abominable cruelty. In consequence of this reverse Lord Cornwallis fell back upon South Carolina. It was a difficult and disastrous retreat:—it rained for several days without intermission, the roads were knee-deep in mud and water, the men had no tents and very little food—sometimes they had beef and no bread, at other times bread and no beef—for five days they had nothing but Indian corn, which they collected as it stood in the field. Lord Cornwallis fell sick and was obliged to leave the management of the retreat to Lord Rawdon, who, as upon every other occasion in this miserable war, behaved with great

LORD RAWDON. From a Picture by Shee.

energy and no inconsiderable military skill. At the end of the retreat the army was obliged to ford the Catawba River, where it was 600 yards wide, and in some parts nine or ten feet deep. On the 29th of October they took up a position between Camden, the point from which they had started, and the district of Ninety-six. Cornwallis waited there for the arrival of General Leslie, who had been detached by Sir Henry Clinton to penetrate into Virginia, in order to co-operate with Cornwallis, but who was now ordered round by sea to Charlestown. While the main body remained near Camden, Tarleton, with his usual flying column, drove back an enterprising partisan named Marion, and gave another defeat to his old adversary Sumter, who was so badly wounded that he could not keep the field. General Gates was superseded by General Greene, whom Washington would have sent to the south in the first instance; but Greene found himself in no condition to advance into South Carolina, and, as Cornwallis was too weak to act on the offensive, the campaign in the south was ended for the year.

On the side of New York a variety of unconnected petty enterprises had been undertaken during the absence of Sir Henry Clinton at Charlestown. The winter had been unusually severe: the rivers from Virginia northward had been frozen up for nearly three months, and even

the arms of the sea had been in many places passable upon the ice. By the middle of January the part of the Hudson called the North River, which forms the greatest natural defence of New York, was so completely covered with thick ice, that the largest army with the heaviest artillery and baggage might have crossed it with ease. By this intense frost the communication between the city and the sea was cut off, the ships of war that remained for the defence of the garrison and all the other vessels being frozen in and immoveable. Knyphausen, who expected that Washington would avail himself of these favourable circumstances to attack with his whole force, made every preparation in his power to receive him: he landed all the seamen from the ships of war and transports, and formed them into companies, and he embodied the inhabitants, who took their turn of duty with the regular troops and the royal militia. But Washington was not in a state to attempt anything so bold and important: his army had been weakened by draughts made upon it for the service of the south; he had scarcely bread or clothes, or blankets for the men that remained with him; and not only discontent but open mutiny began to reign in his camp. Much of this misery arose from the desultory but destructive expeditions of the British in the preceding year against different parts of the coast, but much also was attributable to the neglect and to the errors of congress, and still more to the destruction of their credit, and the general refusal of their paper money. If Washington had not resorted to a system of forced supplies, his weak army must have gone to their homes or have perished of famine. In the hopes of obtaining a good booty in provisions, and surprising the garrison there, he detached Lord Stirling to Staten Island. On the night of the 14th of January Stirling crossed over the ice from the Jersey shore, surprised a small post, and made a few prisoners; but he was quickly obliged to quit the island and run back over the ice; and in his retreat he lost some of his own men, who served to exchange for the prisoners he had taken. In the month of February the English from New York made an ice-march, to drive the Americans from a post at Young's house, in the neighbourhood of the White Plains. It was attended with many difficulties, but ended in complete success; for, though they had been obliged to leave their artillery behind them buried in snow, the post was stormed and carried, 40 of the enemy were killed, and 90, including the lieutenant-colonel, commandant of the district, were made prisoners. Meanwhile Washington's distresses and the loss of credit of congress continued on the increase. There were whole days on which that general had no bread or biscuit to give his men: the supplies of forage had failed, and a great proportion of his horses had perished or been rendered unfit for service. There were no funds or credit to procure others, and his quarter-master-general was unable to transport provisions from remote magazines into camp. "This circumstance," says Washington's best biographer, "reduced the commander-in-chief to the painful necessity of calling on the patriotism of private citizens, under the penalty of a military impressment should a voluntary contribution be refused, for those means of conveyance which the government could not supply"*—which means that private individuals were invited to furnish horses, waggons, &c., and were told that if they did not send them voluntarily they would be taken by force. In the preceding year the officers of the Jersey brigade, long without pay and incumbered with debts, had delivered a remonstrance, declaring that unless their complaints were attended to within three days they must be considered as having resigned their commissions. Washington implored them to renounce this dangerous resolution, or at least to bear up a little longer under their privations and difficulties. His personal influence was great—greater perhaps than was ever obtained by a man in the like circumstances;—but the officers did not extend to the legislature the high respect, the veneration, they entertained for the commander-in-chief. "At length," said they, "we have lost all confidence in the legislature. Reason and experience forbid that we should have any. Few of us have private fortunes; many have families, who are already suffering everything that can be received from an ungrateful country. Are we then to suffer all the inconveniences, fatigues, and dangers of a military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessaries at home? . . . We beg leave to assure your excellency that we have the highest sense of your ability and virtue; that executing your orders has ever given us pleasure; that we love the service and love our country; but, when that country gets so lost to virtue and justice as to forget to support its servants, it then becomes their duty to retire from its service." Compelled by their terrors the legislature of New Jersey at last made a financial effort, and furnished the suffering officers with some part of their arrears. But similar complaints were continually recurring among other portions of the army. For a long time Washington's earnest remonstrances met with little attention from the civil patriots sitting in congress, who, suffering no positive privations themselves, seem to have entertained a notion that the power of endurance of the soldiery was boundless: but at last a committee of three was sent to Washington's camp, and these civilians reported that the army had received no pay for five months; that everything was wanting; that every department of the army was pennyless, and had not even the shadow of credit left; and, finally, that the patience of the soldiers, tried by long and complicated sufferings, was on the point of being wholly exhausted. Congress then passed a resolution declaring that it would make good the deficiency of the original pay which had been occasioned by the rapid depreciation of the paper currency, and

* Marshall.

that the entire pay should be finally made good. But the soldiers, who wanted hard dollars in hand, were not to be satisfied with paper promises, and the less so as they doubted the ability of congress to perform those promises. On the 25th of May two Connecticut regiments paraded under arms, declaring that they would either return home or obtain subsistence at the point of the bayonet. Although the men of Washington's other regiments did not actually join the mutineers, they showed no disposition to suppress the mutiny. By great exertions on the part of the officers and by the timely appearance of a brigade from Pennsylvania, the leaders were secured and the two regiments brought back to their duty. But Washington and the whole staff were alarmed by the temper of the men, and the loud complaints proceeding from every one of the regiments, who declared that their sufferings were too great to be borne—that they wanted immediate relief, and must have some present substantial recompense for their services.* A paper moreover was found in the camp, which apparently had been brought in from New York, containing sundry arguments and representations to induce the men to abandon a cause which was desperate, and incompetent and dishonest leaders who left them to starve. No other man in America could have prevailed over these discontents of the army; and any other general would have quarrelled long before with congress; but Washington, with marvellous temper and forbearance, continued to discharge his duty, and the feelings of affection and devotedness with which he had inspired his officers and men preserved the weak army from dissolution. It must, however, be admitted—and Washington himself admitted the fact—that without the pecuniary and other aids now coming from France the hope of the republicans was altogether forlorn. Encouraged by reports of the mutinous disposition of the American troops, and of the discontents of the inhabitants of New Jersey, who had been harrowed and impoverished by a continual repetition of impressments and forced levies, General Knyphausen detached a considerable force under Brigadiers Mathew and Stirling, who landed at Elizabethtown Point, in New Jersey, on the 7th of June, and early next morning marched up the country towards Springfield. But they were disappointed in their expectation of the people joining them; they were attacked in a loose bush-fighting manner by the militia, mixed with bodies of regulars, whom Washington had detached in that direction; and they were soon obliged to retreat to Elizabethtown. It was a few days after this that Sir Henry Clinton arrived from Charlestown. He did not altogether approve of the movement which Knyphausen had ordered; but, as the troops were there, and as Washington had come down to the hills near Springfield to protect the Jerseys, he resolved to attempt bringing him to action. Deceived by some feints made by the British, Washington marched towards Pompton to defend West Point, leaving General Greene at Springfield. Clinton, on the morning of the 23rd, moved right on to Springfield in two columns, and entirely defeated Greene before Washington could get back to his assistance. The British then took possession of the town and reduced it to ashes. But Washington could not be brought to action, and Clinton, who expected every hour the arrival of the French armament, withdrew from the Jerseys and passed over to New York on the 25th of June. In the mean time the Marquis de Lafayette, the forerunner of good news, had arrived at Washington's head quarters with the assurance that his most Christian majesty was sending a considerable land force as well as fleet to co-operate in the United States. The intelligence gave new life and hope to congress and the several state legislatures, and extraordinary efforts were made to raise and procure money in order to give the army some appearance of respectability before the arrival of their French allies. There were no longer any jealous murmurs as to the admission of these foreign troops, for nearly every man felt that without their assistance the struggle was, at least for the present, next to hopeless. Bills were drawn on Franklin and Jay at Paris, and ten millions of dollars were demanded from the states of the union within thirty days. The several state legislatures passed laws and did what they could; but the money came in slowly; and, as late as the end of June, Washington's army were shoeless and shirtless. On the 13th of July the anxiously expected French armament arrived at Rhode Island: it consisted of seven ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of transports, having on board 6000 veteran troops; the fleet being commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau, an experienced officer, who had served with distinction in the Seven Years' war, and who had fought in the battle of Minden. To obviate the quarrels about rank and precedence, which had raged so fiercely between M. Suffrein and the American commanders—possibly the latter might have been found less punctilious now—Washington received a commission from Louis XVI. as a lieutenant-general of France; and, as the French troops were to be considered as auxiliaries, they were to cede the post of honour to the Americans, Count de Rochambeau placing himself under the American commander-in-chief. Washington hastened to welcome the count; an interchange of the warmest professions of esteem, friendship, and confidence took place between the French and the Americans, and, at the recommendation of Washington, his officers, as a symbol of affection, engrafted on the American cockade, which was black, the white cockade of France. Some perceptible differences, however, arose at once: the Americans thought that the French had come over late in the season, and the French complained that the American army were not ready to co-operate, late as it was. Washington pressed for an immediate attack upon New

* Marshall.—Washington's Letters.

York; but this could not be attempted without a decided superiority at sea; and before anything could be done Admiral Graves arrived at Sandy Hook, and gave that superiority to the British. De Ternay found himself blockaded in Newport harbour and unable to move; but Rochambeau had so fortified himself on that island that he could not be well attacked by any force that Clinton could spare from New York. Yet while de Ternay lay inactive in expectation of being joined by the Count de Guichen with another and much stronger fleet, consisting both of French and Spaniards, Sir Henry Clinton embarked 8000 men and proceeded to Huntington Bay, in the Sound, intending an attack upon Rochambeau if a landing could be effected, and Admiral Arbuthnot, with the fleet, sailed round Long Island in order to co-operate by sea. But the English admiral, on a near view of the French fleet, thought it too strongly posted to be assailed; some disagreements broke out between him and Clinton, and, during their absence from New York, Washington, who had been greatly reinforced, suddenly passed the North River and approached King's Bridge as if intending an attack on New York; and thus Clinton thought himself compelled to return for the protection of that city. Arbuthnot remained to block up the French fleet, and as soon as Clinton returned to New York Washington retreated to his old positions. It was evident that little could be done or attempted by the allies during this campaign, for by this time it was known that the combined fleet under de Guichen was not likely to make the coast of America this year, and therefore that the naval superiority must remain with the British.*

The operations of the great hostile fleets had been confined to the West Indies. Admiral Rodney, sailing from Gibraltar, reached St. Lucie on the 27th of March, and, having joined Admiral Hyde Parker, found himself at the head of a respectable fleet, consisting of twenty-two sail of the line and six frigates. The French admiral, de Guichen, had been for several days parading in sight of St. Lucie, and had only quitted that water a few hours before Rodney's arrival, to retire to Fort Royal Bay, Martinique. On the 2nd of April Rodney with his whole force appeared off Fort Royal and continued there for two days offering the enemy battle. But, as de Guichen did not choose to accept the challenge, and as he was too advantageously posted to be attacked at his anchorage, Rodney returned to St. Lucie, leaving some fast-sailing vessels to watch the motions of the French. On the night of the 15th de Guichen put to sea. Rodney, warned of the fact, put out after him with twenty sail of the line. On the evening of the 16th the British were near enough to count the French fleet, which then consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, three frigates, a lugger, and a cutter. Night coming on, Rodney formed his fleet into the line of battle a-head, keeping sight of the enemy, who, by their manœuvres, seemed to wish to avoid fighting. On the morning of the 17th the wind favoured the British, giving them the advantage of the weather-gage. Rodney, under a press of sail, neared the French, and a little before the hour of noon he threw out his signal for every ship to bear down and attack the rear of the French as closely as she could, in order to break their line and beat them in parts. But several captains who had not behaved very well in the battle off St. Vincent were not sufficiently obedient to this signal: the spirit of political party reigned in the fleet; Rodney was hated or envied as a Tory and a friend of ministers, and other feelings of jealousy or irritation checked the efforts of men who did not want courage, but who were sufficiently destitute of principle and patriotism to permit these base motives to interfere with their duty. Meanwhile Rodney, in the 'Sandwich,' came to close quarters with the French, and began a tremendous fire about one o'clock, repeating his signals to his captains to follow his example. But several ships continued at a cautious distance, and the admiral was left to contend for some time with three French ships of the line. Having beaten de Guichen's ship fairly out of the line, and having compelled two others to bear away, he had fully succeeded in his plan of breaking the line or separating the French fleet into two unequal parts; and, if his inferiors in command had done what they ought, the exploit performed two years later upon Count de Grasse would have been achieved this day. But only five or six of Rodney's captains exerted themselves; the French were allowed time to haul off after their admiral and re-form their line; and then de Guichen, who had not wished to fight at all, stood away with the whole fleet under a press of sail. The 'Sandwich,' Rodney's ship, was in no condition to pursue, for she had sustained so much damage in her unequal action, that it was with difficulty she could be kept above water.* On the whole this was a day disgraceful to the British navy. The slight inferiority of force ought not to have weighed with any of the captains, and when Rodney's grand idea was actually worked out, and the French line broken, the destruction of the greater part of de Guichen's fleet was inevitable, and a work of comparative ease, if those whose duty it was to obey had attended to the often-repeated signal. In his dispatches Rodney censured the conduct of his captains as it deserved; but the admiralty thought it proper or prudent to suppress the passage. In his private letters to his wife he complained most bitterly. In the end, however, one of his captains was tried by a court-martial and broken; and gradually the other commanders were brought to a better sense of their duty. Perhaps not one of these men could be accused of any deficiency in courage and enterprise; but the madness of faction had got among

* Stedman.—Marshall.—Washington's Letters.—Memoirs and Letters of Lafayette.

* Schomberg, Nav. Chron.

them. As de Guichen had disappeared Rodney made every possible effort to refit the ships that had been disabled, and to put a better spirit into those which had kept aloof during the heat of the action. On the 20th he again got sight of the French, and pursued them for three successive days without effect. Their object was to make Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, where alone they could conveniently repair their ships, some of which had been cruelly battered in the action, particularly by the 'Sandwich.' Rodney, however, succeeded in *cutting* them off from Martinique; and, rather than risk another engagement, de Guichen took shelter under Guadaloupe. Rodney then returned to St. Lucie to refit and to land his wounded. He had lost about 120 in killed, and his wounded amounted to about 350. De Guichen had suffered far more severely. On the 10th of May the hostile fleets again came in sight of each other at sea, between St. Lucie and Martinique. De Guichen avoided coming to a general action, and his ships, being superior in sailing qualities, were enabled to tantalize the English with near approaches and sudden retreats. Twice, however, the van of the French ventured too near and were brought under Rodney's guns to their manifest disadvantage. On the 21st the French were again out of sight, and, having the advantage of the wind, they at last got into the long-desired harbour of Fort Royal. Rodney, full of anxious thoughts, ran into Barbadoes, being warned of the approach of the fleet from Spain to join the French. Having improved the condition of his own fleet as much as the shortness of time would permit, he left Barbadoes, in the hope of intercepting the Spaniards on their route to Martinique, and destroying them before the French should be apprized of their fate. But the cautious Spanish admiral, Don Joseph Solano, instead of sailing direct to Martinique, the place of rendezvous, stopped short at Guadaloupe, and dispatched a frigate to inform de Guichen of his whereabout. The French admiral immediately sailed with eighteen ships of the line, and, keeping to leeward of the islands, joined Solano, who had brought with him twelve sail of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports, containing from 10,000 to 12,000 land troops and a considerable train of artillery. Before this vast superiority of force Rodney was obliged to retire; and he retreated with the sad conviction that the French and Spaniards united must be strong enough to capture every British island in those seas. But the Spaniards had so overcrowded their transports, and had been so careless of the health of their men, that a terrible sickness broke out among them, and extended its ravages to the French fleet. The men perished by scores and then by hundreds in a day. In order to check the frightful mortality, it was agreed to land the troops and part of the seamen; and to this end the combined fleet proceeded to Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, where some time was consumed, and where fierce dissensions and old national animosities broke out between the French and the Spaniards, whose commanders, moreover, could not agree as to the line of operations to be pursued. All these circumstances saved Jamaica and our other islands, and condemned the Americans, de Ternay, Rochambeau, and all the French serving in America, to the disappointment of their ardent hopes of a prompt co-operation. On the night of the 5th of July the combined fleets sailed out of Fort Royal Bay without making signals or showing lights, and directed their course to St. Domingo. Here, to all appearance sorry that they had ever met, they separated, de Guichen returning to Europe with the homeward-bound convoy from the French sugar islands, and Solano with the Spanish fleet proceeding to the Havannah to assist in the military operations which his countrymen were carrying on in Florida. Rodney, having detached part of his force to Jamaica, set sail for New York with eleven ships of the line and four frigates. The news of his approach and of the retreat of de Guichen overthrew all the plans of Washington, de Ternay, and Rochambeau. To concert some new scheme of operation, these commanders had a personal interview, upon the 21st of September, at Hartford, in Connecticut. But, under circumstances so discouraging, neither Washington nor Rochambeau knew what to propose, and all the visions of hope which had been raised early in the year by the favourable dispositions of Spain, the combined force in the West Indies, the declaration of Prussia, and the armed neutrality—"acceded to," says Washington, "by other powers of Europe for humiliating the naval pride and power of Great Britain"—the momentary superiority of France and Spain at sea in Europe, *the Irish claims and the English disturbances*, now seemed vanishing into thin air, and Washington himself concluded that his campaign must this year, as the last, end inactively and ingloriously.*

During his absence at Hartford a plot was matured which had well nigh multiplied to a fatal extent his embarrassments and difficulties. Benedict Arnold, who from the condition of a horse-dealer had raised himself to the rank of a major-general, and who had displayed more real military genius and inspiration than all the generals put together, American or English, engaged in this war, together with the most undaunted personal courage, had conceived himself harshly used by congress, and had opened a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for the purpose of passing over to the king's service with some of the troops he commanded, and placing in the hands of the British the strong and important post of West Point, on the Hudson, about sixty miles above New York, which he was then occupying. In order to recover from the terrible wounds he had received in various battles, and to settle some long and large accounts with congress, Arnold had been appointed to the tranquil post of

* Washington's Letters.

military governor of Philadelphia as soon as the British had evacuated that city in 1778. There he kept open house, living in a most sumptuous manner; and his lavish hospitality soon came to be criticised even by those who showed no reluctance to partake of it. This train of life, with all the costly paraphernalia of horses, equipages, and servants, soon swelled his debts, which were not inconsiderable before. As eager for money as he was lavish in spending it, he entered into various commercial speculations, and took shares in several privateers: but his privateers brought him no profit—his genius for trade was not equal to his genius for war, or circumstances were not equally favourable for its display,—and everything went wrong and plunged him still deeper in debt. These details are derived from unfriendly sources—from men who were almost maddened by his treachery to their cause; but we believe it must be admitted as a proved fact, that Arnold was an extravagant and unprincipled man, who never at any time of his life—not even when shedding his blood like water—acted upon a high or noble motive. From his first exploits with Ethan Allen on Lake Champlain, and his wondrous march up the Kennebec River, down to the affair of Saratoga, to the success of which he had so capitally contributed, his life had been a series of dashing exploits and incessant exertions: his claims on congress were therefore large, and possibly, in his imagination and self-appreciation, were illimitable. But congress, in their poverty, refused to allow him the sums of money he claimed for his past services and disbursements, and submitted his accounts to the revision of some economical and harsh commissioners, who reduced the sum total very considerably. Arnold then appealed to congress; congress appointed a special committee to re-examine the accounts, and this committee ended by declaring that the commissioners had not allowed too little, but too much, and that Arnold's balance ought to be reduced. Hereupon Arnold gave way to bitter complaints of ill usage and ingratitude, attacking sundry members of congress who were rather famed for exercising a licence of speech themselves than for patiently enduring it, at their own cost, in others. As quickly as the echo in a proper place follows the original sound, accusations and charges were got up in that legislature against the hot and incautious general; and Arnold was soon brought before a court-martial, under arrest, to answer for various frauds and peculations on the funds of the American government, and for extortion on the good citizens of Philadelphia, among whom he had been living and revelling. We cannot ascertain the character of the evidence produced against him on his trial. Arnold, of course, maintained that it was false and malicious, invented or bought by his personal enemies; and that in the state of faction and fury in which men's minds then were, it was impossible for the voice of justice to make itself heard. The executive government of Pennsylvania exhibited the charges against him; and the court-martial sentenced him to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief—a sentence which cut the more deeply as Arnold considered himself far superior as a soldier to Washington, and fancied that Washington had been jealous of the fame he had acquired. The sentence, however, was approved by congress and actually carried into execution. How, after this blow to the feelings of a man who was known to be excessively proud and excessively resentful, congress and Washington should have continued to employ him in the army, and to entrust to his care a place of vital importance, passes our comprehension. But so it was; the sentence of the court-martial was given in January, 1779, and in the course of the present summer Arnold, with all his military rank, was invested with the command of West Point on the Hudson, upon the possession of which depended all direct communication between the northern and middle states. Some time before obtaining this important command he had written a letter to Colonel Robinson, an officer on Clinton's staff, to intimate that his political principles had undergone a change, and that it was now his heart's wish to restore himself to the favour of his king by some signal service. This letter, of course, opened the way to a correspondence with the British commander-in-chief, who, as every other commander would have done, encouraged a disaffection by which he was to profit. The officer of most literary acquirements on the staff of Sir Henry Clinton, and at the same time one of the most elegant and amiable men in the British army, was Major John André, adjutant-general and aide-de-camp to Sir Henry. Poor André, who had not been born and bred a soldier, seems not to have

Major André. From a Picture painted by himself.

been aware that such services, however useful or necessary, are not coveted by officers who pique themselves on their honour. It is to be noted,

however, that he was bound by strong ties of gratitude and affection to his commander-in-chief, and that in so dangerous an enterprise Arnold would naturally require the agency of an officer of high consideration, and in the close confidence of Clinton. After corresponding for some time with the American general under the disguise of mercantile language and feigned names, André undertook to confer personally with Arnold in order to bring the negotiation to a conclusion. For this purpose he repaired on board the 'Vulture' sloop of war, which had been sent up the river to a station convenient for the purpose, but not so near as to excite suspicion. The house of a Mr. Smith, without the American posts, and upon what was strictly neutral ground, was chosen for the interview; and there, on the night of Friday, the 22nd of September, while Washington was conferring with the French general, André and Arnold met and arranged everything for the delivery of West Point to the British on the Monday following. Before the conference ended daylight appeared; and, to avoid exciting suspicion, Arnold proposed that André should remain concealed until the return of darkness. André agreed; but, it is said, refused peremptorily to be carried within the American posts: but we believe that he had no occasion to refuse, and that no such proposal was ever made by Arnold, who could have no possible motive for conducting him within the posts, but the strongest reasons in the world to keep him out of sight. They continued together the greater part of the day, during which Arnold placed some necessary papers in the hands of André. At night when André went down to the bank of the Hudson to get on board the 'Vulture' sloop, the American boatmen who had brought him on shore refused to carry him back: according to one account their suspicions were excited, according to another they objected because the 'Vulture' had shifted her anchorage during the day in consequence of a gun which had been brought down to the shore to bear upon her without the knowledge of Arnold. Under these circumstances André resolved to travel to New York by land; and Arnold, who still lingered at the house, insisted that he must lay aside his English uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, and put on plain clothes, in order to avoid detection. André very reluctantly assented; and then, with a pass from Arnold, authorizing him, under the name of John Anderson, to proceed on the public service to the White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, and with Mr. Smith for his guide, the major took the road for New York. When he reached the next American post he found himself obliged, in order to prevent suspicion, to follow the advice of the commanding officer, and to remain there for the night. Next morning he continued his journey, and Smith, having conducted him within view of the English lines, left him a little below Pine's Bridge, a village on the Croton. André rode on alone, and by virtue of Arnold's pass he had passed the last of the American posts, and was about entering the village of Jarrytown, on the neutral ground between the lines of the two armies, with the agreeable feeling that all danger and necessity of disguise were over, when three men, who had been lurking behind some bushes, rushed out upon the road before his horse's head, and took hold of the rein. The unfortunate André either fancied, from the locality and its nearness to New York, that they were royalists, or lost his presence of mind altogether: he hastily asked the men whence they were, and, being answered "From below," which in the language of the district signified from New York, and suspecting no deception, he answered "So am I." This was quite enough for the Americans, who instantly began to search his person for papers. Finding out his mistake too late, he offered them a purse of gold and his watch to allow him to pass on; but the bribe was rejected, and no attention paid to his more tempting offer of getting them promotion in the British army, or an immense reward in money from government if they would accompany him to New York.* They found concealed in his boots the various papers which Arnold had written, and which contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, and a copy of some interesting statements which had lately been laid before a council of war by General Washington. The three men, who belonged to the republican New York militia, immediately carried him before Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the officer commanding the scouting parties, or the out-posts. André's great anxiety was not for himself, but for Arnold. It is said that, maintaining his assumed character of John Anderson, he deceived the American colonel and induced him to dispatch an express to Arnold as his commanding officer, with the intelligence that John Anderson was stopped and taken. But this can hardly be true: if the militia men were not acquainted with Arnold's handwriting, or sensible of the nature of such a correspondence—and we suspect it would be doing injustice to the shrewdness of these men to charge them with any such ignorance—Jamesen must have known the writing well, and have been fully aware of its tendency, and to what a capital extent it involved Arnold: therefore *if* Jameson sent an express to Arnold, he must have done so merely to warn him of his danger and give him time to escape. But it appears that Jameson's express was not sent to Arnold at all, but to Washington; and that his letter announced the seizure "*of* several interesting and important papers, all in the handwriting of General Arnold;" and we are inclined to believe that André, or some other person interested in the fate of Arnold, found means to give him quick notice of his danger. But, however warned, Arnold certainly received intelligence on the morning of the 25th, just in time to permit

* The names of these men were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Vanwert.

him to make his escape, and only a few hours before Washington arrived at West Point from Connecticut. He instantly took a hurried leave of his wife and infant child, left his wife in a swoon, mounted the horse of his aide-de-camp, which was ready saddled, galloped down to a part of the river where he had a barge in readiness, and rowed off to the 'Vulture' sloop. As soon as André thought that he was out of danger he announced his own name and rank in the British army; and, with more anxiety for his military honour than for his life, he wrote a letter to Washington, to secure himself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest. "The request I have to make to your excellency," said he, "and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that, in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an impostor." He then mentioned the condition of the American gentlemen at Charlestown, who, being either on parole or under Lord Cornwallis's protection, had engaged in a conspiracy against the British. "Though," said he, "their situation is not similar to mine, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive may affect." The letter concluded with expressions of confidence in the generosity of Washington's mind. After reinforcing the garrison of West Point with a strong detachment from his army, and adopting various precautions which he deemed necessary, as he knew not how far Arnold's disaffection might have extended, and strongly suspected some officers on that general's staff, Washington attended to the case of André, and appointed a board of general officers to inquire into it. Sir Henry Clinton, as soon as he was aware of André's arrest, wrote a letter to Washington, stating, that he had permitted Major André to go to Major-General Arnold at the particular request of that general officer; that he landed with a flag of truce sent by Arnold, and that he trusted Washington, under these circumstances, would immediately liberate him. In Clinton's letter was enclosed a note to him from Arnold, in which the latter affirmed that he had sent Major André a flag of truce, and finally given him passports for his safe return; all which, he said, he had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, and commanding general at West Point and its dependencies. Washington did not reply to Clinton's letter, which was written on the 26th, until the 30th, when his board of general officers had already declared André to be a spy. That court had consisted of Major-General Greene, president; Lord Stirling, major-general; Lafayette the Frenchman, Steuben the Prussian, ten other American generals, and John Lawrens the judge-advocate. This board reported that André had come on shore on an interview with General Arnold in a private and secret manner; that he had changed his dress within the American lines; and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, had passed the American works at Stony and Verplank's Points; and that when taken he had in his possession several papers which conveyed intelligence for the enemy. André, though he confessed that it was impossible for him to suppose he could be protected by Arnold's flag of truce, pleaded that his being in disguise and within their lines at all had arisen out of a train of accidents which he could neither foresee nor prevent. He did not attempt to conceal anything concerning himself, but he would divulge nothing which might involve others. His whole behaviour, candid, open, and manly, impressed with admiration the very men who had made up their minds to put him to an ignominious death.* It is said that some of the general officers were overcome by their feelings, and that the sentence of the board was *not* unanimous. Sir Henry Clinton instantly wrote to Washington, that he was persuaded that the board of general officers to whom he had referred the case could not have been rightly informed of all the circumstances; and that he thought it of the highest moment to humanity that his excellency should be perfectly apprized of the whole state of the matter before proceeding to put the sentence into execution. And to this end he said he was sending Lieutenant-general Robertson, the Hon. Andrew Elliot, lieutenant-governor, and the Hon. William Smith, chief-justice of New York, to wait upon his excellency, to give him a true state of facts, and to declare his own sentiments and resolutions. When this deputation went up the Hudson with a flag of truce, Washington refused to permit any one to land except General Robertson, and, instead of meeting that general himself, he deputed General Greene to hold the conference. To Greene General Robertson represented that he could prove, by the evidence of the officers of the 'Vulture,' and by General Arnold's own letter, that Major André went on shore with a flag of truce, with the knowledge and under the protection of the general commanding the district; that he had taken no step while on shore but by the direction of General Arnold, under whose direction he necessarily was while within his command. Using a much better argument, General Robertson represented the conduct of *his* commander in a somewhat parallel case, showing that *a Captain Robinson of the American army had been delivered up to Sir Henry Clinton as a spy, and undoubtedly was such; but that, it being signified to Sir Henry that General Washington was desirous the man should be exchanged,*

* "He was an important person," says Lafayette, writing at the moment, "the friend and confidant of General Clinton. He behaved with so much frankness, courage, and delicacy, that I could not help lamenting his unhappy fate."—*Letter to Madame Lafayette, in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c., published by his family.* But, if Lafayette lamented, he did nothing to avert the fate of the brave and accomplished man. Some of the American generals, too, *lamented*, but kept twisting the rope that was to hang him all the while. There are accounts which say that the deep sympathy and regret was all a farce; and that André, who was a wit and a poet, was most cordially hated by the Americans on account of some witticisms and satirical verses at their expense.

he had ordered him to be exchanged as a prisoner of war, instead of allowing martial law to have its course. As General Greene was unmoved by arguments, facts, and appeals to his feelings, Robertson proposed that two foreign gentlemen acquainted with the laws of war and of nations might be asked for their opinions on the subject; and he named as proper referees the German general, Knyphausen, on the part of the English, and the French general, Rochambeau, who had not been invited to attend Washington's board of general officers. General Robertson further told Greene that he wished that an interchange of such civilities as the rules of war admit of might be allowed to take off many of the horrors of war; that Major André had a great share of his commander's esteem; that Sir Henry Clinton would be infinitely obliged by his liberation, and would in return liberate any person whom Washington might please to name. "I added," says Robertson, "*that Sir Henry Clinton had never put to death any person for a breach of the rules of war, though he had and now has many such persons in his power.*" The evident truth of this assertion, which was equally applicable to Sir William Howe, Clinton's predecessor in the chief command, and the notorious irregularities and breaches of the rules of war which the undisciplined Americans, partly through ignorance, partly through heat and a contempt for all such regulations, had been guilty of all through the contest, ought by Washington and his brethren to have been allowed some weight in favour of their interesting prisoner—but they were allowed none. The day before that fixed for the execution of the victim of his plot, Arnold wrote a long and earnest letter to Washington to avert the doom. He gave a certificate of facts, tending to exculpate the prisoner; he declared that it was at his pressing instance, and with much reluctance, that Major André had changed his uniform; that he had furnished him with a horse and saddle and pointed out the route by which he was to return; and he insisted that he had an undoubted right to do all this at the time. Arnold further told Washington that, if the board of general officers adhered to their former opinion after this candid representation, he must suppose their conduct proceeded from passion and resentment; and that, if Major André suffered the severity of their sentence, he should think himself bound, by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on such unhappy persons of Washington's army as might fall within his power. He next warned Washington that 40 of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been spared by the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, who could not in justice extend his mercy to them any longer, if André were put to death. "Suffer me," said Arnold in conclusion, "to entreat your excellency, for your own and the honour of humanity, and the love you have of justice, that you suffer not an unjust sentence to touch the life of Major André. But, if this warning should be disregarded, and he suffer, I call heaven and earth to witness that your excellency will be justly answerable for the torrent of blood that may be spilt in consequence." But Washington, who had not bated a jot of his resolution through the representations of Sir Henry Clinton, General Robertson, and others, was not likely to be moved by the appeals and menaces of Arnold. Opinions may possibly be divided as to his conduct thus far: some may applaud his military or republican stoicism, others may accuse him of too strict an adhesion to the forms of military law, and even suspect that his excess of severity proceeded from his recent mortifications and bitter disappointments, or from a not very noble submission to what he knew to be the sense of the majority of congress and of the ardent republicans in the country; but we believe few, at the present day, will venture to approve, or even to excuse, the additional harshness and rigour which followed. The day before his execution the unfortunate André, in a letter which draws tears to the eyes, implored that the degrading part of his sentence might be changed, and that he might be shot as a soldier instead of being hanged. "Buoyed above the terror of death," wrote André to Washington, "by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour. Let me hope, Sir, that, if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught of my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet." To this touching appeal Washington returned an evasive answer; but he held, with a most unseasonable sternness, that the practice and usage of war were against granting the request, and when, on the following morning—the 2nd of October—André was led forth to suffer, *it was under a gibbet.* He exclaimed in an agony, "Must I then die in this manner?" but, soon recovering his composure, he added, "It will be but a momentary pang," and he gave no further expression to his feelings. He died nobly, and tears are said to have been shed by those who, without any great stretch, might have saved his life, or lessened the anguish of his last moments. Washington reported in a letter to a friend that he met his fate "with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man and a gallant soldier;" and Washington's military secretary, Colonel Hamilton, employed his pen on a brief record of the virtues, abilities, elegance of mind and manners, and rare accomplishments of their victim, who was only in his 29th or 30th year, when he fell a sacrifice to the plots of Arnold and the obduracy of Washington.*

* Correspondence, as given in Ann. Regist., Remembrancer, and

Five days after his death, or on the 7th of October, Arnold, who had received the rank of major-general in the king's service, issued what he called "An Address to the inhabitants of America," to account for his conduct and to invite others to imitate it. Some of his assertions might have made a little impression if they had not been preceded by conduct so flagitious, or by a name so laboriously and universally reprobated among his countrymen. He represented that to those who were suffering under the tyranny of congress his conduct could require no vindication, and that, as to the class of men who were criminally protracting the war from sinister views at the expense of the public, he preferred their enmity to their applause—that he had fought by the side of his countrymen when the love of their country animated their arms—that, when he quitted domestic happiness for the perils of the field, he conceived that the rights of his country were in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her defence—that a redress of grievances was his only object and aim—that, though he acquiesced in the declaration of independence, he thought that measure precipitate, and no longer to be persevered in when Great Britain offered every redress. He attributed his entire disgust to the French alliance and the employment of French arms. He declared that, up to that point, he considered the war a defensive one—that congress, with impolicy, tyranny, injustice, and a sovereign contempt of the people of America, had studiously neglected to take the collective sentiments of the American people on the British propositions of peace and reconciliation—that they had laboured to conceal the real conditions offered by the second commission from England, which exceeded the wishes and expectations of the Americans—that at the time America was in reality not bound to France, and that the pretended treaty with the court of Versailles then amounted to no more than an overture—that the people of America had never given any authority to conclude a treaty, nor had yet sanctioned it by their ratification—that, since, as before, the insidious offers of France, he had constantly preferred the conditions offered by Great Britain, thinking it wiser and safer to place confidence in her justice and generosity than to trust a monarchy too feeble to establish independence in America—a monarchy that was the enemy of the Protestant faith, and that held her own subjects in vassalage and chains, while she was pretending an affection for the liberties of mankind. With these principles, he said, he had determined to retain his arms and command till an opportunity should offer for surrendering them to Great Britain; and, in concerting his measures for a purpose which in his opinion would have been beneficial to his country, he had been only solicitious to accomplish an event of decisive importance, and to prevent as much as possible the effusion of blood. He added that he could bear testimony to his old fellow-soldiers and citizens that he found solid ground to rely upon the clemency of his sovereign, and abundant conviction that it was the intention of Great Britain not only to leave the rights and privileges of the colonies and their perpetual exemption from taxation unimpaired, but to superadd such further benefits as might consist with the common prosperity of the empire. "In short," said Arnold, "I fought for much less than the parent country is as willing to grant to her colonies as they can be to receive or enjoy." He soon followed up this appeal to the public by a proclamation—"To the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interests of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of congress or of France." He undertook to offer those who would join the British standard rank, bounty-money, and a liberal allowance for their horses, arms, and accoutrements. He imputed their present distress, want of pay, hunger, and nakedness partly to the contempt, and partly to the corruption, of congress. America, he said, was now a land of widows, orphans, and beggars; and, if the mother-country should cease her exertions to reclaim her, there would be no longer any security for that religion for which the ancestors of the American people had braved the ocean, the heathen, and the wilderness. As one who knew the sensitiveness of the New Englanders on this point, he dwelt at greater length upon the subject of religion and the dangers of popery; and he declared that he had himself lately seen the mean and profligate congress at mass for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory,* and participating in the rites of a church against whose antichristian corruptions the pious ancestors of the Americans would have witnessed with their blood. He concluded by representing that the step he invited them to take was the only measure that could restore peace, real liberty, and happiness. These declarations were met by congress and the American press with strong exposures of the selfish motives from which Arnold had acted, and with fresh accusations of baseness and dishonesty. He was said, even during his short command at West Point, to have been guilty of little as well as great villanies, to have practised every dirty act of peculation, and even to have stooped to connexions with the suttlers of the army to defraud the soldiers and the public.† His

other publications of the time.—Washington's Letters.—Miss Seward's Letters and Notes to her Monody on the Death of Major André.—Art. André, in Pen. Cyclo.—Marshall's Life of Washington.

André had begun life in the peaceful calling of a merchant, but an unfortunate attachment induced him to quit his profession and his country. He obtained a commission in a regiment destined for North America, where his bravery, abilities, and accomplishments soon raised him to distinction. The lady of his love, the beautiful and accomplished Honora Sneyd, the bosom friend of Anne Seward, became the second wife of that man of many wives, R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. the father (by his first wife) of Miss Edgeworth, the admirable novelist; but she died of consumption, on the 30th of April, 1780, five months and two days before the execution of André, who appears to have been ignorant of the sad event. When taken and stripped of everything by the Americans, he concealed a small miniature portrait of the lady in his mouth. On the 25th of December of the same year—just seven months and twenty-five days after the death of Honora—Edgeworth married her sister, Miss Elizabeth Sneyd.

André excelled in painting and music. As a poet he was above the mediocrity of his day.

* We suppose this can only allude to the attendance of members of congress at the funeral service performed for some foreign officer who had died in their cause.

† Letters of Washington and Col. Hamilton.

address produced no visible effect, and certainly not one man of any name or note abandoned the cause. He, moreover, soon experienced the usual fate of traitors, which is, to be regarded with shyness, aversion, *and contempt*, even by those who profit by the treachery. He was employed during the remainder of the war, because it was considered that he possessed some peculiar advantages of local knowledge and connexions, and because his great military skill and his bravery remained equally indisputable; but the British officers shunned his *society*, and the British soldiers on guard, bound to salute his uniform and respect his rank, generally whispered as he passed, "There goes the traitor Arnold." Notwithstanding the threats held out when it was hoped that they might stop the execution of Major André, no reprisals were made after his death :—not one of the many Americans in the power of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis was condemned by a military tribunal for their flagrant, and, in some instances, *repeated* breaches of the laws of war; and the forty American gentlemen of Charlestown were merely carried from the prison-ships to Pensacola and St. Augustine, in Florida, where paroles were again allowed to them, but under such restrictions as their conduct had rendered necessary. In the course of the autumn congress found itself compelled to listen to the complaints of the American captives of war,* and an agreement for a general exchange of prisoners was finally settled, towards the close of the year, between Major-General Phillips, of the British army, who had been prisoner ever since the convention of Saratoga, and Major-General Lincoln, of the American army, who had surrendered at Charlestown. But even now the release of the privates of Burgoyne's army was refused; congress would not depart from their former ungrounded and equivocating resolutions; and those poor fellows were kept in captivity during the remainder of the war.† Washington continued to press congress for more troops and for the adoption of a system of permanent supply and recruiting, not by voluntary enlistment, which was found altogether insufficient, but by forced drafts on the population—in short, by something very like the conscription which France adopted a little later—not by engaging the men, as had been the American practice, for a limited period, but for the whole term of the war. He represented that, if something of this sort were not adopted, they might expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America, in America, upheld by foreign arms alone; that the resources of Great Britain were still wonderfully great; that, notwithstanding her numerous open and secret enemies, she was still in a state to prosecute the war, so that a speedy peace was not to be expected in America. He repeated that in several instances nothing but the infatuation of the British generals had saved the whole cause of independence from ruin.* If one party in congress entered fully into the views of their commander-in-chief, and reposed the fullest confidence in his civic virtue, there was another, nearly equally strong, and at times stronger, who were jealous of the army, jealous of the general, and apprehensive that with a powerful standing army at his disposal he might erect himself into a dictator, and gradually raise, like Cromwell, a kingly power on the ruins of the republic. This latter party were, however, reduced to temporary silence by the strong representations of nearly every general officer in the army; and two great principles were adopted by congress—1. That the army should be engaged for the whole war; 2. That the officers should have half-pay for life. But it was more easy to vote these resolutions than to execute them; for some time they were scarcely acted upon at all; and such was the poverty or the mismanagement of congress, that the army was still left badly provided, and Washington was obliged to discharge some of the new levies in consequence of not having bread for their subsistence. All the belligerents went early into quarters, and, with the exception of a few paltry expeditions for forage and plunder made by each party, Clinton's army during the winter remained at New York and its dependencies, doing nothing; Washington continued to occupy his old station on the high lands above the Hudson, doing nothing; and the French troops under Rochambeau staid at Rhode Island, doing *nothing*.

The brightest gleam of hope that the Americans could now perceive was in the probable effects of the Armed Neutrality, and the breaking out of open war between the English and the Dutch, which they hailed with delight, and to which they had mainly contributed. From the very beginning of the war the Dutch, as we have seen, had secretly favoured their cause, or had at least sought a commercial advantage in supplying some of their wants. As early as the autumn of 1778 William Lee, once an alderman of London, but then a diplomatic agent for the American congress, being at Aix-la-Chapelle, held several conferences with John de Neufville, a merchant of Amsterdam, and Van Berkel, grand pensionary of that city, on the subject of a free commercial intercourse between the United Provinces and the United States. These conferences ended in the drawing up of certain provisional articles as the basis upon which a regular treaty might be formed hereafter. These articles were signed by Lee, Neufville, and Van

* "The congress had, from policy, hitherto resisted all proposals for a general exchange upon equitable terms. They knew the expense that attended recruiting the British army from Europe; they knew also that their own army would receive no great increase of strength by a release of the Americans detained as prisoners, because the short periods for which the American soldiers enlisted, during the first years of the war, would have generally expired before an exchange could have been effected. But the clamours of their people, so long detained in captivity, and for whose release they had shown so much indifference, had now become so loud—so many of their regular soldiers had been made prisoners by the capture of Charlestown, and the defeat of General Gates at Camden—and in consequence of these disasters so much difficulty had been experienced in recruiting their army during the present year, that necessity, rather than choice, obliged them at last to yield to an equitable arrangement."—*Stedman, Hist. American War.*

† Stedman.

* Washington's Letters.

Berkel, and duplicates were transmitted to Holland and America. Great secrecy was observed, to hide the transaction from the British court. It had been supposed that the States General intended to leave these clandestine arrangements in their unfinished state during the continuance of the war, as, under them, the Dutch could carry on their profitable trade, and as at the end of the war they might either confirm or disavow articles which they had never signed. But congress had now come to the conviction that nothing could be done in America without a foreign loan, and that that loan was only to be raised among the great capitalists in Holland; and, as they could not expect these capitalists to lend their money to a distressed people whose sovereignty and independence were not yet acknowledged by the States General, they resolved to send a minister plenipotentiary to tempt the States into a recognition, by offering them even more commercial advantages than were stipulated in the articles agreed upon between Lee, Neufville, and Van Berkel. The minister they selected for this purpose was Henry Laurens, their late president. Laurens embarked at Philadelphia in a vessel bound for Holland, carrying with him all the papers that related to the object of his mission, and particularly those provisional articles which had been regulating the commercial intercourse of the two countries for two years. But his voyage was unfortunate, inasmuch as the packet was soon discovered and pursued by two British cruisers, the 'Vestal' frigate and the 'Fairy' sloop of war. As soon as Laurens perceived the English armed boats making up to the packet, he threw the box that contained his papers overboard; but the lead he attached to it was not heavy enough to sink it immediately, and one of the English sailors leaped from the boat into the sea and caught it as it was sinking. When the box was opened the contents were deemed of so much importance that they were instantly forwarded to the British government, together with Ex-president Laurens. On the 6th of October Laurens was brought in a hackney-coach to Lord George Germaine's office, where he underwent an examination of six hours before the three principal secretaries of state, attended by the solicitor-general. The three secretaries signed a warrant committing him a close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Our government then transmitted his papers to their ambassador at the Hague, and instructed Sir Joseph Yorke to present a memorial to the States General, requiring them to disavow the proceedings of the Pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a punishment suitable to their offence. On the 10th of November Sir Joseph presented his paper, and demanded a prompt satisfaction; stating that, if their high mightinesses refused so just a demand, or endeavoured to elude it by silence, the king his master could not but consider the republic itself as approving of those outrages which they refused to disavow and to punish, and would find himself under the necessity of taking those measures which his own dignity and the essential interests of his people demanded. Instead of returning an immediate answer to this complaint, the States General, six days after, presented a complaint of their own, of insults and violences committed by the British navy at their Island of St. Martin on the 9th of last August. Some American privateers had taken refuge in a port of that island, and some English men-of-war captured them under the cannon of the Dutch fort, threatening, according to this memorial, that, if any resistance was made by the fort, they would destroy it, together with the whole town or village. Their high mightinesses said that, if an independent power was to be exposed to such insults as these, all liberty and security would only depend upon force—that from the beginning of the present troubles in America they *had not refused to restrain* their subjects from trading with North America—and, finally, that they must protest solemnly against the treatment received. On the 12th of December, a month and two days after presenting his complaint, Sir Joseph Yorke sent in another memorial, expressing, in diplomatic language, his astonishment at not receiving an answer to his first paper. "The king," said Sir Joseph, "has never imagined that your high mightinesses had approved of a treaty with his rebellious subjects. That had been raising the buckler on your part—a declaration of war. But the offence has been committed by the magistrates of a city which makes a considerable part of your state; and it belongs to the sovereign power to punish and give satisfaction for it. His majesty, by his complaint, has placed the punishment and the reparation in your hands; and it will not be till the last extremity, that is to say, in the case of a denial of justice, or of silence, which must be interpreted as a refusal, that the king will take them upon himself." But still no answer was given. The fact was that the great trading interest of Amsterdam, and the whole French party in Holland, were eager for the completion of the American treaty, and, if not exactly eager for a war, were buoyed up by the hope that, through the number and power of her enemies, and through the Armed Neutrality, Great Britain must succumb. The Stadtholder approved neither of the treaty with the United States nor of the war with England; but his limited power was completely borne down by a busy and potent party. On the 20th of December a royal manifesto was issued, declaring that Great Britain had issued letters of reprisal against the Dutch, and justifying her conduct in taking this hostile step. It accused the States General of returning friendship with ingratitude, an open contempt of the most solemn engagements, and a repeated violation of public faith—of infringing their treaties of alliance offensive and defensive—of giving every secret assistance to the enemies of Great Britain—of attempting, in concert with France, to raise up enemies against us in the East Indies—of giving every protection and assistance

to the Americans in the West Indies, receiving in their harbours their privateers, allowing them to refit, supplying them with arms and ammunition, and permitting them to sell their prizes, recruit their crews, &c. It imputed all this conduct chiefly to the prevailing influence of the leading magistrates of Amsterdam, whose secret correspondence with the Americans was suspected long before it was made known by the discovery of the treaty. It declared that there was an end to the faith of all treaties if Amsterdam was permitted to usurp the sovereign power and pledge the States to engagements directly contrary to those treaties, and so to league the republic with the rebels of a sovereign to whom she was bound by the closest ties; that an infraction of the law of nations, by the meanest member of any country, gave the state injured a right to demand satisfaction and punishment—but much more so when the injury complained of was committed by leading and predominant members in the state; that, from a regard to the Dutch nation at large, the king wished it were possible to direct his hostile measures solely against Amsterdam—but this could not be, unless the States General would declare that Amsterdam should, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression. The manifesto closed by affirming that the Dutch system had been subverted by a powerful faction, conspiring with France against the true interests of the republic, no less than against those of Great Britain. Sir Joseph Yorke was of course recalled by the king. On the 29th of December Count Welderen, the Dutch ambassador at the British court, demanded his passports; but in so doing he proposed laying before the secretary of state some fresh papers from the States General, and even requested a personal interview. But Lord Stormont stated that, since all connexion between the two nations was broken off by the aggression of the Dutch, and since he had officially notified to the count his majesty's manifesto, all ministerial communications between them must necessarily cease. It appears that the States General had no sooner thrown the die than they were visited by apprehensions and misgivings, and something like a foresight of the loss and degradation this war was destined to bring down upon them. It was not until the 10th of March, 1781, that they put forth their answer to the manifesto of his Britannic majesty.

At the beginning of this year, whose end saw Holland added to our enemies, some idea had been entertained of detaching Spain from the hostile league by making sacrifices, or exchanges which the English people would assuredly have considered as sacrifices. It was known that the chief motive which had led Spain into this as into preceding wars was the national and passionate desire to recover possession of Gibraltar. Commodore Johnstone, being on the Lisbon station, hinted that Lord North might possibly be induced to purchase the friendship of Spain by the cession of the formidable rock. These words were carried to Madrid, and repeated to Florida Blanca, who induced his sovereign to make a direct though clandestine proposal to England, through the channel of Mr. Hussey, an Irish priest, who had formerly been chaplain to the Spanish ambassador, Count Almodovar, and who still remained in London, either acting as spy himself, or in a suspiciously close connexion with spies. This Hussey, by means of a third person, made the overtures known to Mr. Richard Cumberland, the well-known dramatist and miscellaneous author, who was then acting as private secretary to Lord George Germaine, though his merits deserved a better master. Cumberland reported the propositions made to him both to Lord George Germaine and Lord North: they were simply that Spain would not only withdraw from the French alliance, but would make liberal concessions in territory, ships, and treasure, if England would only restore to her that rocky and barren corner of her dominions, Gibraltar. This was in the month of November, 1779, when the affairs of England seemed to be in a deplorable condition. But it is not clearly proved whether Lord North and his colleague, Lord George, were inclined even then to accede to the proposition, or only entered upon a negotiation in order to create jealousies between Spain and France, whose mutual confidence had never been very strong, and whose objects and interests were in most respects opposite and incompatible. With the knowledge and approbation of the king Lord George Germaine wrote a letter to the Irish priest, stating that, as he understood that he was about to undertake a journey to Madrid, where he might have opportunities of conversing with persons in trust and office, he hoped he would attempt to improve every opportunity of cultivating any disposition he might discern in the Spanish ministry towards a renovation of that harmony which had of late been interrupted to the prejudice of both—that both Lord North and himself would receive any representations he might have to make from Spain with the most friendly attention—and that, if he should be warranted to convey any overture towards a pacification, it would be entertained here with all possible sincerity and good faith. There was not a syllable in the letter touching Gibraltar, nor was Hussey authorized to make any promise of a cession or an exchange. Hussey reached Madrid on the 29th of December, 1779, and presently showed Lord George's letter to Florida Blanca. That minister said he doubted the sincerity of the British cabinet; and added that Gibraltar must be the indispensable basis of the negotiation. He, however, addressed to Hussey a pacific letter resembling Lord George Germaine's, and, like it, resting on generals. The Spanish monarch also admitted the Irish priest to his presence, gave him some private instructions, bade him return to London, and at parting conferred on him his blessing, telling him to come back, if possible, with a peace. The active priest was

again in London by the 29th of January (1780), when he instantly saw Lord George Germaine, and opened to him the instructions with which he was furnished. The negotiation was now thrown into the hands of the British cabinet, and four successive councils were dedicated to the subject. It appears from Cumberland's account that the cabinet now really discussed the equivalents for which Gibraltar might be ceded; and that the following conditions were suggested:—1. That Spain should yield and guarantee to Great Britain the island of Porto Rico. 2. That she should also yield and guarantee the fortress of Omoa, in Honduras, and its territory. 3. That she should likewise yield and guarantee a harbour and territory sufficient for erecting a fortress in the bay near Oran, on the African coast. 4. That she should not only purchase at the full price all the stores and artillery left at Gibraltar, but should also pay before she was put in possession not less than two millions sterling for what Great Britain had laid out on the fortifications. 5. That she should make a separate peace with Great Britain, and renounce all engagements with France. 6. That she should engage in the clearest and most solemn manner not to assist the British colonies in America, not to receive any minister or agent from them, not to suffer their ships to enter into any of her ports;—agreeing also to assist Great Britain in reducing the said colonies to obedience; or, if this could not be, to bind herself not to harbour in her dominions any subjects of his Britannic Majesty that were deemed rebels, but compel them to depart in a week's time after requisition made by the king's minister. This last stipulation to be mutual, and the King of England to take a like engagement with regard to the rebellious subjects of Spain.—Yet even these high demands as an equivalent did not seem enough for so extreme and unpopular a measure as the giving up of Gibraltar; and when the secretaries of state held a personal conference with Hussey, Lord Stormont, "not without some vehemence of speech and action," declared that, "if Spain would lay before him the map of her empire, to take his choice of an equivalent, and three weeks to fix that choice, he should not be able in that period to find in all the dominions of Spain what, in his judgment, would balance the cession of Gibraltar." And Hussey was further informed that Commodore Johnstone had never had any authority given to him to speak of Gibraltar, or to enter into any negotiation or overture whatsoever. At the same time the priest was assured that the British Government was exceedingly anxious for a peace with Spain, and that, if she wished for a closer connexion by a reciprocal cession of territory, they would be at all times ready to receive her proposals. Hussey was entirely disconcerted by this conference, and, declaring to Cumberland that he saw that there was no pacific disposition in the British ministry, he threatened to break off all negotiation, and to inform the Spanish court that he had unwillingly and unwittingly deceived them. The amiable dramatist calmed the priest, and even induced him to write a very different letter to Florida Blanca, flattering that minister with the assurance that, although the British cabinet would not grant the tender of Gibraltar as a previous and indispensable article of the treaty, he really believed that they would eventually cede it; stating, however, that for this he had no authority from the British cabinet, either written or verbal. All this while Spain had been continuing the siege of Gibraltar; but just as Hussey's letter reached Madrid they had news there of Rodney's victory off Cape St. Vincent, and of the consequent relief of Gibraltar. Thus, despairing of acquiring that famous rock by force of arms, the Spanish minister was inclined to place some hope in Hussey's half-assurances. After some other *pour-parlers*, it was arranged by Lord George Germaine, *with the tacit permission* of Lord North, that his private secretary, Cumberland, should repair with Hussey to the neutral port of Lisbon, and remain there while the priest went on to Madrid to ascertain whether Florida Blanca would not enter upon a private negotiation without insisting upon the cession of Gibraltar as a basis. It is apparent from the beginning that the poor secretary permitted his poetical imagination to delude him into a belief that what was and could have been only a secret agency was an ambassadorial mission; and that he, Richard Cumberland, was to achieve a grand diplomatic triumph by detaching Spain from the hostile confederacy, even without ceding the Rock. He talks of his being "accredited," whereas his only credentials appear to have been some note or notes from Lord George Germaine. To Lisbon, however, Cumberland went with the Irish priest, and from the Portuguese capital the priest travelled by land to Madrid, boasting on his journey "that he had got Gibraltar in his pocket." Florida Blanca, without giving any direct answer as to negotiating *without* the demand of Gibraltar as a preliminary, gave Cumberland to understand that he might proceed to Madrid under pretence of passing through Spain into Italy for the benefit of his health. Upon this weak encouragement, but probably with a strong confidence in his untried diplomatic abilities, the author of the "Wheel of Fortune" went on to the Spanish capital, and established himself there with the train and magnificence of an ambassador. We can scarcely believe that he ever had a shadow of hope of conciliating Spain without yielding Gibraltar; but he was then of a sanguine temperament, or, at least, he says himself that he was not without hope until the arrival of the news of the excesses committed in London by Lord George Gordon's mob—excesses which the Spaniards were silly enough to *think* betokened a revolution in England. And to this was soon added the arrival of a French fleet at Cadiz with the strongest assurances from France of an active co-operation in the siege of Gibraltar; and then there came the capture of the British

East and West India fleets, which certainly elated the Spaniards in an extraordinary degree, the prize being so great, and such a success so rare in any war with England. Cumberland says that after all these inauspicious events the tone of the Spanish minister was suddenly changed, and the cession of Gibraltar no longer seemed enough to satisfy him. But it was the Rock that lay as heavily at the heart of all Spain as the real gigantic mass lies upon the Mediterranean shore; and, notwithstanding French assurances of co-operation, it was still doubted whether any siege—the present had already lasted more than a year—could succeed in striking down the British banner from O'Hara's Tower, and placing the flag of Spain in its stead. In one interview with Cumberland Florida Blanca exclaimed,—"Gibraltar is an object for which the king my master would break the family compact, and every other engagement with France;" and, as if to give force to his asseveration, he threw a paper on the floor, and trampled it under foot. But not even his impetuous employer Lord George Germaine had ventured to authorize any offer, either direct or indirect, of giving up Gibraltar; and, as Cumberland adhered strictly to Lord George's instructions, no negotiation was ever properly entered upon; and, after staying eight months in Spain, spending all the money he had, and borrowing more, the poor private secretary returned to England to claim from government 4500*l.* for his expenses, of which he says he never got one farthing.* We would not be harsh towards an amiable man, who was indisputably a man of genius, and who suffered bitterly in consequence of his expenditure in this expedition to the land of Don Quixote; but we cannot avoid the impression that, if he had confined himself to his proper and humble capacity, and had not sought to dazzle the Spaniards with the brilliancy of his establishment, the graces of his daughter's horsemanship, &c. (he had his family with him at Madrid), 400*l.* or 500*l.* would have been quite enough to defray his *expenses*. A sum of money was given to him at starting; and we are not informed that Lord George Germaine instructed his private secretary to live at Madrid with the magnificence of an ambassador. But, if Lord George ever gave any such order—which we much doubt—Cumberland's claim for reimbursement would have been upon his lordship, and not upon the cabinet or the country.

The parliament, prorogued on the 8th of July, was dissolved on the 1st of September by a sudden and unexpected proclamation. In the new elections Mr. Fox, after a hard contest with Lord Lincoln, was returned for Westminster; Burke, in consequence of the support he had given to the Irish trade acts, to the Roman Catholic relief bill, and to other measures of a liberal and noble nature, was ousted from the representation of the great commercial city of Bristol, and compelled to take his seat for the humble borough of Malton. In other places several of the most popular members were thrown out of their seats; and the elections went upon the whole much in favour of the court. One hundred and thirteen new men obtained seats. The new parliament assembled on the 31st of October, when a curious squabble took place about the speakership. Sir Fletcher Norton had given unpardonable offence to ministers by his conduct during the last session; and therefore Lord George Germaine, pathetically lamenting the very precarious state of Sir Fletcher's health, moved that Mr. Cornwall, "a gentleman eminently endowed with all the qualifications necessary," should be chosen speaker. Sir Fletcher Norton and his friends begged to say that his health was now perfectly re-established, and that they thought Lord George's pretence a mockery of the House; and Dunning, seconded by Thomas Townshend, moved that Sir Fletcher Norton should be continued speaker. After a warm and very personal debate the appointment of the ministerial nominee, Mr. Cornwall, was carried by 203 against 134. On the following day the king delivered his speech, in which he complained again of the unprovoked aggression of France and Spain, who were exerting all their power to support the rebellion of his colonies, to destroy the commerce and give a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain: but he added that the bravery of his fleets and his armies had enabled him to withstand their formidable attempts; and that he hoped the late successes in Georgia and Carolina would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. The opposition denied that the successes obtained in America were important or likely to be decisive; and Fox and other orators represented Clinton's capture of Charlestown and Lord Cornwallis's victory at Camden as things to be deplored, and not rejoiced at. Their amendment to the address was, however, negatived by 212 against 130. In the Upper House there was but little debate; and the original address was carried by 68 against 23. The army and navy estimates were carried by triumphant majorities, which served to remind Lord North of the earlier years of his administration, and to efface the recollections of the narrow divisions and occasional minorities of the latter part of the last parliament. On the 13th of November, upon the proposition being made that 91,000 men, including marines, should be the naval force for the service of the ensuing year, Fox pledged himself to the House to move, after the Christmas holidays, for the dismissal of the Earl of Sandwich, and afterwards to bring him to condign punishment: and he gave notice that he should found these motions on two different causes:—1. For Sandwich's having advised his majesty to promote Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital; 2. For his having shamefully neglected the navy.—Apparently in order to speak for himself, Palliser had again got into parliament,

* Cumberland's Memoirs of his own Life.—Memoranda written by Cumberland, found among the MSS. of Sir S. Porten, and published by Archdeacon Coxe, in Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.

taking his seat for Huntingdon, and many vehement personal altercations took place between him and the opposition—more particularly with Fox. On the 4th of December Thomas Townshend said it was highly necessary that the House should inquire why in this season of great public danger the nation was deprived of the services and professional abilities of such men as the Admirals Keppel, Lord Howe, Sir Robert Harland, Pigot, Campbell, and Barrington. Fox took up the idea, and again censured the promotion of Sir Hugh Palliser, going over the whole story of the late court-martial, which, he said, amounted only to a bare acquittal. Lord North, as usual, defended the unpopular admiral, and Palliser himself read a long defence of his own conduct in the affair off Ushant and since. The debate was conducted in a fierce party spirit ill calculated to remove from the navy those dissensions which every one complained of, and which had recently frustrated the valour and skill of Rodney. The only immediate result was a resolution that a copy of the minutes of the trial and sentence of the court-martial held upon Palliser should be laid before the House. An unusually early recess took place, the House adjourning on the 6th of December to the 23rd of January.

A. D. 1781.—It was during the recess that the royal manifesto against Holland was issued; and on the same day general letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Dutch. On the 25th of January, the second day after the reassembling of parliament, Lord North delivered a message from the throne and presented a copy of the manifesto and sundry other papers. Burke began the business of condemnation. He declared that ministers had been in fault rather than the Dutch, and that the paper found in Laurens's box was nothing more than a project or draft of a treaty which possibly the Dutch would never have completed:—he said that, as far as they knew, it might be no more than "a speculative essay," "a mere contemplative prospect," and that therefore it was no justifiable or assignable ground for going to war with the Dutch. This refined view of the case suited only the conceptions of opposition; and a majority not far short of two to one agreed with Lord North and the manifesto, and exclaimed against the insolence, the selfishness, and ingratitude of the States General. In the House of Lords two protests were entered, one signed by nine, the other by eight peers, against this new war with "the ancient and natural allies of this kingdom." On the 1st of February Fox again brought the battery of his eloquence to bear upon Sir Hugh Palliser. As the conclusion to a long speech and many facts or arguments, he represented that the late promotion of a man under such circumstances to a place of honour and emolument was in the highest degree ruinous to the naval service; and he moved that it should be declared by that House a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour, of the navy. Lord North, with his usual parliamentary adroitness, moved an amendment, which, while it retained a few of the words of Fox's motion, introduced many new words, and wholly changed its bearing. His lordship spoke of both court-martials—of the one obtained by Palliser upon Keppel, and of the one ordered upon Palliser himself—and he attempted to reconcile the two apparently conflicting sentences. Admiral Lord Howe, who was in the House, calmly observed that the noble lord in the blue ribbon had taken great pains to prove that the sentence of the second court-martial was an honourable acquittal of Palliser; but, for himself, though he had read that trial through very attentively, he could not comprehend or understand the sentence, which stated, first, that the vice-admiral's conduct, in many instances, had been highly meritorious and exemplary—then charged him with an omission of duty—and next acquitted him! What puzzled him, he said, was to find out of what the vice-admiral was acquitted. In the charges, as they were called, upon which he had been tried, there appeared—at least to him—no accusation. The vice-admiral therefore, strictly speaking, could be said neither to be convicted nor acquitted. Between two and three o'clock in the morning the minister's amendment was carried by 214 against 149. Late as it was, Fox moved an amendment to the amendment; but the motion was defeated by the House agreeing to pass to the order of the day. After some long debates on the affairs of India Mr. Burke, on the 15th of February, reproduced his scheme of economical reform, which had met with so little success in the preceding session. He opened his proposition by stating many powerful motives which called upon him to resume that undertaking: he mentioned the three celebrated resolutions of the 6th of April of the preceding year; he spoke of the general temper of the people, and of their expectation and impatient desire for a diminution of taxation and expenditure; and he alluded to direct applications made to himself and others by several counties and associations. These associations, in fact, had acquired considerable strength and consistency; they were urgent not merely for a reduction of expenditure, but for what was afterwards called a "Radical Reform" of the House of Commons; and they had appointed delegates to transact their business in the capital. Continuing his speech, Burke proclaimed that the nation was involved in expenses which, if they did not exceed, reached the utmost limits of the public ability; and that, as it was the duty of ministers to have originally framed and carried into execution such a scheme of economy, so it was now their interest to secure themselves from punishment by making some amends for their former neglect. He displayed some address in his appeal to this new House: the three resolutions of the last parliament were a valuable legacy bequeathed to the public, and an atonement for previous servility—they formed a body of maxims authorising the people to expect from their pre-

sent representatives that which was declared to be necessary by their predecessors: the late parliament had been prematurely dissolved, but, if the present parliament neglected to accomplish what the other had appeared to design, all the evil consequences would be charged upon them; and the resolutions of the 6th of April would stand upon the journals as public monuments of exculpation to their predecessors, and of disgrace to them. He again applauded, with all the warmth and fullness of his oratory, the economical achievements and the financial measures of M. Necker, and held up the example of France, both as a warning and an encouragement. As a beginning he moved—"That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions and the suppression of sundry useless expenses and inconvenient places; and for applying the moneys saved thereby to the public service." The motion was seconded by Mr. Duncombe; and leave to bring in the bill was granted without opposition, Lord North declaring that he would reserve his objections till the second reading. That second reading came on on the 26th of February, when there was a long and animated debate, in the course of which the Hon. William Pitt, second son of the late Earl of Chatham, spoke for the first time in the House of Commons, and announced himself as an ardent reformer and lover of strict economy. The son of so great an orator was sure to be listened to with interest, and the attention was the greater as it was well known that, from his mere boyhood, Pitt had been admitted into the political councils of his father, and had given remarkable signs of precocious ability. It was in reply to Lord Nugent, who was speaking on the ministerial side, that William Pitt first broke silence from under the gallery on the opposition side of the House. According to a member present, the same composure, self-possession, and dignity of manner, which afterwards characterised him when seated on the treasury bench, distinguished him in this first essay, though he was then only in his 22nd year.* In the progress of his speech he gave vent to a kind of witticism in which he did not often indulge afterwards, but which derived its strength from a pride of manner and spirit that never quitted him. Lord George Germaine having some verbal communications to make to Welbore Ellis, who sate near him, they entered into a conversation in whispers, which irritated the young orator. Looking round the house, which was all ear, he said, in a tone more impressive than the matter of the reproof, "I shall wait till the Agamemnon of the present day has finished his consultation with the Nestor of the treasury bench." The effect was electric; even the haughty and supercilious Lord George was cowed; and both he and Ellis sate down in some confusion to preserve a breathless silence.† Pitt declared that nothing but economy and the adoption of Burke's scheme could save the country from ruin; that, instead of waiting for the slow request of an overburthened people, ministers should have made a voluntary surrender of useless revenue; that the House ought to insist upon retrenchment and economy, and advise the king to part with useless ostentation in order to preserve necessary power; that it could not derogate from the real glory of the crown to accept their advice and yield to the respectful petitions of the people; that the people, who afforded the civil-list revenue, were justified in resuming a part of it, under the pressing demand of altered circumstances and great suffering. Lord Maitland (afterwards Earl of Lauderdale) also made his first speech in parliament on this occasion, and spoke with considerable ability on the same side as William Pitt. Two other memorable names—Sheridan and Wilberforce—had both attained seats for the first time, and both divided with the opposition, who were, however, outvoted by a majority of 43, the motion for the second reading being negatived by 233 against 190. By a subsequent resolution the further consideration of Burke's bill was put off for six months. The other popular attempts of the last session—the bills for excluding contractors and revenue officers from the House of Commons, for depriving revenue officers of their right of voting in elections for members of parliament, and for imposing a tax on places and pensions—were all revived and were all defeated by considerable majorities. On the 7th of March, when the minister opened the budget, he was severely censured for the mode in which he had managed the loan for the present year. He had added 12,000,000*l.* to the national debt, and had granted such advantageous terms to the lenders, that the price of the new stock had suddenly risen to from 9 to 11 per cent. above par. Fox endeavoured to show that the money might easily have been raised upon much better terms; and that the direct pecuniary loss to the public by the bargain Lord North had made was comparatively but a small part of the evil. He calculated the profits of the loan at something near 1,000,000*l.*; and he said that that great sum was entirely at the disposal and in the hands of the minister, to be granted in douceurs to the members of that House, either as compensations for the expenses of their late elections, or as bribes for future services. Fox also objected in strong language to a proposed lottery—a part of the loan scheme—as a means of raising money for the public service. He delivered an impressive harangue on the vice of gambling, which, perhaps, excited the more attention as his own love of play had reduced him to a miserable state of embarrassment and dependence. He declared—and it is sad to reflect how long the solemn truth of his declaration was unattended to—that lotteries were the most pernicious of all species of gaming, as they immediately affected the morals, habits, and circumstances of the poorer orders of the people; and he moved that the clause respecting the lottery should be omitted. Lord North defended the loan,

* Sir N. W. Wraxall, Memoirs. † Id.

and the lottery as part of it—a lottery, he said, being always "a favourite part of every douceur with all money-lenders." He positively asserted that the 12,000,000*l.* could not at the time have been obtained upon easier conditions. As to the ideas that the loan was a source of ministerial influence, and that half of the shares had been taken in that House, he treated them as ridiculous—the loan had been a public loan, and very indiscriminately taken. Fox's amendment was rejected by 169 against 111, and the minister's measures were all passed. The debates upon the loan did not, however, end here. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke moved for recommitting the report, in order that the House might amend the terms, and prevent what he called a shameful and extravagant prostitution of the public money. He repeated the charge that the loan had been so managed as to give the minister the means of gratifying his creatures; and he assured the House that Lord North's "favoured contractor" had no less than 3,300,000*l.* of the loan placed at his disposal. Clerke was supported by Sir George Saville, Mr. Byng, Burke, Fox, and others, who said, among other strong things, that the minister was endeavouring to turn parliament into a court of registry, which was to have no other concern with taxes and loans than to give a sort of official sanction to whatever bargain the minister thought proper to make. Lord North repeated that he had made the best bargain he could for the public: if the House did not approve of it, it would not be binding either on him or on them:—though the committee had agreed to it, if the House did not choose to confirm their resolution, he should be released from the subscribers to the loan, and the public from the whole bargain. *Then* those who thought themselves more competent might make a better bargain; but he could not help thinking that any reduction now made from the profits of the subscribers would be very injurious to the public credit, and throw insuperable difficulties in the way of all future loans, as it would show that the minister had not authority to give security to a bargain, and that the lenders were liable to be stripped of the benefits for the chance and hope of which they had advanced their money. He denied that his "favoured contractor"—this was a Mr. Atkinson—had any such enormous share in the loan. The motion for the recommitment was waived; but the lottery was again attacked. On the 12th of March Mr. Byng moved that a list should be laid before the House of all the subscribers to the new loan, specifying the sums subscribed by each; and, in order to enable the House to get at the bottom of the affair, he stated his intention of following up this motion with two others—for the production of a correct list of all those persons who had offered to become subscribers, but whose offers had been rejected—and for copies of all letters, notes, or papers, that had been sent to the minister, his secretaries, the commissioners of the treasury, or any other persons, conveying applications or proposals for any part of the loan. All this, he said, was intended to show that ministers might have borrowed money at 5 per cent.; that the fair offers of wealthy and responsible men had been rejected with contempt; and that the new loan had been managed with no other view than that of corrupt influence in parliament. Lord North said that he had no objection to the first motion; but that the second was useless, and the third unfair and improper—that calling for the key of his escritoire, in order to examine his private letters and papers, was proposing a new species of inquisition, and such as could never be countenanced in a British House of Commons. He admitted that members of that House would be found on the list of subscribers to the loan; but this, he said, was no proof of corruption, and it would be unreasonable to deprive the country of the aid of monied men, merely because they happened to be members of parliament. The charges of partiality towards this class of subscribers could not be proved, and were not capable of proof; but he could solemnly assure the House that no improper management had been used *by him*. The first motion being agreed to, the second was rejected by a majority, and the third negatived without a division. The debates made a deep impression on the public mind, and no assurances could root out the belief that certain members of parliament, who always voted with ministers, had, on this as on other occasions, been allowed to make a very profitable bargain for themselves.*

We believe that the only impression left on the mind of our readers as to the employment of the military in suppressing the London riots of the preceding summer must be, that that force was not employed soon enough; but Mr. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who had begun to win applause by his dashing and brilliant oratory,† rose in the House to declare that the military ought not to have been employed at all. He moved three propositions:—the first declaring that the military force could not justifiably be applied in dispersing tumultuous assemblies without waiting for directions from civil magistrates, unless outrages had broken forth with such violence as to overbear civil authority, and threaten the subversion of legal government; the second affirming that the unprecedented order to the military, on the 7th of June last, afforded strong presumption of the defective state of the police; and the third, for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the conduct of the magistracy and civil power during the riots. The whole police of London and Westminster was, indeed, as it continued to be for half a century longer, in a most inefficient and disgraceful state; but not only was the first of Sheridan's motions withdrawn, but the other two, which might have led to important inquiries and valuable reforms, were negatived by the House. Sheri-

* Annual Register.

† He had spoken in the House for the first time on the 20th of November.

dan, however, obtained what he had most at heart, the reputation of a first-rate orator.

The delegates of the county associations were not inactive during their stay in London: they attended numerous popular meetings, got up meetings of their own, and prepared a petition to the House of Commons, in which they attempted to condense all the complaints of every part of the kingdom, and all the prayers for economical and parliamentary reform. Their exertions had been matter of frequent allusion during the session; the *friends of government* representing them as the factious labours of men whose political existence as delegates was unconstitutional, and ought never to be acknowledged; the opposition applauding them as enlightened and devoted patriots, who would obtain for the people a new order of things, and force upon the court and ministry the abandonment of an arbitrary, despotic, and ruinous system. As, however, the general sense was against any avowal of their delegated character or power, these gentlemen were induced to sign the petition merely as individual freeholders. It was presented to the House on the 2nd of April, by Mr. Duncombe, one of the representatives of the county of York; but it was left to lie upon the table until the recovery of Mr. Duncombe's colleague, Sir George Saville, who had undertaken to move for referring the petition to a committee. On the 8th of May Sir George was in the House, and introduced the business with a long and able speech, in which he stated the causes, progress, and history of petitions in general, and recited the famous resolutions of the 6th of April last, as affording a clear sanction to the complaints of the people, and as pledging the House to a speedy redress of their grievances. But, though the delegates had signed as private gentlemen, their preceding performances and exhibitions had excited some disgust and probably some alarm; and the majority of the House had not been taught by the protestant associations and the riots in Edinburgh and London, and the Irish associations which had caused such disturbances in Dublin, to respect combinations which had begun in the American colonies, where they had brought on war and revolution. Sir George Saville was told that his friends had acted in an unconstitutional manner, by assembling in London as delegates and committee-men, by publishing their resolutions in the newspapers, and by acting as a representative body independent of parliament; all which bore the appearance of a design to inflame the people, to intimidate parliament, and to introduce a government of clubs and associations. In the end, Sir George Saville's motion was rejected by 212 against 135.

On the 28th of May Lord Beauchamp brought in a bill in the Commons for amending a clause in the marriage act of 1751, which, it had been found by a late decision of the Court of King's Bench in a pauper settlement case, rendered unlawful all marriages whereof the banns had been published in churches or chapels erected since the passing of the act. As the effect of this decision, if the legislature did not interfere, would be to dissolve thousands of marriages hitherto supposed to be good, and to bastardize their offspring, Lord Beauchamp's bill was hurried through both Houses, and received the royal assent early in June. Fox, who inherited his father's dislike to the whole of the marriage act, wished to extend the provisions of Lord Beauchamp's bill much farther; but, as it was not considered prudent to run the risk of delaying his lordship's bill by clogging it with other matters sure to be opposed, Fox waited until it was passed; and then brought in a bill of his own, for amending, or rather repealing, the entire marriage act. The amendments he proposed would have left nothing of the law of 1751 except what related to the registering of marriages. Fox, who, like his father (the first Lord Holland of the name), could never forget the violent opposition of the Duke of Richmond's family to his mother's marriage, denounced the existing law as monstrously aristocratic, as impolitic and pernicious in its restrictions, and tyrannical in its tendency. He observed that, by the recently discovered flaw in that act, and the late legal decision upon it, many of the clergy of this kingdom had been ignorantly guilty of felony, by celebrating marriages in the new churches and chapels; so that we might soon expect to see even some of our prelates either transported to America, or sent, in their lawn sleeves, to work on board the ballast-lighters! Burke, very warmly, and on the whole, very wisely, took the other side of the question, and opposed the motion of his friend and disciple. He recurred to the deplorable state of the law, or, rather, no law, that existed previously to the act of 1751, and painted the deplorable consequences of it: he contended that the act of 1751 had pretty justly hit the medium between close and mischievous restraint and the former laxity which had been the cause of such disorders; and that, as the period of free agency in this important matter was only reduced to that of legal discretion in other respects, there could be no complaint on either side. Fox's bill was rejected without a division, and the discussion was only remembered from the circumstance of its being the first time that Burke and he were opposed to each other in debate.

On the 30th of May Colonel Hartley, who fancied that some kind of conciliation was still possible, had moved for leave to bring in a bill vesting the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally agree upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of North America; but this motion, after a grand display by Fox and Burke, had been rejected by 106 against 72. A few days afterwards intelligence had arrived from North Carolina, which tended to prove that, in spite of Lord Cornwallis's victories, we were losing ground in that quarter. This gave additional encouragement to the opposition; and on the 12th

of June Fox moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war: and at the same time he gave notice that he intended to move in committee—"That his majesty's ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies." Fox maintained that success by force of arms was hopeless and impossible; but he seems to have believed that the Americans would have treated upon far more moderate and honourable conditions than they ever entertained a notion of admitting. The origin of the dispute, the whole history of the war was gone over by the orators on both sides, without much novelty of remark. One great object of the opposite parties was to throw blame upon each other: the oppositionists blamed the ministerialists for having first provoked the war like tyrants, and for then having conducted it like fools; the ministerialists blamed the oppositionists for having encouraged the spirit of revolt in America and everywhere else, and for having done their best, or their worst, to prevent that strong national unanimity which would have given success to the war, or made the burthen and expenses of it more endurable; and they did not forget their old argument—that the quarrel with America had not been begun by themselves, but under the administration of their opponents. In this process of crimination and recrimination the memory of the great Chatham was treated rather disrespectfully; and some men, with more truth than eloquence, affirmed that he had been one cause of the unhappy dispute, or of the ill success which had attended its management; that to the last hour of his life his notions were contradictory; and, finally, that, if one of his leading principles was to be followed, the war could never end. William Pitt, with proper filial reverence, rose to defend the conduct of his father; but his eloquence could not reconcile the manifest and manifold contradictions in that statesman's character and proceedings. When he had performed this duty, Pitt proceeded to state his own opinion on the subject of the American war. He held that war to be wicked, barbarous, cruel, unjust, and diabolical,—conceived in injustice, nurtured in folly—a monstrous thing that contained every characteristic of moral depravity and human turpitude—as mischievous to the unhappy people of England as to the Americans. Still, however, many men insisted that the Americans might yet be reduced by force of arms, and many more doubted whether, at this moment, when they were backed by Holland as well as by France and Spain, they would agree to treat upon any conditions that England could possibly listen to; and on both sides of the House there were men who still shrunk from the recognition of independence, even though it might be attended with the effect of detaching the United States from the European confederacy. It was, moreover, debated whether that House could or ought to interfere with the prerogative of the crown, in which was vested the power of peace and war, and whether they could bind the sovereign by their resolution, which was not likely to be adopted by the other House. At midnight the House divided, when Fox's motion was rejected by 172 against 99.

On the 18th of July the king prorogued parliament, thanking them for their long attendance, their loyalty, and good affection. As the prospect of brilliant successes had opened in India—as there was already a sign and a promise that the energy and enterprise of the British would build up in the east a vaster empire than what they were clearly losing in the west—his majesty dwelt at some length upon the subject of Indian affairs, and warmly applauded measures adopted or in progress for checking abuses in those distant possessions, and for making our conquests equally advantageous to the natives and ourselves. With respect to the old and perplexing subject of America, he said —"While I lament the continuance of the present troubles, and the extension of the war, I have the conscious satisfaction to reflect, that the constant aim of my councils has been to bring back my deluded subjects in America to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed, and see the tranquillity of Europe restored. To defend the dominions and to maintain the rights of this country was on my part the sole cause and was the only object of the war. Peace is the earnest wish of my heart: but I have too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, and the powerful assistance of my parliament, and the protection of a just and all-ruling Providence, to accept it upon any other terms or conditions than such as may consist with the honour and dignity of my crown, and the permanent interests and security of my people." There was no want of petitions to shake the king's resolution to continue the war. The West India planters and merchants represented that all our West India islands were exposed to imminent danger, and left almost destitute of protection; that several of them had been lost, and that the rest were certain to be attacked. The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, returning to a style of petition resembling that of Wilkes's day, told his majesty that he had been deluded by the false assertions and fallacious suggestions of his ministers into the present unnatural and unfortunate war—that the manufactures of the country were declining—that the landed property throughout the kingdom had been depreciated—that private credit was almost annihilated by the enormous interests given in the public loans, &c.

At the beginning of the year, the French, under the Baron de Rullecourt, had made another attempt upon the island of Jersey, and had captured by night its little capital, with the lieutenant-governor, Major Corbet, who, with too much precipitation, signed a capitulation of surrender for the whole island. Fortunately there were braver men than Corbet in Jersey. Major Pierson, collecting all the force he could, fell upon the French invaders in the market-place of St. Heliers, and, being assisted by the townspeople,

who kept up a warm fire from the houses, he killed a good many of them and compelled all the rest to surrender prisoners of war. But the gallant young Pierson was himself killed by almost the last shot that was fired by the French. The Baron de Rullecourt at an earlier part of the action received three or four wounds, and he died almost immediately after the surrender. Nearly 800 French were either killed or taken. They had begun their expedition with nearly 2000, but their vessels had been scattered by a terrible storm, about 200 had perished at sea or among the rocks and breakers, and a great many had been driven back to their own ports. Major Corbet paid dearly for his folly or cowardice. The French pretended that his capitulation ought to be binding on all the island, with all the officers and troops in it; and at one part of the action they placed him in their front line, to deter the troops from firing. He was not killed or wounded in that strange position; but he was soon afterwards tried by a court-martial, which deprived him of his commission of lieutenant-governor.

In the mean time the besieged garrison of Gibraltar were again reduced to great straits by the persevering Spaniards: the supplies which Rodney had thrown in the year before were nearly exhausted; nothing could be obtained from the opposite coast of Barbary, as the Emperor of Morocco continued true to his bargain with Florida Blanca; some vessels which had been accustomed to run down from Minorca, and clandestinely from some of the Italian ports, were seized and stopped by French and Spanish cruisers, or by the blockading force which had again gathered in the bay, and therefore the only hope of receiving succour was to get it direct from England. To this important service Admiral Darby was appointed. After escorting the East and West India trade to a certain latitude, Darby about the middle of April arrived off Cadiz, and, looking into the harbour, saw the grand Spanish fleet gathered there, and lying peaceably at anchor. Cordova, the Spanish admiral, had talked of meeting the English fleet at sea; but he now considered his force not sufficiently superior to risk an engagement, and he determined to remain where he was. Darby forwarded the convoy with provisions, stores, &c., to Gibraltar, with some ships of the line and frigates to cover them, and remained with the rest of his fleet cruising between Cadiz-bay and the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, watching Cordova and preventing the passage of any hostile ships. The 100 vessels, with the staff-of-life on board, were hailed with transports of joy by the half-famished British soldiers stationed on the rocky heights; and, as they became discernible to those below, a shout of joy and three good English cheers ran from battery to battery—from the old Moorish castle and the Devil's Tongue battery to Europa Point. The brave fellows did not much fear the Spaniards, but they had a true English aversion to reduced rations and short-commons. Darby's convoying captains presently scattered the swarm of Spanish gun-boats that attempted to sink the transports; and the succours were landed with very little difficulty. Having performed this service Darby returned to the Channel station. The Spaniards were mortified and disheartened by these successes, and by the conviction that their grand fleet had skulked before an inferior force; but again they were re-encouraged by promises of co-operation from France.

Beyond the Atlantic the earliest events of the year seemed altogether unfavourable to the American cause. On the night of the 1st of January an open and almost universal revolt broke out in Washington's line. For some months all discipline had been relaxed; the officers were almost as dissatisfied as the men, and all had been condemned to a near approach of starvation, notwithstanding the resolutions passed by congress. On the night in question, the division called the Pennsylvania line, which was hutted at Morris Town in the Jerseys, turned out to the number of 1300 men, including most of the non-commissioned officers, and, parading under arms, they declared that they would march to the seat of congress, and either obtain redress or serve no longer. In an attempt to suppress this mutiny, Captain Billing was killed and several other officers were wounded. General Wayne drew his pistol and threatened some of the ringleaders; but, with a bayonet presented to his own breast, he was soon compelled to retire and leave his people to their own courses. With six field-pieces, and with most of the stores, the men marched away towards Princeton. On the following day, the 2nd of January, Wayne and his staff, with many other officers who were supposed to possess the esteem and confidence of the army, rode after the mutineers, in the hope of bringing them back to their duty, or, failing in that, to sow dissensions among them. When Wayne came up with them near Middle Brook, he proposed that they should appoint one man from each regiment to confer with him upon their grievances. The men of each named a sergeant; and these delegates met Wayne and his officers at their quarters. On the following day the mutineers continued their march and arrived at Princeton. At that place the propositions of Wayne were reported to them, and acommittee of sergeants stated their claims. These were, 1st, a discharge for all those who had served three years, under their original engagements, and who had not re-enlisted for the war; 2nd, an immediate payment for all arrears of pay and clothing, as well to those who should be discharged as to those who should continue to serve; 3rd, the residue of their bounty-money and future real pay to those who should continue in the army. General Wayne shrunk from the responsibility of any such engagements, and gave up all authority by referring them to congress. A committee of that body prepared immediately to consult with the executive of Pennsylvania; and after some conference the committee of congress, the governor of the state, and some

members of the council, left Philadelphia for the camp of the mutineers. Washington, the commander-in-chief, did not move from his head-quarters. It has been suspected that, as he was fully conscious that the men had just grounds for their complaints, and that his own frequent representations had not been sufficiently attended to, he was not unwilling that congress should be made to feel that these grievances must be redressed, and that the army must be treated with more respect. We think it evident that Wayne and most of the officers who had followed the mutineers were actuated by motives of this kind. Strong reasons have, however, been adduced to show why Washington should not make a single movement: the river was open, and Clinton might at any moment make an attempt upon West Point; strong symptoms of discontent had shown themselves among the troops under his immediate eye, and he could not tell how far the contagion of example would spread; if he went to the mutineers' camp without a sufficient and a sufficiently steady force to put them down, his authority might receive a mortal blow by being set at defiance; if he collected a strong force, he must leave his long occupied and cherished positions in the highlands open and undefended; and the appearance of any such force might disperse the mutineers altogether, so as to render it almost impossible to collect them again for the service of congress, or it might, in their irritation and despair, even drive the mutineers to the royal standard. On the 4th of January, Sir Henry Clinton, fully informed of all that was passing, sent from New York to Princeton three emissaries with very tempting offers to the revolted troops, and with the suggestion that they should immediately take up a position behind the South River, where he would soon cover them by detachments from the royal army in New York. But, whatever was the amount of their dissatisfaction with congress, the mutineers were not prepared to enter into any compact with the English general. They seemed, however, to have determined, with their usual national adroitness, to make something by Clinton's overtures: they seized his three emissaries and communicated their proposals to General Wayne, with assurances of their utter detestation of the idea of going over to the common enemy, the British; but at the same time they kept the emissaries in their own hands; they refused to cross the Delaware, or to march out of Princeton; they refused to permit any of their former officers to enter their camp; and they ordered Lafayette, General St. Clair, and Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, who had presented themselves as mediators, to quit Princeton immediately. Affairs were in this state when the committee of congress, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and a part of his council, arrived in the neighbourhood of Princeton, to negotiate with the revolters. If the army of the republic had been composed of materials like those which had been dreamed of at the first breaking out of the revolution, the proceeding might not have worn quite so humiliating a character; but these mutineers, who defied the powers of the government, and assumed to treat on a footing of equality, through their sergeant delegates, with the delegates of the sovereign congress, were in fact nothing more than men raised by the usual processes of enlistment, bounty-money, and conscription. A conference took place outside of Princeton between the sergeants and the committee. The latter offered certain propositions which the sergeants agreed to distribute among the troops for consideration. The propositions were—that congress would discharge all those who had enlisted for three years, and accept the oath of the soldier as to the terms of his engagement when other evidence was not procurable; and that congress would give immediate certificates for the depreciation on their pay, settle their arrears as soon as circumstances would permit, and furnish the men immediately with such articles of clothing as they most wanted. After due deliberation the mutineers agreed to march from Princeton to Trenton, with their sergeants for their officers and commanders. At Trenton they accepted the terms offered by congress, but not until the committee agreed that three commissioners, appointed by the soldiers, and chosen from the line, should constitute part of the board authorized to settle their claims. And when this bargain was concluded, but not before, the mutineers gave up Sir Henry Clinton's three emissaries, *who were all hanged as spies.* The sergeants retained the entire command until the board decided what men were entitled to their discharge. As this state of things alarmed and embarrassed the government, and tended to commit the character of the whole republican army, the board proceeded with the utmost haste to liberate all such as chose to swear that they had enlisted for only three years. Even before the rolls of enlistment could be brought to Trenton, nearly the whole of the artillery and of the five first regiments of infantry of this Pennsylvanian line were discharged upon their own oaths. When the enlistment rolls were produced, it was found that far the greater part of these men had preferred perjury to future service, having been enlisted, not for three years, but absolutely for the whole war. There was, however, no remedy, no power of correction: the discharges given remained good; and the few men who were too scrupulous to forswear themselves, received furloughs for 40 days.* The success of the Pennsylvanian line encouraged that of Jersey to follow their example. On the night of the 20th of January, a part of the Jersey brigade stationed at Pompton flew to arms and marched away to Chatham, where another part of the same brigade was cantoned. They asked neither more nor less than the terms which had been granted to the Pennsylvanian mutineers. But this time Washington, who must have seen that such revolts would speedily disorganize and scatter the whole army, sent General How after the brigade to Chatham, with a con-

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

siderable force, and with positive orders to make no terms with the mutineers while in a state of resistance. He further instructed How, as soon as the brigade should surrender, to seize a few of the most active leaders, *and put them to death on the spot.** Sir Henry Clinton sent another emissary to offer to the Jersey brigade the same terms which he had proposed to the mutineers at Princeton; and he detached General Robertson with 3000 men to Staten Island, in order to cross over into Jersey, if the temper of the brigade should encourage such an advance. But Clinton had been a fatal employer to his secret agents; and this time his emissary betrayed him, and delivered his papers to the first American officer he met: and the American general, How, perceiving that the revolters were not 1300 strong, like the Pennsylvania line, but scarcely 200 in all, surrounded them in their quarters, executed two or three of their ringleaders, and reduced the rest to submission.

After these very alarming symptoms congress contrived to raise three months' pay in specie, which, together with some clothes, they forwarded in haste to the troops. But, if the soldiers were satisfied for the time, the inhabitants were distressed and made desperate by the daily calls upon them for contributions, and the constant seizure of their property, their produce, their carts, horses, &c., by way of impressment. As the negotiations in the United Provinces for a treaty with them and for a good Dutch loan were suspended, by Ex-president Laurens's seizure and detention in the Tower of London, it became necessary to adopt other means for raising money in Europe. Congress now conceived that money might be obtained in France, and thither they agreed to despatch Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, a son of the prisoner in the Tower, and who had been serving as aide-de-camp to Washington. Before his departure General Greene told him in a letter that, if France did not lend a speedy aid to the distressed people, he greatly feared the country would be lost for ever; and Washington furnished the colonel with good arguments to convince the court of Versailles that, if provided in time, America would be well able to discharge any debts she might now contract—that experience had demonstrated the impracticability of maintaining a paper credit without funds for its redemption—that the people, being greatly dissatisfied with the mode of supporting the war, might lose the sentiments with which they had begun it—that the patience of the army was now exhausted, which demonstrated the absolute necessity of a speedy relief, which it was not in the power of the country to afford—that next to a loan of money a constant naval superiority on the coast of America was the most important object—and, finally, that an additional succour of French troops would be extremely desirable. Lafayette gave Colonel Laurens a letter to M. de Vergennes, the French minister, in which he stated that with a naval inferiority it was impossible to make war in America, or to employ effectively the troops under Rochambeau. In this letter Lafayette assured the French minister that the resources of the country, great as they were, would be ineffectual unless money were sent; that the last campaign had been conducted without a dollar; that all that credit, persuasion, and actual force could achieve in the way of getting supplies had been done, but that this course could be pursued no longer. He further demanded clothes, arms, and ammunition; and represented that a great fleet and a new division of about 10,000 Frenchmen ought to be sent against New York, as a means of destroying the power of the English on that continent.* Well furnished with letters, with instructions and advice, Colonel Laurens took his departure for Paris, accompanied by Thomas Paine, ex-secretary to the committee of foreign affairs, who claimed, and who really seems to have been entitled to, the merit of conducting the negotiations with success. At the same time pressing instances were made to the court of Spain for co-operation and direct assistance; and Mr. Jay, the young lawyer, who was now installed as minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid, was instructed to tempt the Spaniards by the offer of the cession of certain territorial and maritime rights which the Americans pretended to, such as their claim to navigate the Mississippi below the 31st degree of north latitude, and to a free port on the banks of that river. In this resolution, however, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and North Carolina had dissented from the other nine states; and, when still further concessions were proposed to bring Spain into a treaty, they were negatived by all the states of the union.

But, in the mean time, the Americans had to sustain the war without this foreign money and additional assistance. On the 1st of January, when the Pennsylvanian line were beginning their revolt, General Arnold appeared in Hampton Road, on the Chesapeak, to carry devastation into Virginia. He had with him about 1200 men, partly Americans like himself, but who, unlike him, had always been steady to one side. With this small force Arnold proceeded up James's River, and landed at Westover, only twenty-five miles from Richmond, the capital of Virginia. Jefferson, who was then governor of that state, called out the whole of the militia from the adjacent counties; but, though there were in all 50,000 enrolled militia men in Virginia, only a few hundreds could be collected, so that Jefferson was obliged to relinquish all hope of defending the capital city. To save some of the public property, he caused it to be removed to the country above; and, at seven o'clock in the evening, he, with his council, secretaries, and officers, fled from Richmond with the greatest precipitation, for they all knew the rapidity of Arnold's movements, and dreaded being made prisoners by so vindictive an enemy. That night Arnold, who had landed only 800 or 900 men, encamped at

* Marshall, Life of Washington.

* Lafayette's Letters and Memoirs published by his family.

Four-mile Creek, only twelve miles below Richmond. On the following morning he very boldly marched his small band up to Richmond, which he entered about the hour of noon, some 200 militiamen and a few regular troops evacuating the town at his approach. He presently despatched some of the citizens of Richmond to Governor Jefferson, with an offer not to burn the town, provided British vessels were permitted to come to it unmolested, and take off the tobacco there deposited. Jefferson rejected the offer. Arnold then detached Colonel Simcoe with nearly half of his small force to Westham, to burn and destroy a valuable cannon-foundery, boring-mill, powder-magazine, and other buildings containing military stores, &c. Simcoe executed his commission without the least difficulty, and destroyed also some archives and papers belonging to the state government, which had been conveyed to Westham as a place of security; and, returning without any hindrance or molestation, he rejoined Arnold at Richmond on the same day. Arnold then set fire to all the public buildings, and to all the tobacco stores; and, with an atmosphere that smelt as if a million of pipes and a million of cigars were smoking together, he quitted the capital of Virginia, and encamped at Four-mile Creek. On the 7th he returned to his shipping at Westover, having thus penetrated thirty-three miles into the country from the place of debarkation, and completed his destructive incursion, without loss, in forty-eight hours from the time of his first landing. On the following day, the 8th of January, Governor Jefferson returned to the half-consumed city of Richmond; and Arnold detached a party of horse to Charles City Court House, where 150 militia-men were surprised and routed. On the morning of the 18th Arnold re-embarked his little army and began to descend James River. In the mean time Baron Steuben, the Prussian, had collected a number of the militia on both sides of the river, and hoped to cut off Arnold on his retreat, or at least to give him some annoyance; but the wind was propitious to that daring American, and the Virginia militia were no heroes. On one occasion Arnold was tempted to land 300 men, and Simcoe, who had the command of them, was drawn into an ambuscade by a Colonel Clarke. By a single fire some twenty or thirty of the British were killed or wounded; but Clarke's militiamen would not stand to give a second fire, flying as the British advanced with their bayonets fixed. On the 20th of January Arnold returned to Portsmouth, where he was joined by more men, who raised his force to nearly 2000. For some time it appeared that he intended to establish himself at that important post, which commanded or checked the navigation of the Chesapeak. Jefferson was very severely censured for his conduct on this occasion.*

The capture of the arch-traitor, as Arnold was styled, had been a cherished object with the Americans ever since his flight from West Point. Two modes of getting possession of his person, in order to bring him to the gallows, had been suggested: one, that a few daring individuals should carry him off by making a sudden incursion into his camp; the other, that he should be blockaded with an overwhelming force, both by sea and by land, so closely as to prevent the possibility of his escape. Jefferson now thought that, while he was lying at Portsmouth, the first plan might be practicable, and he gave instructions for choosing some "select men" for the purpose, offering a reward of 5000 guineas in the event of success. But Arnold, who knew that such schemes were entertained, and who accused congress of hiring assassins to take his life, was circumspect and vigilant, and the "select men" never had the courage to make the attempt. It is said that the same plan of seizing Arnold had suggested itself previously to Washington, and had actually been attempted, but without any chance of success.* But the American commander-in-chief now essayed the other plan, being favoured by a furious storm, which towards the end of January scattered and damaged part of the British fleet that was blockading the French fleet at Rhode Island. "The French squadron," says Lafayette, writing at the time, "had remained constantly blockaded in Rhode Island, and I imagine that the Chevalier de Ternay died of grief and chagrin in consequence of this event. However this may be, he was positively dead." † The command of the French ships had devolved to M. Destouches, who, at the earnest request of Washington, agreed to venture part of his fleet at sea, to sail up the Chesapeak and blockade Arnold in Portsmouth, while Lafayette, who was to descend from the head of the Chesapeak, blockaded him on the land side. Washington wished Destouches to take nearly the whole of his fleet on this service; but the Frenchman was apprehensive that Admiral Arbuthnot might have collected and repaired his damaged ships, and he positively refused to risk more than one 64-gun ship and two frigates, which were put under the command of Commodore de Tilley. This French naval force sailed for the Chesapeak on the 9th of February; but they found Arnold so well posted as to defy attack, and, after making a vain attempt to enter Elizabeth River, they returned to Rhode Island. De Tilley, however, on his way back, met with an accidental success; for near the Capes of Virginia he fell in with and captured the 'Romulus,' a 50-gun ship going from Charlestown to the Chesapeak. But the great scheme for capturing Arnold was not abandoned. A personal conference was held on the 6th of March at Newport, Rhode Island, between Washington, Rochambeau, Destouches, and other officers, French and Americans; and it was there resolved to embark part of Rochambeau's army, under the command of Count de Viominil, and to risk the whole of the

* Professor Tucker, Life of Thomas Jefferson.—Marshall, Life of Washington. Marshall states that he was present at the skirmish with Simcoe, wherein the Virginia militia behaved so badly.

* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.
† Letter to Madame Lafayette.

French fleet to escort it. The wind was favourable to the French and adverse to the British; yet Destouches did not sail until the evening of the 8th. Admiral Arbuthnot soon followed him, and on the 16th of March he overtook him, and brought him to action off Cape Henry. After fighting for about an hour, the French bore up and ran to leeward. Next day Destouches called a council of war, wherein it was resolved neither to risk another action nor attempt ascending the Chesapeak, but to return instantly to Rhode Island, whence they came.* On the 26th of March General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth, and took the command of the army there, over Arnold. The defence of Virginia was now committed to Lafayette, who collected his forces on the Elk River. But, these forces being principally composed of New Englanders, who had a great dislike and a dread of a campaign in the hot south, desertion became so prevalent, that it appeared at one moment as if Lafayette would be left with none with him except his staff. The ardent Frenchman made strong appeals to the patriotism or pride of the New Englanders, telling them, in an order of the day, that he was about to enter on a service of great importance, danger, and difficulty, and felt persuaded that they would not abandon him; but that if any individual was unwilling to accompany him he would give him a permit to return. But what probably had more effect was the circumstance of his obtaining a supply of money sufficient to purchase shoes, shirts, spirits, and some other articles for the use of the detachment. This money he raised among the merchants of Baltimore on his own private bills and credit.† Desertion was thus checked, and Lafayette with all possible expedition marched into Virginia, where his presence was greatly needed; for the few regular troops in that state could nowhere make a stand against the British, and the militia seemed resolved to fight nowhere. After making some additions to the fortifications which Arnold had raised at Portsmouth, General Phillips embarked about 2500 men, ascended James River, and landed at various places in the neighbourhood of Williamsburg, on the 20th of April. Williamsburg was taken and all the public property in it destroyed. York Town was also taken, and a ship-yard there, and some armed vessels and stores were also burnt, without the least attempt at opposition. As the detachment spread itself, all the lower part of that neck of land which is formed by York and James Rivers was ravaged and laid waste. Phillips then re-embarked his troops, and, on the 24th, they were landed again at the mouth of the Appomatox, not far from Petersburg. On approaching the last-named place, Steuben, with all the militia he could get and keep together, attempted to give Phillips a check, and posted his people behind a river; but after a very little fighting, at long shots, the militia-men decamped, Steuben retreated towards Richmond, and Phillips took quiet possession of Petersburg, where he burned all the ships in the harbour, and all the tobacco in store. Then, dividing their forces, Phillips marched to Chesterfield-Court-house, the place of rendezvous for the new troops raising in Virginia, where he destroyed the barracks and the stores; while Arnold marched through Osbornes (where he destroyed the tobacco) to Warwick, just above which place, and between it and Richmond, a respectable American flotilla had been collected. But no sooner had Arnold fired a few field-pieces from the bank than the crews set fire to these vessels or scuttled them, and then, escaping to the opposite shore, joined a body of militia and fled with them. Phillips and Arnold again united their forces, and marched together without any interruption to Manchester, a town on the southern bank of James River, and immediately opposite to Richmond. Having burned all the tobacco and stores in Manchester, they thought of crossing the river to Richmond; but Lafayette had reached that place the preceding evening, and his regular troops had been joined there by 2000 militia and some dragoons. Phillips and Arnold, therefore, retraced their steps to Warwick, and, having burned all the tobacco there, together with several mills, a rope-yard, some stores, and shipping, they retired to Bermuda Hundred, and soon afterwards re-embarked their troops, and fell down the river to Hog Island, where they remained until Lord Cornwallis gave them notice that he was about marching into Virginia from the Carolinas, and expected their co-operation.*

Gates, who was subjected by congress to a court of inquiry for his defeat at Camden, had been succeeded by General Greene, who collected what force he could in North Carolina, and established his head-quarters at Charlotte. During the month of January several encounters took place beween outposts and detachments of the two armies. On the 17th of that month Tarleton was defeated with considerable loss in one of his rapid and daring expeditions—at a place called the Cow-pens—by a very superior force under General Morgan and Lieutenant-colonel Washington, nephew of the American commander-in-chief, who had got together a respectable body of cavalry. Shortly after this affair General Greene took the field in person, and Lord Cornwallis, having been joined by General Leslie with some fresh troops, resolved to cross the Catawba and give him battle. Early in the morning of the 1st of February the British forced a passage over that broad river, scattered the North Carolina militia that were stationed on the opposite bank to defend the ford, and killed many of them, with General Davidson their commander. Greene rapidly retreated to the Yadkin; but the British were so close upon his heels that he sustained some loss in the act of crossing

* Marshall.—Tucker.—Stedman.—Schomberg.

† Memoirs, &c., published by his family.—Marshall, Life of Washington.

* Stedman.—Marshall.—Tucker.—Lafayette's Letters, in Memoirs, &c.

that deep river. After some delay, and many difficulties arising out of the swollen state of the river, and the want of boats, which had all been conveyed by Greene to the opposite bank, Lord Cornwallis got across the Yadkin, and took up a position between Greene and the frontiers of Virginia, from which the American general was expecting supplies and reinforcements, and across which he intended to retreat in case of necessity. A variety of manœuvres and rapid marches through a wild country, and snow and rain, ensued; but Greene succeeded in placing the river Dan between him and his enemy, and getting on a line of march which would lead him to Virginia without the necessity of risking a battle. But so close was the pursuit, that Greene's rear had scarcely touched the northern bank of the Dan when Cornwallis's van reached the southern bank. During his retreat the militia had nearly all deserted Greene, so that when he reached the Dan he had not more than eighty of that force with him. As the American general retired into Virginia Cornwallis proceeded by easy marches to Hillsborough, then the capital of North Carolina, where he raised the royal standard and issued proclamations to the people. For a moment the whole of North Carolina seemed at his feet, and there was no sign of resistance in any part of the country; but Greene, who had been recruited on the Virginian frontier, soon returned, intending to keep the field, but to avoid a general engagement against an enemy "who had demonstrated his capacity for rapid movement and hardy enterprise."* He found that all the royalists of North Carolina were already in motion, and forming themselves into independent companies to serve with Tarleton's legion. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his American legion, recrossed the Dan on the 21st of February, and Greene followed with the rest of his army the next day. Lee, by a rapid movement with the cavalry of his legion, surprised a body of North Carolina royalists in a long hollow lane. These unfortunate men mistook Lee's horse for Tarleton's dragoons, and when they discovered their error they also perceived that the lane was blocked up at both ends, that they were enveloped, and that there was no possibility of escape. They then called out for quarter; but no quarter was granted; and from two hundred to three hundred of them were butchered on the spot in the act of imploring for mercy! Such is the account given by Stedman, who was with Lord Cornwallis at the time. The American accounts differ from this, and also among themselves. Marshall says—"Lee was mistaken by them (the royalists) for Tarleton, to whose encampment they were proceeding, and whose corps was then taking refreshment, not much more than a mile distant from them. Perceiving their mistake, Lee received their expressions of joy and attachment, and had just reached their colonel, to whom he was about to make communications which might have enabled him to proceed on his design of surprising Tarleton, when the infantry, who followed close in his rear, were recognised by the insurgents (the royalists), and a firing took place between them. It being apparent that this circumstance must give the alarm to the British, Lee changed his plan, and, turning on the royalists, who still supposed him to be a British officer, cut them to pieces while they were making protestations of loyalty, and asserting that they were 'the very best friends of the king.' *More than* a hundred, among whom was Colonel Pyle, their leader, fell under the swords of his cavalry. This *terrible but unavoidable carnage* broke, in a great measure, the spirits of the Tories in that part of the country."* This account is in some respects contradictory in itself. Tarleton, who lay so near, never heard the fire of infantry here spoken of; for, if he had heard it, a very few minutes would have brought him and his cavalry to the spot, as he was contemplating at the very moment a surprise on the Americans, and was always ready to fight, however great the odds. Besides, if the royalists had once been assailed by the infantry, they could no longer have mistaken Lee's horse for British, and, instead of making protestations of loyalty, they must have died imploring for mercy. But, if Marshall's account were even true to the letter, the atrocity of the whole affair must still remain indisputable; and the vagueness of his enumeration will give no ground for reducing the real number of the victims that were butchered—butchered in cold blood, and with sabres and bayonets or other white arms—for if fire-arms had been used Tarleton must have heard them. At midnight, when Tarleton, still ignorant of the affair, got his men under arms to march on his design of surprising some of the Americans—a body of militia known to be advancing from Virginia—he received orders from Cornwallis to return instantly to head-quarters, which were about to be changed. The country about Hillsborough was completely exhausted. The army of Gates and Greene, who had been there before the British took possession, had consumed nearly everything, and Cornwallis would not have been able to remain so long as he had done if he had not fed his troops upon unwholesome salted provisions.† The Americans had killed and eaten all the cattle in the neighbourhood; and the royalists were now greatly offended because the British, in their necessities, had killed a few of their draught-oxen and had levied some provisions in the town.‡ Quitting Hillsborough, Lord Cornwallis crossed the river Haw, and encamped on Allamance Creek, in order to afford protection to the great body of royalists who resided between the Haw and Deep Rivers. Here he complained that he found himself among irresolute friends and adjoining to inveterate enemies; and that, between the two, he was left destitute of

* Marshall.

* Life of Washington.

† Stedman, who had the best means of information, as he was acting as commissary-in-chief to Cornwallis's army.

‡ Id.

proper information as to the movements of his adversary, Greene.* That American general now advanced a little; and, having crossed the Haw near its source, took post between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork; but, notwithstanding all his reinforcements, he most carefully avoided getting too near the British, and he changed his position every night. On the 6th of March Cornwallis carried his army across Allamance Creek, and marched with his usual celerity towards Reedy Fork, in hopes of beating up the quarters of Greene's light troops. But Greene had better scouts and spies and sources of information than the British general, and he hastily called in his detachments. At one point, however, some of his light troops attempted to make a stand upon the creek of Reedy Fork; but they were quickly dislodged with considerable slaughter. During this affair Cornwallis half expected that the American general would come up to the assistance of this corps; but Greene was retreating as fast as he could over the Haw, in order to preserve his communication with roads by which he expected supplies and still further reinforcements. When these expected forces came up he considered himself strong enough to face Cornwallis; and, recrossing the Haw, he moved forward to Guilford Court-house. Cornwallis, who was then only twelve miles off, instantly prepared to meet him; and on the 15th of March the advanced guards of both armies encountered each other, the one being commanded by Tarleton, and the other by Lieutenant-colonel Lee, who had massacred the royalists in the lane. Lee behaved with great bravery, and his people, consisting of his own legion of horse and foot, with some mountaineers and Virginian militia, made a better stand before the regular troops of the king's army than was expected; but, on the appearance of the 23rd regiment, which was advancing to support Tarleton, they turned their backs and retired in haste and disorder. In the mean time Greene had drawn up in order of battle on very commanding ground. His front line, composed of North Carolina militia, were posted on the edge of a wood, behind a strong rail fence, with an extensive open field in front; his second line, consisting of Virginian militia, were drawn up entirely in the wood, under cover of trees, and about three hundred yards behind the first line; and his third line, composed of regular troops, were drawn up obliquely some three hundred yards in rear of the second. In the front line there was some artillery, and on either flank there were some light horse and some riflemen. As soon as the head of the British column came in front of the first line of the Americans a cannonade was begun from two six pounders, which was immediately answered by the royal artillery. During this cannonade Cornwallis rapidly made his simple disposition for the attack. The 71st British regiment with the Hessian regiment of Bose, led by General Leslie, and supported by the 1st battalion of the Guards under Colonel Norton, formed the right; and the 23rd and 33rd regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by Brigadier-general O'Hara, with the grenadiers and second battalion of the Guards, formed the left. The light infantry of the Guards with the Yagers, or German riflemen, posted on the left of the artillery, and the cavalry in column behind it, formed a corps of observation and reserve.* As soon as they were formed the line received orders to advance and reserve their fire till they were close up to the enemy. Rarely have orders been better obeyed: the men moved forward over the open field exposed to the enemy's artillery—when at the distance of about 140 yards they received the fusillade of Greene's entire first line—they continued to advance neither faster nor slower—when within a much closer distance they delivered their own fire in one unbroken tremendous crash—and then they rapidly charged with their bayonets. The Americans did not wait the shock, but retreated behind their second line and the protecting trees. The second line, fighting under cover—and the American militia never fought well unless with that advantage—made a stouter resistance, and for some time kept up a galling fire, which did great execution on the British, whose shot could not reach them. But Cornwallis brought up nearly the whole mass of his infantry, and, after some judicious manœuvres, the Americans were outflanked, the riflemen on their wings were broken and dispersed, the wood was entered, and bayonets were fixed to drive the enemy from behind the trees. Upon this General Stevens, who had received a ball in his right thigh, and who knew that his militia would not stand the bayonet, ordered his brigade to retreat, and in a few minutes the whole of Greene's second line was completely routed.† Without a moment's pause the British then advanced to the third line, consisting of regular troops; but, owing to the thickness of the woods, the inequality of the ground, and to their having extended themselves far to the right and to the left, in order to outflank, the British divisions got separated, and the foremost of them began their attack a few minutes too soon. This was the second battalion of the Guards, commanded by the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who reached the open ground at Guilford Court-house, and instantly attacked a body far superior in number, that had been formed on the left of the road, and that soon fled, leaving two six-pounders behind them. But the victorious battalion pursued them with too much ardour towards another wood that lay in their rear. By the side of that wood a strong body of Americans, who were fresh and well posted, received them with a steady fire; some of the runaways faced about, and presently Lieutenant-colonel Washington came up with all his cavalry, and charged the battalion with great spirit. Stuart was thus driven back with some slaughter, and the loss of the two six-pounders he had taken. But Lieutenant

* Stedman.

* Stedman.—Marshall. † Marshall.

Macleod now reached the open ground at Guilford Court-house with the royal artillery, and presently checked the pursuit of the Americans; the 71st regiment was seen emerging from the woods on the right; and the 23rd made its appearance on the left. Then the Americans, horse and foot, took to flight and abandoned the two six-pounders, which were retaken. The 71st pushed forward to an eminence on the left flank of Greene. Colonel Webster came up, after driving an American division before him, and in a few minutes the British line was united in most of its parts, and ready to make a compact charge. But, although his third line of regular troops exceeded in number the whole of the British army—and several corps of the British were still engaged at a distance—Greene did not think it advisable to stand this charge; and, abandoning the advantageous ground on which he stood, he retreated in tolerably good order, being pursued for some short distance by two regiments of infantry and a few troops of horse. But a firing was still heard on the British right, where the first battalion of the Guards and the Hessian regiment of Bose had been impeded in their advance by the excessive thickness of the woods, which covered the broken militia and riflemen of the enemy, and rendered the British and Hessian bayonets of little use. It was in this bush-fighting that Cornwallis's people suffered their greatest loss. After firing from one thick part of the wood the Americans retreated to another cover, and then to another, resting their rifles and muskets against the trees, and firing point-blank; but they never stopped when the bayonet's point came near their breast, and they were at length driven out of the wood all but a few riflemen, who, lurking behind trees, occasionally fired their pieces; and these few rifles were silenced as soon as Lord Cornwallis detached Tarleton with part of the cavalry of his legion. Dashing through the boles of the thick wood, Tarleton dislodged the very last of the lingerers; he himself received a slight wound, but not one of his men was hit. In proportion to the number he had brought into the field Lord Cornwallis's loss was serious: 93 were killed in the action, 413 were wounded, and 26 missing. As it was the practice of the Americans, particularly in their bush-fighting, to pick out the British officers, that class of the army suffered severely: the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the Guards and four other officers were killed; Brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard; Lieutenant-colonels Webster and Tarleton; nine captains, four lieutenants, five ensigns, and two adjutants—one of the latter being a younger brother of Charles Fox—were among the wounded. General Greene had left upon the field from 200 to 300 dead, who were counted by the British after their victory;* the number of his wounded, taking the usual proportions, must have been very great; and, as for the missing, nearly all the militia and all the back-woodsmen were to be included, for they fled by hundreds during the action, and by thousands after it, all taking the nearest way to their homes; so that Greene, when he rallied behind Troublesome Creek, had scarcely a man with him except his regular troops. General Huger, who commanded the regulars of Virginia, was wounded; Major Anderson of Maryland was killed; and about thirty other officers, including those of the militia, were killed, wounded, or *missing*. The Americans left behind them all the artillery they had in the field and two ammunition waggons. Counting militia, mountaineers, back-woodsmen, and all classes, they had begun the action with nearly, if not quite, 7000 men; whereas Lord Cornwallis's whole force, including his cavalry, which took very little part in the action, fell short of 1800 men. "No battle in the course of the war," says an American writer, "reflects more honour on the courage of the British troops than that of Guilford. On no other occasion had they fought with such inferiority of numbers or disadvantage of ground. Estimating his first line at nothing, General Greene's army consisted of 3200 men, posted on ground chosen by himself; and his disposition was skilfully made."* "History," says an English writer, "perhaps does not furnish an instance of a battle gained under all the disadvantages which the British troops, assisted by a regiment of Hessians and some Yagers, had to contend against at Guilford Court-house. Nor is there, perhaps, on the records of history, an instance of a battle fought with more determined perseverance than was shown by the British troops on that memorable day. The battles of Crecy, of Poictiers, and of Agincourt,—the glory of our own country, and the admiration of ages,—had in each of them, either from particular local situation, or other fortunate and favourable circumstances, something in a degree to counterbalance the disparity of numbers: here time, place, and numbers all united against the British. The American general had chosen his ground, which was strong, commanding, and advantageous; he had time not only to make his disposition, but to send away his baggage and every incumbrance. His cannon and his troops, in numbers far exceeding the British, were drawn out in readiness to commence the action when Lord Cornwallis approached to attack him.†

But frightful was the amount of human suffering by which we had obtained this triumph—useless as far as the issue of the contest with the colonies was concerned, but not so in raising the military reputation of the nation, which can never be

* Lord Cornwallis's Dispatch.

* Marshall, Life of Washington.—Even the Americans did not compute Cornwallis's army at more than 2000 rank and file. According to the return of the British adjutant of the day, the troops engaged in the action amounted to only 1445. Gordon, who took the numbers from official American documents, states the force of Greene as—

Regulars	1490
Militia	2753
Cavalry	200
Total	4443

But in this total he does not include a host of wild fellows from the mountains and back-woods, under the command of Colonels Campbell and Preston.

† Stedman.

lowered for any length of time without exposing us to calamities still more dreadful. The wounded were collected as expeditiously as possible, but, from the nature of the country and of the action, they lay scattered over a great extent of ground, and many perished before any assistance could be rendered to them, or before they could be found. Unfortunately the army was destitute of tents, and there was *not* a sufficient number of houses near the field to receive the wounded. The night which ensued was a remarkably dark one, and the rain *fell in torrents*. There were no provisions of any *kind to give to* the troops, who had marched many miles and fought so hardly; nor was it until three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day that they obtained a scanty allowance of very lean beef and some flour. Near fifty of the wounded, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before the morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of battle during the night were most dreadful.* When the extent of his loss was fully ascertained, Cornwallis felt that he was not in a condition to follow up his victory; and, as he could obtain no provisions where he was, he was under the necessity of retreating to a quarter where supplies could be obtained. He left about seventy of his wounded, who could not be removed, at a quakers' meeting-house, under the protection of a flag of truce; and on the third day after the battle of Guilford he began to retire by easy marches towards Cross Creek. About this time Stedman had a curious conversation with a quaker of the country, who described in a striking manner the hopeless condition of the American royalists. The quaker said that it was the general wish of the people to be at peace and reunited to Britain; but that they had been so often deceived in promises of support, and the British had been so frequently obliged to relinquish posts, that the people were now afraid to join the army, lest they should leave the province altogether, in which case the resentment of the revolutionists would be exercised with more cruelty than ever; for, though the men might escape or go with the army, their families would be made to suffer. The quaker further said, that the English were not acquainted with all the conduct of their enemies towards such Americans as wished well to their cause; that some of these men had lived for two and even three years in the woods without daring to go to their homes; that others, having walked out of their houses under a promise of being safe, had proceeded but a few yards before they had been shot; and that others had been tied to trees and cruelly whipped. Stedman replied, that these circumstances were indeed horrid, but that they would be put an end to, *if* the British government were restored. "True," rejoined the quaker, "but the people have experienced such distress, that I believe *they would now submit to any government in the world to obtain peace.*" And Lord Cornwallis found that the dispirited and nearly ruined royalists would venture neither to take up arms nor to supply him openly with provisions. Before advancing into North Carolina, his lordship had detached from Charlestown a small force under Major Craig, to take possession of Wilmington, a town at the mouth of Cape Fear River, about 100 miles below the settlement of Cross Creek, which lies upon a branch of the same river. Craig proceeded by sea, made himself master of Wilmington with very little fighting, and fortified that post as well as his limited means would permit; and he had extended his authority several miles up Cape Fear River, in the direction of Cross Creek, which had now become Lord Cornwallis's head-quarters. As there was a friendly settlement of Scottish Highlanders in that neighbourhood, and many other known royalists, as the situation was healthy and central, and as he hoped to establish his communications with Major Craig by means of the river, his lordship, who arrived at Cross Creek towards the end of March, resolved to remain there for some time to recover his sick and wounded. He issued a proclamation reciting his victory, calling upon all loyal subjects to join him, and promising protection to all others (murderers excepted) who would return to their allegiance, and surrender with their arms and ammunition, with permission to return to their homes upon parole, and a promise of a speedy restoration of all the privileges and blessings of a legal and constitutional government. But the effect of the victory at Guilford had been dimmed by the necessity of retreat, and the proclamation was of little or no avail. Except in the kindness and hospitality of the poor Highland settlers—who, in spite of the persecutions they had undergone in consequence of their previous and unfortunate insurrections, still retained a warm attachment to their mother-country, and, during the short stay of the army amongst them, brought in and readily bestowed their provisions and spirits, and all such comforts as they possessed, so that the sick and wounded were plentifully supplied—Cornwallis was disappointed in all his hopes as to the position of Cross Creek. Provisions and forage were scarce; the river, narrow and running between high banks, could not be converted into a means of communication with Craig at Wilmington, as nearly the whole population, on *both sides*, were inveterately hostile. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done but to march with the whole army to Wilmington, which was open to the sea, and could be supplied at all times by those who had the naval superiority. During the march towards Wilmington the brave Colonel Webster, one of the best officers in the army, and three other officers, died of the wounds they had received at Guilford. The rest arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington on the 7th of April. General Greene, who had been slowly moving in the rear of Cornwallis as far as Ramsey's Mills, two or three marches from Cross Creek, with an army as badly provided as the British, no sooner learned that Cornwallis had

* Stedman

descended towards the sea-coast, than he resolved to carry the war into South Carolina, which he calculated would compel his lordship either to follow him, and thus evacuate all North Carolina, or to give up all his important posts in the upper parts of South Carolina. Cornwallis, aware of this movement, sent an express to Lord Rawdon, whom he had left in command in the upper parts of South Carolina, and who was occupying cantonments, with the town of Camden for his centre. But Greene reached Camden before this express, and Lord Rawdon was left to act entirely on his own judgment. By calling in his detachments, and by arming every man in the garrison, drummers, musicians and all, Rawdon mustered an effective force of about 900 men. Greene, although he had never been able to collect a fourth part of the militia that had fled from the battle at Guilford, had about 1500 regular troops, and some corps of new militia. He did not, however, venture either to storm Camden or even to invest it; but he took up a position on Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the British lines, and encamped there in the expectation of being joined by Lieutenant-colonel Lee and the independent partisan Marion, each with a considerable force. Lord Rawdon, who knew or guessed Greene's expectations, resolved to sally forth before they should be realized, and, seizing his opportunity when some of the militia were sent from Hobkirk's Hill to bring up some heavy baggage, his lordship, at nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th of April, marched out from Camden with his whole force, and, by making a circuit under cover of some woods, he gained Greene's left flank undiscovered. The driving-in of their pickets gave the Americans the first alarm of the unexpected attack of his lordship, who moved up the hill as the Americans formed and descended it to meet him. Greene attempted to out-flank, and Colonel Washington, with some cavalry, to get into his rear; but Lord Rawdon quickly extended his front by bringing up the Irish volunteers, the New York volunteers, and some other American corps, and, forming nearly all his little force, with the exception of the South Carolina regiment and a squadron of horse, into one line, he frustrated both attempts. The Americans then fought in line to defend the ascent of the hill, being well supported by a fire of grape-shot from their cannon: but the British and their American allies kept, nevertheless, advancing, and they never stopped till they gained the top of the hill, and drove the Americans, cannon and all, down the opposite side of it. Greene's militia behaved as the militia always did; some of his regular troops rallied several times and returned to the charge; but each time they were broken and driven down the hill-side. As Lord Rawdon was advancing to the crest of the hill, Colonel Washington, with his dragoons, got into his rear, made a few stragglers prisoners, and exacted paroles from two or three British officers who lay wounded at the foot of the hill; but when he saw the British flag flying in Greene's elevated camp, he turned the shoulder of the hill and galloped after Greene's routed infantry. Lord Rawdon had not sufficient cavalry to attempt any pursuit. But Greene's loss in the action had been very severe: from 200 to 300 of his people were either killed or wounded, and about 100 were made prisoners. On the side of Lord Rawdon, although only 38 were killed on the field, the whole loss, including the wounded and missing, amounted to 258—a number which could be ill spared out of so weak a force. Greene retreated to a creek about 12 miles off, and there encamped to wait for reinforcements, to attend to his sick and wounded, and to levy supplies for his half-famished men. For some days he did nothing else, except despatching emissaries to call the population to arms.*

In the mean time Lord Cornwallis had resolved to march from Wilmington right through North Carolina (which Greene had quitted to invade the south) into Virginia, to join his force with those serving under Arnold and Phillips. Many considerations induced him to adopt this bold and hazardous plan: to remain where he was would be useless; to return to South Carolina by land would be accompanied with many hazards; to return by sea would probably be attended with the loss of all his horses, and, besides, there were no transports ready to convey him; his whole force was reduced to 1435 men, and was thus far too weak to act offensively by itself; his advance into Virginia would, he thought, induce Greene to follow him, and leave North Carolina again clear; and he felt assured that long before Greene could get near him he could effect his junction with Phillips and Arnold, and be in a state to defy him and whatever other American force might be collected in Virginia. Cornwallis also was of opinion, that vigorous measures pursued in Virginia would tend more to the reduction of the southern states than any campaign carried on elsewhere. He had only a choice of difficulties, and it seems to us that he chose wisely. He instructed Phillips and Arnold to ascend the Chesapeak and await his coming at Petersburg; and on the 25th of April, while Lord Rawdon, unknown to him, was fighting Greene at Hobkirk's Hill, he began his long and laborious march from Wilmington. Cornwallis traversed the whole of North Carolina, and the southern parts of Virginia, without encountering any opposition, and on the 20th of May he reached Petersburg, and found himself at the head of a force which was far superior to anything Lafayette could show in that country. General Phillips had died of sickness on the very day he led his troops to Petersburg, so that the chief command of them had again fallen to Arnold, who had displayed his usual activity and skill. He had compelled Governor Jefferson and the Assembly of Virginia to fly from Richmond to the village of Charlottesville; and he had driven Lafayette along James River to a post a few miles below Richmond.

* Gordon.—Stedman.—Marshall.

Notwithstanding his laborious march, Lord Cornwallis allowed himself only three days' rest, marching from Petersburg on the 24th of May, and crossing James River, at Westover, about 30 miles below Lafayette's encampment. The river where he crossed was more than two miles wide, and the passage was effected by swimming the horses over a part and wading through the rest. At his approach Lafayette decamped with all possible speed, and retired towards the back country, inclining his route to the northward, in order to effect a junction with General Wayne, who was marching through Maryland with 800 men of the Pennsylvania line.* On the banks of James River Lord Cornwallis was reinforced by the 43rd regiment, sent by Sir Henry Clinton from New York; and the same convoy conducted another British regiment and two battalions of Anspach troops, who were landed at Portsmouth, and left there to strengthen that garrison. As the Virginia planters had a great love for horses, and had succeeded in obtaining some excellent breeds, Cornwallis, by seizures, was enabled not only to remount his cavalry in a very superior manner, but also to have horses for mounting his infantry destined for rapid expeditions. With a force mounted in this manner of 180 dragoons and 70 infantry, Tarleton was detached to beat up Jefferson and the assembly, who were busy in Charlottesville voting taxes and making more paper-money, draughting the militia, and making an addition to the Virginia line. Tarleton and his men went across the country at a hand-gallop, overtook and destroyed on their way 12 waggons loaded with arms and clothing, dashed through the Rivanna, a branch of James River that washes the foot of the hill on which Charlottesville stands, rode over some militia that were stationed as guards on the opposite bank, spurred up the hill into the village, and took seven members of the assembly prisoners. The rest of that legislature made their escape by getting upon fresher horses. Governor Jefferson had not left his house on horseback ten minutes before some of Tarleton's men entered it: his books, papers, and other property were all respected, with the exception of the good drink in his cellars, which a few of the troopers got at without the knowledge of their commanding officer.† The fellows must have been heated by their hard ride in that sultry climate; and as it was the 4th of June they were probably anxious to drink the king's health. Tarleton's rapid movement had not given the Americans time to remove their stores: 1000 new firelocks, upwards of 400 barrels of gunpowder, some hogsheads of tobacco, and some clothing for the army, were captured and destroyed. Having performed this service, Tarleton proceeded down the river to co-operate with Lieutenant Simcoe, who had been detached with 500 infantry to destroy the military stores deposited at the Point of Fork, fifty miles above Richmond. But Baron Steuben, having received some warning, removed the stores to the other side of the river Fluvanna, and when Simcoe reached the Point of Fork, he found that Steuben's whole force had followed the stores, except about thirty men who were made prisoners on the bank. By some ingenious stratagems Simcoe made the Prussian believe that the entire British army were advancing against him; and upon this Steuben left the bank of the river opposite to the Point of Fork covered with arms and stores, and retreated in disorder, leaving some patrols behind to watch the movements of the British. On the following morning about twenty of Simcoe's light infantry and four hussars were embarked in some small canoes which had been procured and sent across the river, the hussars carrying their saddles with them. As soon as this handful of men landed on the opposite side of the Fluvanna the hussars were mounted upon some stray horses, and placed in picket, as if in front of a great force: at sight of them the American patrols fled after Steuben, who, though already thirty miles from the Fluvanna, continued his retreat twenty miles further. In the mean time the light infantry employed themselves in carrying off or destroying the stores which the Prussian had abandoned. Steuben joined Lafayette, who fled so fast across the Rapidan River that no pursuit was attempted. It should appear that he too had mounted his infantry at least for a part of this retreat. He effected his junction with General Wayne and the Pennsylvania line; and he then retraced his steps to the Rapidan, in order to protect a great deposit of military stores at Albemarle Old Court-house, high up that river, to which place Lord Cornwallis was now advancing with his main body. By taking a short road which had long been disused, Lafayette was enabled to cross the Rapidan and the Rivanna, and to take up a strong position in front of Albemarle Old Court-house some few hours before Cornwallis could reach the spot. He had also the good fortune to be joined there by a numerous band of hardy and fierce back-woodsmen, who had rode down from their mountains with their rifles slung at their backs, and their hatchets and tomahawks stuck in their girdles. Lord Cornwallis had no intention of fighting a general battle, and he had just received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to send part of his troops back to New York, as the British commander-in-chief had learned, by intercepted letters written by Washington to Congress, that the Americans and the French were contemplating a joint attack upon New York as soon as the Count de Grasse should arrive with a fresh fleet. Cornwallis, therefore, slowly retired to Richmond, and afterwards to Williamsburg, being cautiously and timidly followed by Lafayette and Wayne, who, although they were reinforced nearly every day by militia corps, had no intention of risking an action. A slight attempt was made upon the British rear under Colonel Simcoe, about six miles from Williamsburg, but the Americans

* Lafayette's Letters, in Memoirs.—Marshall.—Stedman.
† Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

were beaten off with loss. On the 4th of July Cornwallis marched from Williamsburg to a ford across James River, and sent part of his army to the opposite bank in the direction of Portsmouth. On the following day these operations were continued, and the wheel carriages were transported to the other side. On the 6th the bât-horses and baggage were all passed over. Lafayette, who fancied that nothing was left on his side the river but the rear-guard of the British army, now came on by forced marches to strike a blow. Cornwallis, warned of his approach, ordered his pickets to allow themselves to be driven in, in order to confirm the Frenchman's belief. Some of his outposts were attacked by four in the *afternoon*; but Lafayette did not make his appearance till near sunset, when he and Wayne came down to the bank with 900 regulars, 600 militia, and some artillery, and began to form in front of the British camp. When they found out their error, and that, instead of a rear-guard, the main body of the British were there, drawn up in two lines, and ready to receive them, they would gladly have been gone; but it was too late. On the right the affair was soon over, for there were only militiamen there, and they behaved as usual; but on the left, where Lafayette had his regular troops and two pieces of artillery, the action, though not long, was sharp and bloody while it lasted. But Lafayette was routed, his cannon were taken, and his people fled in great confusion behind a morass. As it was now dark no pursuit was ordered. Cornwallis had five officers wounded and about 70 privates killed or wounded: the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners was estimated at 300; and even according to their own account they lost in killed and wounded 10 officers and 108 privates. Lafayette retired up the river to repose his harassed army, and on the following day Cornwallis crossed the river and repaired to Portsmouth. Great was the discontent and dismay that he and Arnold before him, had created throughout the vast country of Virginia. In his bold and rapid march from North Carolina much private as well as public property had been destroyed, and nearly everywhere the black slaves had been set at liberty, leaving the plantations to go to rack and ruin through want of hands to cultivate them. It was calculated that 30,000 slaves were taken from the state of Virginia in the course of these invasions; and that without counting the losses sustained by previous expeditions up the Chesapeak, the whole of the property carried off or destroyed in the summer and autumn of this year amounted in value to three millions sterling. In many parts the growing crops of corn and tobacco were destroyed on the ground, the barns were burned, and all the fences and land-marks of the plantations knocked down and consumed. In horses there was a vast loss; and the Virginians accused our troopers of cutting the throats of such colts as were too young for service.* Governor Jefferson was held accountable for much of this loss and disgrace; and the legislature, which, after Tarleton's sharp visit, had reassembled in Staunton, smarting under the mortification of being twice driven from their place of sitting, fell in with the popular clamour, and one of the members formally proposed the impeachment of Jefferson. It appears that orator Patrick Henry, who had been governor of Virginia before, who hated Jefferson, and who now aspired to be a *pro tempore dictator*, indirectly encouraged this attack, which, however, came to nothing, except an exhibition of the fierceness of faction and party spirit among these political experimentalists. The treasurer of Virginia had recently been authorized to issue twenty millions of dollars in bills, redeemable in 1792, and Jefferson five millions more at the same long date; but well knowing that these eleven year bills would not be very current, they had voted that each officer in the Virginian army should receive a certain quantity of tobacco in lieu of salary. But by this time, owing to the numerous seizures and burnings, tobacco was becoming almost as scarce as money.

At Portsmouth Lord Cornwallis embarked the troops that were required at New York; but before they sailed he received fresh orders from the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, to keep them where they were, as he had no longer any fear of Washington or Rochambeau. Sir Henry also directed Cornwallis not to think of quitting the Chesapeak, but to occupy a good defensive post, and one capable of protecting ships of the line, somewhere on the neck of land on which Williamsburg is situated, suggesting that probably such a post might be found either in Old Point Comfort on Hampton Road, or York Town on York River. Clinton moreover intimated that as soon as the season permitted he might probably send more troops to the Chesapeak. Upon receiving these dispatches Cornwallis sent some engineers and navy officers to examine and report upon Old Point Comfort. The report he received was unfavourable; and as Portsmouth was not proper for the reception and defence of ships of the line, and as it was admitted on all hands that it was not such a post as was desired by the commander-in-chief, his lordship resolved to proceed to and fortify York Town on York River. Part of the army proceeded up the Chesapeak and took possession of York Town, and Gloucester in its neighbourhood, on the 1st of August; and the evacuation of Portsmouth having been completed on the 20th of that month, his lordship's entire force was concentrated at York and Gloucester on the 22nd. Eight days after the Count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeak, with the new French fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, having on board 3,200 land troops brought from the West Indies.* Sir George Rodney, who still commanded the Bri-

* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.

* "The French army," says Lafayette, "is composed of the most excellent regiments: they have with them a corps of hussars, which may be of immediate use." *Letter to Washington, of the 8th of Sept., in Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.*

tish fleet in the West Indies, had not been able to intercept or meet de Grasse; but he dispatched Sir Samuel Hood to New York with fourteen ships of the line, which, with the fleet then at New York, it was thought would be a match for any force the Count could bring. Hood arrived at Sandy Hook on the 28th of August, and found only seven ships of the line in the harbour at New York, under the command of Admiral Graves, Arbuthnot having returned to England a short time before. Of these seven ships only five were ready for sea, the other two being under repair; but, as it was now ascertained that de Grasse was in the Chesapeak, or making for it, Admiral Graves came out, joined his five ships to Sir Samuel Hood's fourteen, and, taking the command as senior officer, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 31st of August, with sanguine expectations of first cutting off the French Rhode Island squadron now under the command of M. de Barras, who had ventured out to sea, and then beating de Grasse, whose force he believed to be far weaker than it was. Graves first examined the entrance of the Delaware by means of his frigates, and, finding no enemy there, he proceeded to the Capes of Virginia. On the morning of the 5th of September his frigates announced by signals that a French fleet was at anchor within the Capes. It was the fleet of de Grasse, who, after communicating with some officers sent down by Lafayette, had sent the transports with the land troops up the river to join the marquis, had detached four line-of-battle ships and some frigates to co-operate by water and to block up York River, and was now lying with the rest of his fleet just within the Capes. As soon as he perceived that the ships approaching him were not the Rhode Island squadron which he was expecting, but a British fleet, he gave orders to his own ships, which were lying huddled together in a very unseaman-like fashion, to slip their cables instantly and form the line promiscuously as they could get out, with their heads to the eastward. It is said that Graves, who was favoured by a fine leading wind, might, if he had been quick and daring enough, have fallen upon de Grasse while he was in confusion and have cut off seven of the French ships that, in tacking to get out to sea, got separated from the rest of the fleet. But Graves appears to have been thrown into some consternation by seeing that de Grasse had twenty-four ships of the line to oppose to his nineteen; and the fact of the Rhode Island squadron being at sea, and likely to come up with the fresh and favourable wind that was blowing, seemed to recommend caution. Graves, however, gave the signal for battle, and his ships stretched in; but when his rear was nearly even with the enemy's van he made the signal for the whole fleet to wear, by which manœuvre he put himself upon the same tack with de Grasse, and lay to windward in a line nearly parallel to him. Both fleets now steered to the eastward, and, as they got clear of the Capes, Graves bore down upon the enemy. It was past four in the afternoon before the action began, and even then it was by no means general, the vans and parts of the centres being the only ships engaged. This partial battle continued till night-fall, when the French van seemed much worsted, and bore away to get more in a line with their centre; and as it grew dark the two fleets separated. The loss sustained by the British amounted to 90 killed and 246 wounded. Graves kept the weather-gage during the night, and intended to renew the action in the morning; but, as several of his ships had suffered much in their masts, sails, and rigging, he was obliged to lay to to repair. The 'Terrible,' a 74-gun ship, proved so leaky that a day or two after it was found necessary to abandon her; and, her crew and stores being removed, she was set on fire and burnt. The 'Ajax' was also extremely leaky. The fleets out at sea remained in sight of each other for five days, and were occasionally very near; but de Grasse showed no inclination to renew the battle, which he might have done if he had chosen, as the wind shifted more than once and gave him the advantage of the weather-gage, and as the British fleet was too much cut up to get out of his way (had Graves been so inclined) by sailing. On the 10th de Grasse bore away for the Chesapeak, and the next day took up his old anchorage within the Capes, where he found M. de Barras with the Rhode Island squadron, consisting of seven ships of the line, and fourteen transports laden with heavy artillery and all sorts of military stores proper for a siege, which had all got into the Chesapeak while the two fleets were out at sea. De Grasse had another piece of good fortune, for on his way back he intercepted and took two English frigates which had been sent in to cut away the buoys from the French ships' anchors.* After reconnoitring the position of the French fleet Graves returned to New York.†

As it had been previously concerted that the whole united power of the Americans and their allies was to be directed against York Town, Washington determined to intrust the defence of the Hudson to General Heath, and to take himself the chief command of the army collected and collecting on the Chesapeak and York River. All the French under Rochambeau, and a detachment of 2000 men from the army of the north, were destined for this service. For some time Sir Henry Clinton thought that Washington was not going to the south at all, but was intending once more to make an attempt upon New York while Lafayette and the naval force of France were blockading Lord Cornwallis. But this latter blockade, however successful it might be, was not likely to gratify the great revenge of the Americans by putting Arnold in their power,—for that general had left Virginia shortly after the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and was now safe at New York. And, when Sir Henry Clinton became at last aware of the real intentions of Washington,

* It appears that, in their hurry and confusion on Graves's first appearance, some of the French ships did not merely *slip* but *cut* their cables. In either case the buoys were necessary to enable them to find their anchors again.

† Schomberg.—Stedman.—Marshall.—Ann. Regist.

he thought no man more likely to perform a service that might induce Washington to retrace his steps towards the north than Benedict Arnold. On the 6th of September Arnold landed near New London, in Connecticut—the country of his birth—with two British regiments, a battalion of New Jersey volunteers, a detachment of Yagers, and artillery. A redoubt from which the enemy had begun a cannonade was abandoned at Arnold's approach; Fort Trumbull, which commanded the harbour, was presently carried by four companies of British, who entered it through a shower of grape shot; a small body who stood at the entrance of the town with a field-piece were swept away in a minute; and New London was occupied. There remained, however, on the other side of the harbour, Fort Griswold, a strong square fortification, with most of the accessaries of a regular work, defended by Colonel Ladyard with a garrison of some 200 men. But this was presently assaulted on three sides by the two British regiments, who, after a terrible struggle, forced their way in through the embrasures with fixed bayonets. The Americans then were driven from the ramparts, and a horrible retaliation was inflicted upon them for the great mischief they had done the assailants. In all 85 were killed, including Ladyard, their commander; 60 were wounded, most of them mortally; and 70 were made prisoners. But the British in their desperate assault had lost their commanding officer, Colonel Eyre; Major Montgomery, the second in command, fell as he was entering one of the embrasures; 46 men were slain, and 8 officers and 135 soldiers wounded. Ten or twelve ships, privateers and traders, were burnt; and a great number of store-houses, containing an immense amount of European and West India goods, were subjected to the same fate. A vast number of cannons, muskets, pikes, &c., and large supplies of ammunition and military stores, were all captured or destroyed. The terrible conflagration, spreading on all sides soon reduced the whole of New London to ashes. It was asserted by the British that this wholesale destruction was occasioned by the explosion of some gunpowder which, unknown to them, was concealed in warehouses within the town; but the Connecticut men always held that it proceeded from the determined malice and diabolical spite of their countryman Arnold.* But, terrible as was this blow, it did not check the southward march of Washington. He went on to the head of Elk River, which falls into the Chesapeak. Transports from the French fleet were there to receive his forces, and, having seen them embarked, he and Rochambeau proceeded by land to Williamsburg, where Lafayette was encamped, with the French fleet lying in the bay. On their arrival a council of war was held on board Count de Grasse's ship, the 'Ville de Paris,' and measures were concerted for reducing Lord Cornwallis in York Town with all possible speed, the French Admiral intimating that he could not, and would not on any account remain long on the station. It was, however, thought necessary to wait the arrival of Washington's and Rochambeau's forces; and it was the 5th of September before the transports could land them at Williamsburg. Through the caution and the serious apprehensions of Count de Grasse there was yet one short glimmering of hope for Lord Cornwallis. The French admiral received intelligence that Graves's fleet at New York had been reinforced by six ships of the line under Admiral Digby; and, feeling confident that everything would be attempted for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, and that Graves and Digby would soon be upon him with a force not much inferior to his own, he told Washington that he did not like fighting in the narrow water of the Chesapeak—that he should leave a few frigates to block up York River, and put to sea with his fleet, in order to meet Graves and Digby where there was more sea-room, or, if they had not yet left New York, to block them up there. These representations filled Washington with alarm;—for, if de Grasse put to sea, the winds and other accidents might prevent his returning to the Chesapeak; during his absence the British fleet might run into those waters; and then York Town and the army of Lord Cornwallis, for the capture of which such costly preparations and such immense efforts had been made, would be safe and unassailable;—and he reasoned and implored until the French admiral agreed to remain where he was. While fleets and armies—Frenchmen from Rhode Island and the West Indies, and Americans from north, south, east, and west—were gathering round him, Lord Cornwallis continued to fortify his positions as well as he could, and to indulge in the hope that Sir Henry Clinton would be enabled, by means of the arrival of Admiral Digby, to co-operate with him and bring round to the Chesapeak such a force of men and ships as would turn the scale entirely in favour of the British.

York Town, as it was called, was nothing but a small village on the south side of the river York, standing where the long peninsula between the York and the James is only eight miles wide. The southern bank of York River is high; and on the opposite shore, on a tongue of land projecting far into the river and narrowing it to the space of one mile, stands Gloucester, another village, which Cornwallis had also occupied and fortified. The communication between these two posts, and that passage of the river which was deep enough to admit the largest ships of the line, were commanded by batteries which his lordship had erected, and by a squadron of British ships, unfortunately very small, which lay under his guns. The main body of his army was encamped on the open grounds round about York Town, within a range of outer redoubts and field-works, calculated to command the peninsula and impede the advance of the assailants, but both too weak and too extensive to be defended by such an army: and Lieutenant-colonel Dundas held the post at Gloucester Point,

* Stedman—Marshall.

YORK TOWN. From a Drawing by Mrs. Simcoe.

on the opposite side of the water, with a detachment of 600 or 700 men. It was on the 28th of September that the combined army of French and Americans appeared in sight, having marched from Williamsburg that morning. They encamped that night about two miles from the outer works, and the next morning began extending themselves towards Lord Cornwallis's left, but at a cautious distance, and with the evident intention of proceeding with circumspection. The British pickets and some troops of horse slowly retired within the outer lines as they approached, and scarcely a gun was fired that day. In the evening an express arrived with dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton at New York, bearing date the 24th of September, and informing Cornwallis that, at a council of war held that day, it had been agreed that upwards of 5000 troops should be embarked on board the fleet, and that every exertion should be made both by the army and navy to relieve his lordship. The dispatch further stated that the fleet, consisting only of twenty-three sail of the line, might be expected to sail by the 5th of October; and a postscript was added to state that Admiral Digby had really arrived a few hours before. But, instead of six ships of the line, Digby had brought only three, so that the inequality of force remained very great, Graves having only twenty-six ships to carry to the Chesapeak against the thirty-five ships of de Grasse and de Barras. After receiving those dispatches, Cornwallis, under cover of night, withdrew his army from the outer works, and concentrated them within the works close round the village or town. On the next day, September the 30th, the works he had evacuated were occupied by strong detachments from the combined army; and 2000 men, French and Americans, the former under the Duke de Lauzun, the latter under General Weedon, took up a position in front of the British at Gloucester Point. As de Lauzun approached the lines there, Colonel Dundas sallied and made a brilliant charge, which cost the duke a good number of men; but the British then retired within the lines; and, as Dundas was reinforced by Colonel Tarleton with part of his legion, the French and Americans gave up all thought of assault and storm, and converted their operations into a mere blockade. In the course of the same day York Town was regularly invested; and in the course of the following night the enemy began to break ground, the French making their approaches on the right of it and the Americans on the left. Six days were spent in landing from de Grasse's ships the heavy artillery, military stores, and other materials, which seem all to have been as complete as if York Town, instead of a mere post, had been a first-rate fortress. There was no want of any kind of means—there was no longer any want of money, for Lieutenant-colonel Laurens and Thomas Paine had induced the French court to grant the Americans a subsidy of six millions of livres, and also to guarantee a loan for ten millions from the Dutch. On the night of the 6th of October the French and Americans began making the first parallel within 600 yards of Cornwallis's lines; and they are said to have worked with so much silence and with so much speed that the besieged did not discover what they had been doing until the return of daylight, when the trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the besiegers. By the afternoon of the 9th their

well-garnished batteries were completed, and an incessant cannonade was commenced against the town, accompanied by the fire of many mortars throwing shells in showers. On the next day, the 10th of October, still more batteries were opened; and the shells and the red-hot balls set fire to the 'Charon,' a British ship of forty-four guns—one of the small force posted to defend the passage between York Town and Gloucester Point—which was consumed, together with three large British transports. In the night of the 11th the combined army, which, exclusive of the seamen from the French fleet, was 14,000 strong, and which, moreover, was assisted by a whole host of country people and black slaves compelled to work in the trenches, commenced their second parallel within 300 yards of Cornwallis's works. It took them three days to complete this second parallel, during which time they suffered more loss than at any other period of the siege, the British opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all their howitzers and small mortars. The men in the trenches were particularly annoyed by two advanced redoubts, which flanked the second parallel and kept up a steady fire. It became necessary either to storm these redoubts or to abandon the approach. On the evening of the 14th two detachments were marched against the redoubts; and, for the sake of emulation, one of them consisted of Americans, the other of French; but in both cases the commanding officers were Frenchmen, Lafayette leading the first and the Baron de Viominil the second. The works to be assailed had been thrown up in a hurry, and were defended by a mere handful of men. The miserable work against which Lafayette led his strong American column was held by Major Campbell, with some inferior officers, who had only forty-five men; yet, before the assailants could carry it, they had nine of their number killed and thirty-two wounded. The other redoubt, attacked by the French under Viominil, had more defenders, and caused greater mischief to the enemy, who lost in killed and wounded more men than were within the works. During the night these two redoubts were included in the second parallel of the besiegers, and howitzers and bombs were placed in them, and turned, with the artillery that had been taken, against York Town. The situation of Cornwallis was now becoming desperate: his works were sinking and crumbling; nearly all the guns on his left were silenced, even before the second parallel was finished. To retard its completion he directed a sortie of 350 men, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, who gallantly led this column against two of the enemy's batteries that seemed in the greatest forwardness, and that were guarded by veteran French troops. The assault, made a little before daybreak on the 16th of October, was impetuous and irresistible; the French, after losing above a hundred in killed and wounded, were driven out of both batteries, the guns were spiked, and Abercrombie returned within the lines, with very little loss, though now closely pressed by an overwhelming force. But, unluckily, the men who spiked the guns did not, in their hurry, perform the work effectually; the cannons were soon made again fit for use; and before evening the batteries opened, and the second parallel seemed complete and unassailable by any further sorties. On the next day Lord Cornwallis could scarcely show a mounted gun on the side of attack; and his shells were nearly expended. As a completion to his calamities, sickness had broken out in his camp, and a considerable portion of his men, besides the wounded, were laid up in the hospitals. Nothing was seen or heard of the fleet and troops from New York which, he had been led to hope would have sailed on the 5th of October, and have made their appearance in the Chesapeak before the 15th. But the brave are slow to despair. He looked across the York River and to the wide-spreading country beyond it; and he yet indulged the hope that he might save at least part of his army by a bold manœuvre and a rapid movement. The French blockading force on the Gloucester side, now commanded by de Choisi, lay at some distance from the front of the works. Cornwallis resolved to attack them before break of day, and, after cutting to pieces or dispersing this force, to mount his infantry on the horses taken from the French, who had a considerable cavalry corps, and on other horses to be collected on the road, and then, by a rapid march, to gain the fords of the great rivers, and force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New York. This plan of course implied the sacrifice of artillery, stores, and baggage, together with that of the sick and wounded, and that of the rear-guard; but it would be something to save even half the men and escape the mortification of a surrender. On the night between the 16th and 17th of October the light infantry, the greater part of the Guards, and part of the 23rd regiment, were embarked in boats and transported to Gloucester Point, without being discovered either by the French on that side, or by the Americans and French on the York Town side. But they were scarcely landed when a violent storm arose, which prevented the boats from returning, and deranged the whole scheme. At break of day the enemy's batteries were opened on York Town, and, in the divided state of the British force, there were scarcely people enough to man the lines. Lord Cornwallis recalled the troops which had been embarked in the boats, and, as the wind moderated, they got back in the course of the forenoon without great loss, although the passage of the river was now exposed to the enemy's fire. In the mean while the British works were knocked to pieces, so that not a gun could be fired from them, and the last of the bombs and shells were counted, and found not to exceed 100. After consulting with his engineers and other officers, who were all of opinion that the place was assailable in many places, and that it would be madness to stand an assault with a garrison ex-

hausted by incessant fatigue, and reduced by sickness even more than by the heavy fire of the French and Americans, Cornwallis, about the hour of noon on the 17th, beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, in order that commissioners might meet in the rear of the first parallel to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. Washington, as commander-in-chief of the combined army, replied that it was his ardent wish to spare the further effusion of blood; but, as in the present crisis he could not lose a moment in fruitless negotiation, he must desire that, previous to the meeting of the commissioners, his lordship would transmit in writing his proposals, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities for two hours would be granted. At half-past four in the afternoon Lord Cornwallis sent a written letter, stating that the time limited by Washington would not admit of his entering into the details of articles, but that the basis of his proposals would be, that the garrisons of York and Gloucester should be prisoners of war with the customary honours; that the British should be sent to Britain, and the Germans to Germany, under engagements not to serve against France, America, or their allies, until released or regularly exchanged; that all arms and public stores should be delivered up; but that the usual indulgence of side-arms to officers, and of retaining private property, should be granted both to officers and soldiers; and, finally, that *the interests of individuals in civil capacities, and connected with the British, should be attended to.* By these civilians his lordship meant the unfortunate American royalists who had been following his fortunes, and who had everything to fear from the vindictive, unpardoning spirit of their countrymen. During the remainder of the day and through the ensuing night the firing of the batteries was hushed; and on the following morning—the 18th of October—Washington replied to his lordship and dictated the terms of the capitulation. He said that the garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the seamen, would be received prisoners of war; that the condition of sending the British and German troops to the parts of Europe to which they respectively belonged was inadmissible, instead of which they would be marched to such parts of the country as could most conveniently provide for their subsistence, where *the benevolent treatment of prisoners which was invariably observed by the Americans* would be extended to them; that the same honours would be granted to the surrendering army as had been granted to the American garrison of Charlestown; that the shipping and boats with everything belonging to them should be delivered up in their present state; that the artillery, arms, accoutrements, public stores, and *military chest*, should be consigned *unimpaired*, &c. He allowed that the officers should be indulged in retaining their side-arms, and that both officers and soldiers should preserve their baggage and effects, with this reserve, that property taken by them in the country would be reclaimed. Washington could not possibly misunderstand the clause regarding the royalists; but upon this head he said—"With regard to the individuals in civil capacities whose interests your lordship wishes may be attended to, until they are more particularly described nothing definitive can be settled." He allowed only two hours for consideration, and rather unnecessarily declared that at the end of that time hostilities would be recommenced. Nothing was left to the British save a compliance with his terms; but Cornwallis stated that he should expect to receive a compensation in arranging the articles of capitulation for the surrender of Gloucester in its present uninjured state of defence; and that he should in particular desire that the 'Bonetta' sloop-of-war might be left entirely at his disposal, to receive an aide-de-camp to carry his dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton, with such soldiers as he might think proper to send as passengers in her, to be manned with fifty men of her own crew, and to be permitted to sail *without examination;* his lordship, on his part, engaging that the said sloop-of-war should be brought back and delivered up if she escaped the dangers of the sea; that the crew and soldiers sent in her should be accounted for in future exchanges as prisoners of war; and that she should carry off no officer without Washington's consent, nor public property of any kind. His lordship further desired that the traders and inhabitants might preserve their property, *and that no person might be punished or molested for having joined the British troops.* In the course of the morning his lordship deputed Colonel Dundas and Major Ross to meet the Viscount de Noailles, of the French army, and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, of the American army, and finish the capitulation. Some discussion took place and seemed leading to a delay, which both French and Americans were determined not to permit, as they knew how soon the British fleet and the land force from New York might be at their backs, and as their fears were increased by a belief or a doubt that Admiral Graves was far stronger than reported. Washington, therefore, early the next morning sent a fair copy of his conditions to Cornwallis, informing his lordship that he expected they would be signed by eleven, and that the garrison would march out and pile their arms by two in the afternoon. The last difficulty with his lordship was the case of the royalists, to whom Washington would promise no favour or mercy, affirming that that matter belonged to the civil power; but, as he agreed to the proposition about the 'Bonetta' sloop-of-war, Cornwallis embarked as many of the royalists as he could on board that vessel, and finally agreed to all the other conditions. By these articles the army, artillery, arms, money-chest, and stores of every denomination, were surrendered to General Washington for the United States; but the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse, for his most Christian majesty, Louis XVI. On the day pre-

vious to the surrender, the rank and file of the British garrisons amounted to 5950; but of these only 4017 were reported fit for duty. They had lost about 500 men in killed and wounded during the siege. The French and Americans had lost about an equal number; but, owing to the constant arrival of recruits, volunteers, and militiamen, they had at the end of the struggle nearly 18,000 men under arms. Cornwallis's large train of artillery, which included many fine brass guns, his arms, ammunition, warlike stores, and provisions, formed altogether a good prize for the Americans; but the French got only one frigate, two sloops-of-war, and a few transports. It was the first triumph the uncongenial allies had obtained together, and they were not very modest in their boasts and congratulations. Congress for some time attended to no other business except voting thanks to Washington, to Rochambeau, to de Grasse, to the officers of the allied army generally, and to the corps of artillery and engineers in particular. They resolved that a marble column should be erected at York Town, with emblems of the close alliance between the United States and his most Christian majesty, and with an inscription narrating the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, &c. Furthermore, congress determined to go in solemn procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms with such success; and they also issued a proclamation, appointing the 13th of December as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer, on account of "this signal interposition of Divine Providence."*

In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton had embarked 7000 of his best troops to succour Cornwallis; but owing to sundry delays, the causes of which do not seem to be sufficiently explained, the fleet did not leave Sandy Hook until the 19th of October, the very day on which the capitulation was completed at York Town; and it was the 24th before it reached the Capes of Virginia, where Clinton received some vague accounts which led him to suspect the sad truth. Admiral Graves, who had now twenty-five ships of the line, two 50-gun ships, and eight frigates, to oppose to de Grasse's thirty-six sail of the line and nine frigates, did not venture up the Chesapeak, but lay off the mouth until the 29th, when he and Clinton agreed to return to New York, it having been fully proved to them that they had come too late to be of any service to Cornwallis. Shortly after Graves resigned the command of the fleet to Rear-Admiral Digby, and proceeded to Jamaica. As a sequel to the triumph of the Americans and French, there remained, on the side of the British, the painful office of accusation and recrimination among the different officers engaged. Lord Cornwallis blamed Sir Henry Clinton for not sending him proper support in time, and Clinton blamed his lordship for venturing into Virginia at all; the officers of the army condemned the slowness of the navy, and the officers of the navy retorted. All this was sad work, nor would it be very advantageous now to apportion the blame due to the several services and commanders—a difficult and delicate task, for the performance of which many materials and means are still wanting. It appears, however, tolerably clear that Clinton was really to blame in allowing himself to be so long deceived as to the real movements contemplated by Washington, and in not following him by land as soon as he had discovered his destination. As to the navy, at a later period, the disparity of force would not, in such circumstances, have prevented a general engagement in the narrow waters of the Chesapeak; but Graves, though a brave man, was no Nelson.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington endeavoured to induce Count de Grasse to co-operate in an expedition against Charlestown in South Carolina, or at the least in an expedition against Wilmington in North Carolina, which was still occupied by Colonel Craig's small detachment. He felt that General Greene might easily reduce Wilmington, but his great object was to reinforce that commander promptly by means of troops sent by sea, instead of undergoing the long fatiguing land march; and this detachment could only be trusted under the protection of the French fleet. After writing a very earnest letter, the American commander-in-chief paid the French admiral a long visit on board the 'Ville de Paris;' but he failed altogether in his attempt, as de Grasse stated that he had peremptory orders from his court to execute other projects, and, that his engagements with the Spaniards rendered it impossible for him to remain any longer on that coast. He even refused to take on board the troops designed to reinforce Greene; and, as soon as he had covered the transportation of Washington's own troops and of the ordnance to the Head of Elk River, he hastened down the Chesapeak, and there made all sail for the West Indies. He, however, left the French troops he had brought, who continued in Virginia with Rochambeau's army from Rhode Island. Greene's reinforcement, under the command of General St. Clair, were marched off by land, with orders to capture Wilmington on their way. In that direction Lord Rawdon had continued to make a good stand, though the British posts were assailed simultaneously by Greene's army, and by strong bodies of militia and volunteers from the mountains. After gaining the victory at Hobkirk's Hill, Lord Rawdon saw himself under the necessity of abandoning Camden and concentrating all the forces in South Carolina, except the garrison of Charlestown, within a narrow compass. Fort Watson, a post on the Santee River, with a small garrison without any artillery, was compelled to capitulate on the 23rd of April. But, after an extraordinary march, 500 men suc-

* Stedman.—Gordon.—Ramsay.—Marshall.—Letters of Washington and Lafayette.—Writing, on the 20th of October, the day after the surrender, to the French minister Maurepas, Lafayette says—"The play, sir, is over!—the fifth act has just been closed. I was in an awkward situation during the first acts!" For his performances in Virginia Louis XVI. conferred on the marquis the rank of Field-Marshal in the armies of France.

ceeded in joining Rawdon, who then went in pursuit of Greene, who was encamped behind Twenty-five-mile Creek. Greene was warned of his approach, and retreated to a greater distance and to a much stronger position, where Rawdon could not attack him. About the middle of May his lordship stationed himself at Monk's Corner, considerably nearer to Charlestown than was his old post at Camden; for the garrison of the capital of South Carolina was numerically weak, more than half of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were again taking up arms against the British, and it was necessary to cover and protect the part of the country from which alone forage and supplies could be drawn. In consequence of this retreat several small forts on the rivers were reduced by Colonel Lee, Sumter, and Marion. Extending his operations, Greene detached a considerable part of his army to lay siege to Augusta in Upper Georgia, and marched himself with the rest to reduce Ninety-six. The British in Augusta were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, who had already stood one siege in the place, and repulsed his assailants. But this time the besiegers resorted to a mode of attack which they had tried before at Fort Watson: they constructed works sufficiently high to overlook the fort, and sufficiently near for the fire of rifles; and, placing their best riflemen on the top of them, they opened a most galling fire. Colonel Brown had none of those projectiles which might have dislodged these "dead shots" in a trice, and he seems to have been almost destitute of common artillery. The riflemen from their advantageous post took a deliberate aim and hit nearly every British soldier that showed himself in the place; and on the 5th of June Brown was obliged to capitulate. But General Greene was not so successful at Ninety-six, where the garrison under Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger made very extraordinary exertions, building block-houses in the village, making traverses, stockades, &c., fortifying the county prison, and improving a small star fort which had been erected the preceding year. Cruger's whole force consisted only of about 150 regulars and 200 Loyal Jersey volunteers; but the inhabitants of Ninety-six were decided royalists, and about 200 of them as militia joined the garrison.* On the evening of the 21st of May, General Greene encamped in a wood within cannon-shot of the village, and in the course of the night some of his people threw up two works, in a very bold but very slovenly manner, within seventy paces of the fortifications. They despised the garrison; but they had soon reason to repent. By eleven o'clock of the following morning a platform was prepared in one of the salient angles of the star fort, right opposite to the American works, three pieces of artillery were put upon it, and under cover of their steady fire, and peals of musketry from the parapet, a party of only thirty men sallied from the star, entered the American works, and bayoneted every one they found in them. This sortie was immediately followed by another party from the Loyal Militia, who demolished the works and loaded several negroes with the entrenching tools of the enemy. Greene put his whole army in motion; but the work was done so expeditiously that both detachments were back in the fortifications before any of the Americans could reach the spot. On the night of the 23rd of May, Greene's people again broke ground; but this time at the respectful distance of 400 yards, and behind a ravine. Although frequently interrupted by sharp sallies, they completed their second parallel by the 3rd of June, and, after summoning Cruger, they opened a heavy cross fire, pushed on a mine against the star, and continued to advance their batteries, one of which was raised forty feet high, so as to overlook the works of the garrison and afford a post to the rifles. On the 8th of June, Colonel Lee arrived at Greene's camp with some of the British prisoners that he had made at Augusta. These prisoners he marched in full view of the garrison, with martial music and a British standard reversed. The insult, instead of discouraging, gave fresh vigour and animosity to, the besieged. On the night of the 9th of June, they made a sortie in two strong parties, entered the American entrenchments, discovered the mouth of the mine, put a number of the Americans to the bayonet, and still more to flight, and then returned again with hardly any loss. On the 12th, Lee, in a fury, endeavoured to set fire to the abattis of the stockade on the left, by means of combustibles ingeniously prepared; but every man he sent on that duty was killed by the garrison, who had riflemen and marksmen as good as those of the besiegers. A few days after this Lee received an addition to his artillery; and on the 17th the stockade was abandoned, but without loss. The greatest sufferings of the garrison arose from want of water, which was only to be procured, in very scanty supplies, by sending out negroes in the night to a rivulet within pistol shot of the enemy. But Colonel Cruger knew the gallantry and activity of Lord Rawdon, and confidently relied on a prompt relief; and, at a critical moment, an American royalist, in open day, and under the fire of the besiegers, galloped through their pickets, reached the village, and delivered a verbal message from his lordship that he had passed Orangeburg and was in full march to raise the siege. The opportune arrival of three regiments from Ireland had enabled Rawdon to strengthen the garrison of Charlestown and his own little army; and he was coming on, with all the expedition that the intense heat of the weather would permit, with about 1800 foot and 150 horse. General Greene, who had very early notice of his movements, determined not to wait his arrival, unless he could carry Ninety-six by assault previously. Abandoning, therefore, the scheme of regular approaches, he, on the morn-

* The regulars had been raised in the northern provinces, so that nearly the whole force in Ninety-six *were native Americans*. But most of them had been under arms for four or five years, had been thoroughly trained and disciplined, and had seen a good deal of service.

ing of the 18th of June, began a heavy cannonade, and at noon sent out two parties to make a lodgment in the ditch and storm the works. But both these parties were repulsed with dreadful loss, the besieged sallying forth and bayoneting them in the ditch. After this failure Greene, who had already sent off his baggage, and who knew that Lord Rawdon must be near, abandoned the siege and retreated with great expedition towards the river Saluda. He had lost more than 150 men, besides militia, in his fruitless attempt upon Ninety-six, where the garrison had 27 killed and 58 wounded. Rawdon arrived early in the morning of the 21st of June, and, finding Greene gone, he resolved to pursue him in spite of the scorching heat, and the fatigue he had already gone through in his rapid advance to Ninety-six; and that same evening the trumpet sounded boot and saddle, and the small cavalry corps set off and was closely followed by the infantry. His lordship conducted them as far as the river Ennora, but he could not overtake any part of Greene's army. He then returned to Ninety-six and ordered the evacuation of that post, as being too remote to be supported. The American royalists of the place and neighbourhood, who had behaved with so much steadiness and bravery, were told that every possible care should be taken for removing them and their families within the new lines his lordship was seeking to establish; and to a man they agreed to follow the army as the only means of escaping from the fury of their republican brethren, who had felt the effects of their rifles in the late siege. They immediately began to collect all their moveable property; and Lord Rawdon, leaving more than half his force to give them a valid escort when they should be ready to begin their journey, marched himself with 800 foot and 60 horse towards the Congaree River. His generous attention to the unhoused and unhomed royalists was well nigh costing him very dearly; for Greene no sooner learned that his lordship was dividing his forces than he left off retreating, and hurried across the country to the Congaree. Rawdon had just arrived on that river when one of his foraging parties was surprised by Colonel Lee's legion, and about 40 of the 60 men who composed his cavalry were surrounded and captured. Rawdon then retired from the Congaree and fell back upon Orangeburg, where he expected to find a reinforcement from Charlestown. But Colonel Lee with his legion had got between the Congaree and Orangeburg, and, with the main division of Greene's army pressing on his rear, Rawdon had to fight his way and to cross a creek in face of Lee, and at broad noonday. But his lordship nevertheless reached the place of destination with very little loss, scattering Lee's legion, and making a few prisoners; and the day after his arrival he was joined by the 3rd regiment from Charlestown under the command of Colonel Stuart. But Greene, who, besides Lee's legion, had some 1200 or 1300 men with him, was joined on the Congaree by Sumter and Marion with 1000 more men; and on the 11th of July he advanced towards Orangeburg with the intention of attacking the British in that place. But the American general halted five miles short of the town, and having reconnoitred Rawdon's position, and probably having received intelligence that Colonel Cruger was advancing to join his lordship with the half of the army which had been left at Ninety-six, he decamped in the night, fell back upon the Congaree, and even recrossed that river to take up a position on the high hills of Santee, to refresh his heat-exhausted troops, and to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements. Greene, however, detached Sumter, Marion, and Lee, to threaten the lower posts of the British at Monk's Corner and Dorchester. Dorchester was abandoned before their approach; but Monk's Corner, which Lord Rawdon intended to maintain as a part of his new line of posts, was gallantly defended by Colonel Coates, and Lee was there foiled and defeated. Great discontent broke out among the men composing these flying columns, and many of Marion's and Sumter's people deserted them and returned to their homes sick and thoroughly worn out by fatigue and the still increasing heat. In that sultry climate, war, as we have seen, is suspended by summer heat, as in other climates by winter cold. It was now the middle of July, and neither army could any longer support active operations. Moreover Lord Rawdon's own health seemed seriously affected; and in this interval of inactivity he availed himself of a permission obtained some time before to embark for Europe. At his departure the command of the small army in the field fell to Colonel Stuart, who had only recently arrived in the country with the 3rd regiment, called the Buffs.* During the rest of the month of July, and the whole of the scorching month of August, nothing was done or attempted by the regular army; but there was no cessation to the fierce hostilities carried on between the inhabitants, who were waging war in its most savage forms, and really making it a war of extermination. "The whole country," said General Greene, "is one continued scene of blood and slaughter." It was in vain that that commander attempted to put a stop to these atrocities on the part of the republican party, and equally vain were Colonel Stuart's endeavours to calm the American royalists. Orders of the day and all other commands and prayers were set at defiance by men whose passions were inflamed, and whose hearts had become insensible to mercy. Colonel Grierson, of the royal militia, was shot, while a prisoner of war, by some unknown marksmen; and although a reward of a hundred guineas was offered to any person who would give information, the assassins were never discovered. When Augusta surrendered to Lee, the American legion and the militia were bent upon cutting the throats of Colonel Brown and of all the Americans with him; and

* Gordon.—Stedman.—Marshall.—View of the Campaign of 1781, in the Carolinas, by Colonel Lee.—Johnson, Life of General Greene.

these unfortunate prisoners of war were only saved by having a strong guard placed over them. Nor were they *all* saved, the capitulation being afterwards infringed by private malice and spite. At this moment the British authorities of Charlestown resolved to proceed against one Colonel Hayne, who, after subscribing a declaration of allegiance, and accepting British protection, had taken up arms as soon as there was a chance of so doing with success, had penetrated within seven miles of Charlestown, and had captured one Williamson, a colonel of loyal militia. This Hayne had been overtaken by some British cavalry, with Williamson as his prisoner and with arms in his hands, and he had been carried into Charlestown and consigned to the provost-marshal for having resumed his arms after accepting British protection. On the morning of the 26th of July he was informed by letter from the town-major "that a council of general officers would assemble next day at ten o'clock to try him." In the evening of the same day he received another letter from the same officer, acquainting him, "that, instead of a council of general officers, a court of inquiry would sit at the hour above mentioned, for the purpose of determining under what point of view he ought to be considered." In the same letter it was added, "that pen, ink, and paper would immediately be allowed him; and that any person he chose to appoint might attend him as counsel." On Sunday, the 29th, a memorandum was delivered to him by the adjutant, informing him "that, in consequence of the court of inquiry held the day before on his account, the commandant had resolved upon his execution on the Tuesday following, for having been found under arms, and employed in raising a regiment to oppose the British government, though he had become a subject, and had accepted the protection of that government after the reduction of Charlestown." Upon this Hayne represented that he had been taken by surprise; that when he appeared before the court of inquiry he imagined it was for no other purpose than to determine whether he ought to be looked on as a British subject or as an American; that he had not been able to find counsel; that he had neglected to summon any witnesses, which he might easily have done if he had known that the trial he was then upon was to be final. Upon all these grounds he demanded a new and regular trial, begging, if that could not be granted him, for a respite of the sentence of execution. But the court maintained that, having been taken in arms, he was liable to be hanged *instanter*, without any other form of trial than what was necessary to identify his person. The royal Lieutenant-governor Bull and a great number of the inhabitants of Charlestown, royalists as well as republicans, interceded in his favour; the ladies of Charlestown, generally, signed a petition; and the prisoner's children, accompanied by some near relatives, implored on their knees for their father's life; but all the mercy that could be obtained was a respite for forty-eight hours. Hayne then petitioned to be shot as a soldier, instead of being hanged; but it was determined to refuse to him a last prayer which had not been granted to the unfortunate André. On the 4th of August he was led forth to the gallows with his arms pinioned behind him. He walked to the place of execution, outside the town, with a firm step; and he is said to have died with as much manliness and composure as the gallant young English officer had done before him. As soon as General Greene received intelligence of the execution, he issued a proclamation, representing it as a cruel and unjustifiable murder, and threatening to retaliate on the persons of British officers in his power. But the republican party in the Carolinas had set the example of these executions; and the British officers at Charlestown had been impelled, by their feelings on the execution of André, and by the friends and relations of the royalists who had been hanged by dozens, to proceed in a summary way against Hayne. Lord Rawdon, whose whole character and disposition was generous, humane, and chivalrous, was held up to execration, not merely by the republicans in America, but also by the leaders of the opposition in England, for having permitted the hanging of Hayne; but his lordship, in a letter addressed to Colonel Lee, upon the publication of that American officer's book,* exonerated himself by showing that he was at the moment about to sail for Europe; that Lieutenant-colonel Balfour commanded at the time in Charlestown; and that he (Lord Rawdon) had really been desirous of saving Hayne's life.†

During the intense heats nothing took place but a few skirmishes between the cavalry who met by accident in their foraging excursions. The two armies were within sixteen miles of each other; for Lieutenant-colonel Stuart had again advanced the British to the Congaree, and had encamped them near the point where that river joins the Wateree. As the cooler season approached Greene prepared to recommence active operations; and at the beginning of September he broke up his camp on the high hills of Santee, crossed the Wateree near Camden, and marched towards Friday's Ferry. On this advance Lieutenant-colonel Stuart retired to Eutaw, about forty miles from the Congaree, to meet a convoy of provisions and some slight reinforcements that were on the road from Charlestown. Greene followed the British towards Eutaw, but by very slow marches, in order to give time to Marion, who was returning from one of his flying expeditions, to rejoin him. Marion came up on the 7th of September, when Greene was only seven miles from Stuart. It was instantly determined to risk a battle; and at four o'clock on the following morning Greene began to march with his whole force upon the British positions at Eutaw. The legion of Lee and the regular troops of South Carolina formed the advance;

* View of the Campaign in the Carolinas.

† Gordon.—Stedman.—Ann. Register.—Marshall, Life of Washington.—Marshall seems to admit that Lord Rawdon's letter was unanswerable.

the militia moved next, and were followed by the regulars which Greene had brought with him from the north and middle states; the cavalry of Colonel Washington brought up the rear, and the artillery moved between the columns. At six o'clock in the morning two deserters from Greene's army carried the news of his approach into the British camp; but, unfortunately, their report was not credited, or was not believed in time to call in a very large party, which, without arms, and with merely a small guard to cover them, had been sent in search of roots and vegetables upon the very road by which Greene was advancing. Nearly the whole of these men, who are said to have amounted at the least to a third part of Colonel Stuart's entire force, were surprised, cut to pieces, or made prisoners; and the few straggling horsemen that escaped told the British commander that the enemy was really approaching. Stuart now drew up his men across a road on the heights near the Eutaw springs, having a rivulet on his right, and a very thick hedge on his left. A small detachment of infantry was pushed somewhat forward on the road with two small pieces of artillery. Greene came on rather rapidly, having two three-pounders in his front and two six-pounders with his second line. The attack was commenced against the British advance on the road, which, after a sharp struggle, fell back upon their main body. Greene then endeavoured to turn the left of the British; and his attack in that direction was so hot that the "Buffs," who had so recently arrived from Ireland, and who were all new troops, gave way; but the remains of those veteran corps, the 63rd and 64th regiments, who had served the whole of the war, met their assailants with fixed bayonets, and did not move an inch until they were borne back by an immense superiority of numbers. In other parts of the line the American militia were beaten and driven back with considerable slaughter—for on this occasion they did not take to their heels quite so soon as usual. The British pursued the militia till they came in front of Greene's regulars, who bravely advanced to meet them with the bayonet, while Lee with his legion out-flanked the British, turned their left, and poured in a destructive fire. The British who had advanced were thus compelled to retire; and nearly the whole of their left retreated through their encampment to a large brick house, surrounded with stables, offices, and strong garden enclosures, into which Major Sheridan had previously thrown himself with the Loyal Volunteers of New York. While Greene prepared to follow in this direction, Colonel Washington with his cavalry charged the British right flank; but he was received by a murderous fire from a small but steady band; he was wounded, his horse was killed under him, and he was made a prisoner; after which his people fled, leaving the ground strewed with dead and wounded. Nearly every officer that had accompanied Washington in this attack was killed. Greene now no longer counted, as he had done at the beginning of the action, upon a sure and easy victory; but he, nevertheless, threw forward his columns in the direction of the house. They were met by incessant peals of musketry and rifles from the windows of the house and offices, and from behind the garden enclosures. Greene next ordered up his artillery to batter the house; but his guns were too light to do much execution, and, having been brought within range of the fire from the house, every man serving them, or attempting to serve them, was brought down by the good marksmen at the windows; and two of the guns were finally abandoned to the British in the midst of a heap of killed and wounded. In the mean time Colonel Stuart had again formed his broken line by uniting himself with the left; and he presently renewed the engagement at various points with great spirit. Greene made a movement as if he intended to concentrate his entire force to try one more desperate effort upon the house and the garden and the British left; but his people had suffered too much in that quarter to return to it with any alacrity; and after a few minutes of hesitation he wheeled round and retreated into some woods in his rear, leaving behind him, even according to his own reckoning, 139 killed and about 60 prisoners. It appears that the total loss of the Americans, including the missing with the wounded, exceeded 650 men. The loss of the British was stated at 85 killed, 351 wounded, and 257 missing. The missing consisted almost entirely of the unarmed party that were surprised while collecting roots and vegetables. The Americans endeavoured to show that in this affair their number did not greatly exceed that of the British; but the proportions appear to have been as two to one; and an important part of Colonel Stuart's force was lost or ruined, through the doubt of the veracity of the American deserters, before the battle properly began. Greene himself was compelled to pay a tribute to the valour of the British troops engaged. "They really fought," said he, "with courage *worthy a better cause*." Both parties claimed the victory: Greene founded his pretensions on the retreat of the British line, and his pursuing it to the house which was a little in their rear: Colonel Stuart rested his claim upon the broad facts—*that*, though a temporary advantage had been obtained over a part of his line, which rendered a retreat necessary, yet the troops who had thus retreated formed again, and renewed the battle with so much spirit that the Americans were compelled to quit the field and retire to a strong position seven miles in their rear. If a battle is to be judged of by successes obtained at the beginning or middle of it, half of the great victories upon record must be turned into defeats. The Americans also made a great deal of the capture of a three-pounder; but they left in the hands of the British two six-pounders. In the course of the action the artillery on both sides was taken and retaken more than once. The British remained upon the ground the night after the action and all

the following day without any attempt being made to molest them.* The battle of Eutaw was their farewell greeting to the Americans, for no other considerable contest took place between the two armies during this war. It proved, at least, that the spirit of our troops was as high and as good as ever; and in this light only was it of any importance. Congress, however, proclaimed the affair as a great and glorious victory, and they passed a resolution for presenting to Greene a British standard and a golden medal. When Colonel Stuart retired towards Monk's Corner, Greene merely advanced to Eutaw; and when Stuart was joined by Major Mac Arthur with a detachment from Charlestown, the Americans again recrossed the Congaree and took up their old quarters on the high hills of Santee. They had suffered so much that they were in no condition to undertake more fighting; and it is said that the ravages of disease were added to the loss they had sustained at Eutaw. But as no efforts were made to sustain Colonel Stuart, as the mass of the population of both Carolinas were again up in arms, and as the surrender of Lord Cornwallis spread discouragement through all parts of the British army, Greene, about the middle of November, quitted his strong position on the hills of Santee with reinforcements, and, leaving his main body to be conducted by Colonel Williams, he proceeded at the head of his cavalry and about 200 picked infantry towards the British posts at Dorchester, contemplating a surprise. But all he could do for the present was to burn some stores. Greene then returned to a place called the Round O, where he took up quarters with his whole army to await the arrival of the reinforcements which were coming by land from the Chesapeake, under the command of General St. Clair. While at the Round O he was much disquieted by false rumours that large reinforcements from Ireland and New York were expected in Charlestown; and he addressed a letter to the republican governor of South Carolina, recommending, as a very useful or very necessary measure, *that his free army should be recruited from the negro slaves.* This proposition was laid before the republican legislature of that state; but, as no reinforcements arrived at Charlestown, it was not deemed necessary to enrol the negroes.†

Farther to the south, beyond the limits of the Carolinas and of Georgia, the Spaniards, after suffering some tremendous losses, had succeeded in destroying the British dominion in Florida. At the beginning of the year Don Bernardo Galvez arrived in the Gulf of Mexico, with a considerable squadron and a land force of 8000 men. But before he could reach Pensacola he was overtaken by a hurricane, and was obliged to run back to the Havanna. Four of his principal ships were lost in the storm, with 2000 men on board. But the chief admiral, Solano, had arrived at the Havanna, and more ships and troops were supplied to Galvez, who again put to sea. This time he arrived safely at Pensacola, the last of the British fortresses, and commenced his attack both by sea and land. General Campbell, who had a motley garrison of negroes, red Indians, foreign adventurers, and a few British regulars, gallantly defended the place during two entire months; but, on the 9th of May, after his principal powder-magazine had been blown up, he found himself under the necessity of capitulating. And thus Florida, which, next to Canada, was the principal acquisition made during the last war by the British, remained to the Spaniards—an uneasy possession which was speedily coveted, and eventually secured, by the United States. Such were the main events of the year on the American continent, whence we proceed to the islands of the West Indies.

Early in the year Admiral Rodney, with a land force commanded by General Vaughan, made an attempt to recover the island of St. Vincent, which had been taken by the French the year before. This was not attended with success; but almost immediately afterwards they captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which, though small, and by nature unfertile, was a place of great wealth and commercial importance, being a free port and general depôt of West Indian and American produce, the property of different nations, neutrals as well as belligerents. The Dutch governor, who was as yet uninformed of the breaking out of hostilities between Great Britain and Holland, was unprepared and unable to offer the slightest resistance. The value of the capture was immense; the goods and merchandise of all descriptions were estimated at more than 3,000,000*l.* sterling; and about 250 vessels, many of them with rich cargoes on board, were taken in the port. Moreover, two ships of the line and a frigate, which Rodney detached in pursuit of a fleet of thirty Dutch West Indiamen that had just left the island for Europe under convoy of one ship of the line, overtook and captured every vessel of them. General Vaughan kept the Dutch colours flying at St. Eustatius, and thus decoyed into the harbour a considerable number of Dutch, French, and American vessels, traders or privateers, who were all taken without any trouble. The small neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba were also captured, and the Dutch settlements on the rivers of Demerara and Essequibo, *in Guiana, after losing* all their shipping and most of their property, submitted to the governor of Barbadoes. The conquerors exercised the right of seizure and confiscation with unusual rigour; property both private and public was sold by public auction for the benefit of the captors; and the Dutch trade and prosperity in those parts received a mortal blow. From the nature of St. Eustatius as a free port and place of deposit for so many nations, there inevitably arose many disputes and long litigations as to the proper owners of the goods and merchandise seized, of which no inconsiderable portion was

* Marshall.—American Memoirs of General Greene.—Stedman.—Gordon.

† Marshall.

said to have belonged to British merchants. In order to check Count de Grasse, whose arrival in the Chesapeake had been attended with such serious consequences, Rodney detached Hood and Drake from St. Eustatius with seventeen sail of the line; but this force, after a partial action, retreated in the night from de Grasse's twenty sail of the line; and, while the count pursued his course, the Marquis de Bouillé suddenly appeared off the island of St. Lucie, and landed some troops. In this attempt the marquis failed; but he was fully successful in an expedition against Tobago, which, though bravely and ably defended by Governor Ferguson, capitulated in the month of July.*

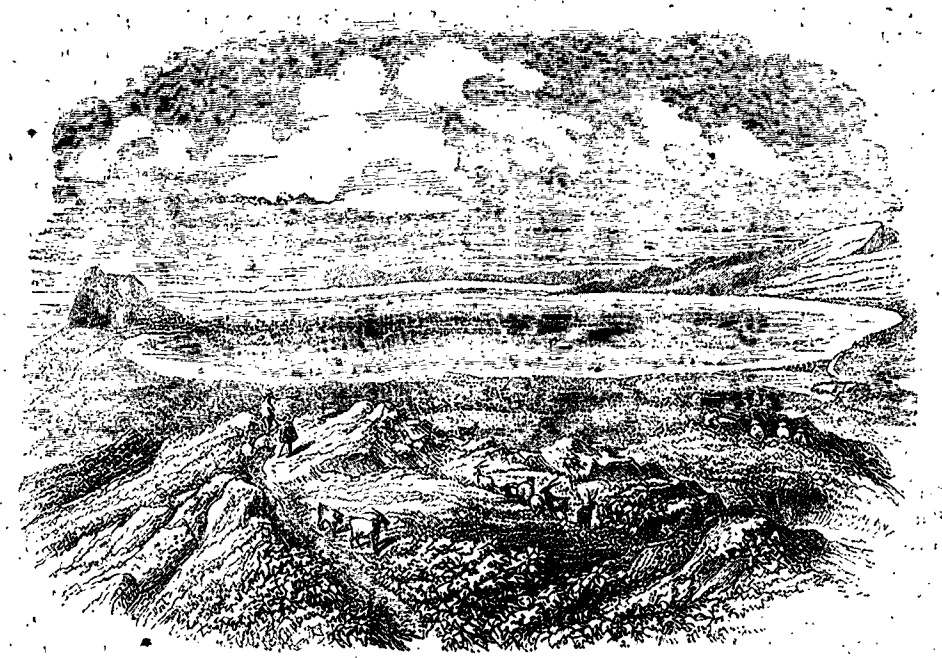
In another direction the Dutch suffered somewhat severely, though far less than had been anticipated by the British cabinet, who already aimed at dispossessing them of the Cape of Good Hope. Commodore Johnstone, with five ships of the line, some frigates, and smaller vessels, having on board three new regiments, under the command of General Meadows, sailed for the Cape in the month of March, and was accompanied by some outward-bound East Indiamen. On the 16th of April Johnstone was overtaken among the Cape de Verd islands by the French admiral Suffrein, who was bound for the East Indies, with a numerous convoy and a force in fighting-ships somewhat inferior to that of Johnstone. A loose and indecisive action took place; some spars and rigging were cut to pieces, but no ship was lost on either side.† The French admiral had, however, the advantage of getting first to the Cape, where he arrived on the 21st of June, and landed some French troops for the defence of Cape Town. In following him, Commodore Johnstone captured a Dutch East Indiaman of great value, having on board stores and provisions for their settlements at Ceylon, and about 40,000*l.* sterling in money. From this prize Johnstone learnt that Suffrein had arrived at the Cape; that Cape Town was put in a defensive state; but that several Dutch East India ships were lying in Saldanha Bay, with rich cargoes on board, and with nothing to protect them except their own guns. Hereupon it was resolved to give up the attempt upon Cape Town, and to make direct for Saldanha Bay. On the 21st of July the British squadron got sight of the Dutch ships lying quietly at anchor; but the Dutchmen instantly cut their cables, ran ashore, set fire to, and then abandoned their vessels. Lured by the rich prize, the British seamen manned their boats, boarded the burning ships, and extinguished the fire in four of them: but in the fifth the flames were too far advanced to be subdued or checked, and as they reached the powder-magazine that ship blew up. The others were secured with their rich cargoes undamaged; and with these prizes Johnstone returned towards England, leaving a part of his squadron to continue to convoy the British East Indiamen to the place of their destination. Captain Christie, who remained with this latter force, captured a fine French frigate; but Suffrein, after strengthening the Dutch at Cape Town, had been allowed to sail away for Pondicherry without molestation, while Johnstone had been busying himself with his Dutch prizes in Saldanha Bay. The active French admiral, however, could not prevent the triumph of British arms, or serious losses both to French and Dutch, on the coast of Coromandel and the island of Sumatra. In the course of the autumn of this year Negapatnam, Pedang, and other places, chiefly Dutch, surrendered to the British.*

In Europe the Spaniards not only continued—at times with a glimmering of success—their siege of Gibraltar, but also undertook the reduction of the island of Minorca. This island had recently been offered as a bait to the Empress of Russia, to secure her friendship to Great Britain, and induce her to become mediatrix for a peace on the basis of the last treaty of Paris, or Fontainebleau. Spain, France, Holland, England, were all to restore whatever conquests they had made during the war, or were to satisfy each other by exchanges of territory, &c.; the French were to withdraw all assistance from the Americans, who were not to be permitted to treat with Great Britain through the medium of any foreign power; the Spaniards, who had not yet concluded any treaty with the Americans, and who were already greatly alarmed by symptoms of disaffection and insurrection in their own colonies in America, were quite ready to leave the United States to themselves, and were not to be troubled by any express stipulations on this account; Russia was to unite her fleet to those of England, and British ships of war or merchant vessels were to continue to be received in the harbours of Minorca, as if that island were still a possession of the British crown. The lure was sufficiently fascinating in the eyes of Catherine; the Russian court had long and most anxiously wished for a good port and settlement in the Mediterranean, which would tend to protect their commerce and their growing navy, and to facilitate their designs, through Greece, upon the Ottoman empire. Potemkin, the minister and lover of the czarina, who is said to have been the original author of the scheme, was bent heart and soul upon the acquisition, and was the more impatient for the conclusion of the bargain, as the British negotiators had promised that the compensation money to be allowed by Russia for the stores and artillery at Port Mahon and other forts in Minorca, valued at 2,000,000*l.* sterling, should be put into his pocket. Catherine, however, was led to believe that the British government exacted terms

* Ann. Regist.—Schomberg, Nav. Chron.—General Mundy, Life of Lord Rodney.

† The 'Hinchinbroke,' East Indiaman, was boarded and carried out to sea, but she was retaken next day by the British. The 'Infernal' fireship was taken after the battle, but was also recaptured; not, however, until the French had removed her captain and most of her crew. Some of the East Indiamen fought gallantly in the action. Captain Evelyn Sutton, of his majesty's ship 'Isis,' was brought to a court-martial for his conduct, by Commodore Johnstone, but was honourably acquitted.

* Ann. Regist.—Schomberg.



THE BAY AND STRAITS OF GIBRALTAR.

too high, or that the fortunes of the nation had fallen so low that it must be ruined or dismembered,—that more was to be gotten in the great scramble for the division of the spoils of the British empire than from any bargain or close alliance with it; and the fantastical head of her lover was turned by offers and brilliant prospects, artfully presented by Frederick of Prussia and the French court; he was induced to hope for possession, in sovereignty, of the duchy of Courland; nay even for the crown of Poland, which, dishonoured as it was, and though nothing but a crown of thorns, captivated his imagination, and made him regard with contempt the magnificent bonus of 2,000,000*l.* sterling.* It is just possible that Potemkin fancied that that compensation money would never be paid by his mistress. This secret negotiation, however, was detected by Florida Blanca, and became a pressing motive for an immediate attack on Minorca. The court of Versailles, though not with very good will, consented to co-operate, and the Duke of Crillon, a Frenchman, was appointed to the chief command of the expedition, which was prepared with great skill and caution, in order to take the British garrison by surprise. Instead of the usual and near points of embarkation on the coasts of Catalonia and Murcia, the preparations were made far off; not in the Mediterranean at all, but beyond the Straits, at Cadiz, as if intended against the British Islands in the West Indies, or as a reinforcement to the besiegers of Gibraltar. At the same time secret agents were employed throughout the island of Minorca to gain over the principal inhabitants, who, as devout Catholics, had no great affection for the English, and who, from the force of habit and old connexions, both family and politic, were desirous of returning to their former masters, the Spaniards. On the 22nd of July the grand united fleets of France and Spain sailed out of Cadiz Bay, and, while the mass of this great force stretched out into the ocean as if with the intention of making a descent upon England, two ships of the line, several frigates, and a swarm of transports with 8000 land troops on board, and with stores and ordnance, hurried through the Straits and appeared unexpectedly on the coast of Minorca. Florida Blanca afterwards said, with no vain boast, that nothing but the delay occasioned by summer calms and baffling winds prevented the surprise of Port Mahon itself. On the 19th of August the troops, favoured and openly assisted by the islanders and unopposed by the British, effected their landing, occupied all the posts round Port Mahon, and compelled General Murray, with his weak garrison of two British and two Hanoverian regiments, to retire into Fort St. Philip, the principal defence of Minorca. The Duke of Crillon, in pursuance of instructions from the court of Madrid, impudently offered General Murray a bribe of 100,000*l.* sterling, and rank and employment in the French or Spanish service, if he would surrender the fort and save him the loss, labour, and delay of a siege or blockade. The high-minded Scotsman indignantly replied—"When your brave ancestor was desired by his sovereign to assassinate the Duke of Guise, he returned the answer which you should have done when the King of Spain charged you to assassinate

* Archdeacon Coxe, *Memoirs of Spanish Kings of House of Bourbon.*

the character of a man whose birth is as illustrious as your own or that of the Duke of Guise. I can have no other communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray send clothing to your unfortunate prisoners in my possession; leave it at a distance, to be taken up for them; because I will admit of no contact for the future, but such as is hostile in the most inveterate degree." The French duke, though young, volatile, thoughtless, and dissipated, after the fashion of the ancient régime, was a man of honour, and capable of appreciating that quality in others: to Murray's noble reproof he replied like a soldier—"Your letter places us each in our proper stations. It confirms me in the esteem I have always had for you. I accept, with pleasure, your last proposition." Crillon soon found that his men and materials were insufficient for the reduction of Fort St. Philip; but in the course of the autumn he was reinforced by 4000 French troops dispatched from Toulon with good artillery and engineer officers, more ordnance, and other requisites for the siege. Yet, notwithstanding this great accession to the strength of the besiegers, and notwithstanding the breaking out of diseases, which thinned the originally weak ranks of the besieged, General Murray held out most manfully, and the year ended without seeing the Spanish flag hoisted on Fort St. Philip.*

In the mean while the grand combined fleets which had come out of Cadiz Bay, and which consisted of thirty Spanish ships of the line, commanded by Cordova and Gaston, and nineteen French ships of the line, commanded by de Guichen, de Beausset, and de la Motte Piquet, accompanied by a number of frigates and smaller vessels both French and Spanish, had continued their course to the English coast, and occupied the mouth of the Channel. Admiral Darby had sailed from Spithead on a cruise to the westward with the Channel fleet about a month before the arrival of the French and Spaniards; but on the 26th of August he returned, and got safely into Torbay, while the enemy were chiefly engaged in picking up prizes and capturing a number of the English ships that were bringing home part of the money and property seized at St. Eustatius. Darby had only twenty-three sail of the line, twelve frigates, and six fireships, yet the French and Spaniards would not venture to attack him in the bay. De la Motte Piquet, with six sail of the line, returned to Brest with the prizes which had been made in the Channel, and sickness and dissension again broke out in the rest of the ships of the combined fleets; and they all returned to port in a short time without performing any deed worthy of notice. But there had been harder fighting between the English and the Dutch, who had never met at sea without a stern contest. On Sunday, the 5th of August, Rear-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, returning from the Baltic with a convoy of merchant vessels, fell in with Admiral Zouttman, with a convoy of Dutch traders, off the Dogger Bank. This action, though upon a small scale, was conducted and fought in such a manner as to recall afresh to the memory those dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which had been witnessed in the last century.* The British fleet having the advantage of the weather-gage, Sir Hyde Parker made the signal for the merchant ships to keep their wind, and with the men-of-war, six ships of the line, five frigates, and a cutter, bore down on the enemy, who had eight two-decked ships and four frigates, and who had formed in line of battle with the frigates intermixed in their line.† An awful silence prevailed; and not a single gun was fired on either side until within half-musket shot. The 'Fortitude,' Sir Hyde Parker's ship, being then abreast of the 'de Ruyter,' Admiral Zouttman's ship, the action began with a deadly steadiness, which was never relaxed during three hours and forty minutes. At the end of that time the two fleets fell asunder in a most shattered condition, and lay to for a considerable time in order to refit. They were close to each other, and Parker expected a renewal of the action; but, as soon as his ships were made manageable, Zouttman wore round and with all the sail he could carry bore away for the Texel. Parker could not pursue him with any hope of success; but the next day his frigates discovered the 'Hollandia,' a 68-gun ship, which had been ruined in the battle, sunk in twenty-two fathoms water, with her top-gallant masts above the surface, and her pendant still flying; and the rest of the fleet were with difficulty kept above water till they reached the near port. In this dreadful action the English had 111 killed, and 318 wounded; the Dutch 116 killed, and 382 wounded; and it is said that most of the crew of the 'Hollandia' sunk with her when she went down. On each side many officers were wounded, and Captain Macartney, of the 'Princess Amelia,' and Count Bentinck, who bravely fought the 'Batavia,' were killed. "All my officers and men," said Zouttman, "fought like lions." Sir Hyde Parker, in a brief note, desired the captains of his majesty's ships who were in the line on the 5th of August, to accept for themselves, and communicate to the officers and seamen of the ships they commanded, his thanks and perfect approbation of their good conduct and bravery shown on that day. On his arrival at the Nore he was visited by the king and the Prince of Wales, and every captain that had been in the action was presented to his majesty on board the 'Fortitude.' Sir Hyde, however, resigned the command of the fleet in the North Sea; and his son, Sir Peter Parker, whom we have seen

* Coxe.—Florida Blanca's Representation, as quoted by Coxe.—Ann. Regist.—Gentleman's Mag.

* Schomberg.—Nav. Chron.

† Counting all the guns on both sides, the English had 616, the Dutch 576; but, as there was not a man killed or wounded on board of any of them, it appears that the English frigates did not go into action. This would make a deduction of 170 guns from the English force. But then, as the four Dutch frigates had no killed or wounded, we must, on the same supposition, deduct their guns (140 in all) from Zouttman's force. This would leave to the English 446, and to the Dutch 436 guns.

serving in America, was appointed to the command of a squadron of frigates to block up the Dutch ports.*

Several inconsiderable actions took place with various success between our cruisers and privateers and the cruisers and privateers of Holland, France, and Spain; and a very large amount of property changed hands on the high seas. On the 14th of August the 'Cameleon' sloop-of-war of fourteen guns engaged a large Dutch lugger, mounting eighteen guns and some swivels. After a close and desperate action for about half an hour the Dutchman blew up, so close to the English sloop, and with so terrible a shock, that the people on board the 'Cameleon' were thrown off their legs; and when the smoke cleared away her topsails were observed to be on fire, and many of the limbs and mangled bodies of the Dutch were seen upon her deck or sticking in her rigging. As soon as Captain Drury had cut away his topsails from their yards to save his own ship and people from the same horrid fate, he put out his boats in search of any of the unfortunate crew that might have escaped destruction; but not a soul was found alive either upon the fragments of the wreck or in the water.† On the 14th of October Admiral Darby, whose fleet had been reinforced to twenty-three sail of the line, besides frigates, sailed from Torbay to cruise for the protection of the homeward-bound convoys; and towards the end of November Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, with thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, left the coast in the hope of intercepting the French and East India trade, sailing from Brest under the escort of the Count de Guichen. On the 12th of December, at day-break, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Ushant, he discovered the vast fleet much dispersed, their ships of war being at a considerable distance to leeward of the convoy. He instantly profited of their situation, and before evening he captured about twenty sail of large transports and merchant vessels. As it became dark and squally, he discontinued his easy operations of capture, collected all his ships, and lay to till the morning. But that morning's light showed a force greatly superior to his own, de Guichen having in line of battle to leeward nineteen ships of the line of a size superior to his, and two large ships armed *en flute*; and therefore Kempenfelt thought it prudent to avoid an action, and content himself with the prizes he had made. The ships he had taken contained provisions, naval and military stores, and a body of land troops and seamen, that must have given the French a decided superiority in the East and West Indies, if they had been allowed to complete their voyage. A few days afterwards five more of this French convoy were captured.‡ The story of two of our frigates was so remarkable as to demand a brief notice. The 'Flora,' commanded by Captain Williams, and the 'Crescent,' commanded by the Honourable Thomas Pakenham, were on their way from Port Mahon to Gibraltar in the month of May, and, after escaping the pursuit of a Spanish squadron of eight ships when off the coast of Barbary, nearly opposite to Gibraltar, they fell in with two Dutch frigates and brought them to action. After fighting at the closest quarters for more than two hours, the 'Castor' frigate of Rotterdam, with her decks strewed with killed and wounded, struck her colours to the 'Flora.' But nearly at the same minute the other Dutch frigate the 'Brille,' by some lucky shots, carried away the main and mizen masts of her opponent the 'Crescent,' and the whole of the wreck falling within board rendered all the guns useless, and the ship unmanageable. In this situation Captain Pakenham struck to the 'Brille,' as the 'Castor' had struck to the 'Flora.' But in another minute or two Captain Williams in the last-named frigate came down upon the 'Brille,' before she could take possession, and compelled her to sheer off. The 'Brille' escaped, but the 'Castor' remained a prize. The 'Crescent' and 'Castor' had both suffered so much in the action that it was with great difficulty they could be kept afloat, and it was five days before they could pass the Straits of Gibraltar and shape their course homeward. On the 19th of June, as the crippled ships were slowly labouring through the water, two large frigates, tempted by their crippled appearance and their quaking jury-masts, bore down upon them. To fight was impossible, and to fly seemed hopeless: the three frigates separated, each pursuing a different course; Captain Williams in the 'Flora' escaped, but the Dutch frigate, his prize, and the 'Crescent' were both taken. Captain Pakenham was afterwards tried by a court-martial, for having struck his colours to the 'Brille;' but he was honourably acquitted, with expressions of admiration of the skill, conduct, and bravery he had displayed.*

Having failed in their overtures of negotiation with Spain, Lord North's cabinet endeavoured to purchase the friendship of the Emperor Joseph II., by offering to open to him the navigation of the Scheldt, and to secure to him other advantages, commercial and political. But Joseph, who had paid another visit to Paris, conceived different notions as to the strength of France, or the weakness of England; he consented to enter into several views and projects of the French cabinet, and, forgetting his former answer to those who urged him to acknowledge the independence of the United States—"I am a royalist by profession,"—he began to testify a desire for the triumph of the Americans, and, after some subterfuges and affected concealments, he openly declared his accession to the Armed Neutrality. After this no reliance could be placed on his mediation, which he continued to offer even while binding himself to the most active enemies of Great Britain. Thus

* Schomberg, Nav. Chron.—Ann. Regist.—Zouttman's Dispatches, as cited by Captain Schomberg.

† Schomberg.

‡ Id.—Ann. Regist.

* Schomberg.—Ann. Regist.

negotiation and war seemed equally hopeless, and the ministry falling to pieces, when parliament re-assembled on the 27th of November.* The speech from the throne, however, was in the same determined language as at the close of the last session. The continuance of the war was ascribed to that restless ambition which first excited our enemies to commence it; and his majesty was made to declare that he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return to his subjects for their constant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government, if he consented to sacrifice, even to his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent privileges upon the preservation of which the strength and security of the country depended. He spoke of the favourable appearance of our affairs in the East Indies and of the safe arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of his kingdoms; but he added, that in the course of the year his assiduous endeavours to guard the extensive dominions of his crown had not been invariably attended with success; that the events of war had been very unfortunate in Virginia, having ended in the loss of his forces in that province. Nevertheless, the speech called for further exertion in that quarter, and it ended, as usual, with expressions of confidence in the protection of divine providence. The opposition vehemently opposed the address; and Mr. Fox expressed his horror and astonishment at the audacity of ministers in attempting to prolong a war which they had all along grossly mismanaged. "He would not say that he believed they were paid by France; it was not possible for him to prove the fact; but he would venture to say that they deserved to be paid by the Grand Monarque, for they had served him more faithfully, and more successfully, than ever ministers served a master." He blamed them all and every one, but Lord Sandwich, as first lord of the Admiralty, most of all. He ascribed to the negligence and incapacity of that minister, and to the weak insufficient state of the navy, the loss of the brave army under Lord Cornwallis. He declared, that in every quarter of the globe the inferiority of the British fleet had been made manifest; that there was no hope of better things until the whole cabinet was changed: and he moved, as an amendment, a clause binding the House to apply themselves with united hearts to propose and adjust such counsels as might in this crisis excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his majesty's subjects. Lord North, in replying to Fox, expressed great indignation at the insinuation that ministers were in the pay of France. He said that there was no man in the kingdom, whether in the House or out of it, that believed an absurdity so monstrous. He urged that the American war was prosecuted not to aggrandize the crown, not to make the subjects slaves, but to preserve entire our empire and our venerable constitution; and he again told the House that the American quarrel had been begun, not by the king, but by the parliament,—not under the present ministry, but under the administration of his adversaries. "A melancholy disaster," said he "has, indeed, occurred in Virginia, but are we, therefore, to lie down and die? No, it ought rather to impel, to urge, to animate; for by bold and united exertions everything may be saved; by dejection and despair everything must be lost." The war, he said, had been unfortunate, but was not unjust; it was founded in right and dictated by necessity: such had always been his conviction, and, if the share he had taken in maintaining our empire and constitution should lead him to the scaffold, his opinion would still be the same. Burke replied to his lordship with a studied but tremendous philippic. He called his speech not only imprudent, but audacious—a speech which froze his blood and harrowed up his soul. He said that the war was not to be called unfortunate, but disgraceful; and that the king's speech was the greatest calamity of all, as it showed the disposition of ministers not to retreat an inch, but to plunge deeper in disgrace, and augment the unhappiness of the nation. "Good God!" he exclaimed, "are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war? Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands, 100,000 men, and more than 70,000,000 of money! Oh, wonderful rights! that have lost to Great Britain her empire on the ocean, her boasted, grand, and substantial superiority, which made the world bend before her! Oh, inestimable rights! that have taken from us our rank among nations, our importance abroad, and our happiness at home; that have taken from us our trade, our manufactures, and our commerce; that

* The official intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's surrender had reached the cabinet on Sunday, the 25th, at noon. It is said that Lord North's firmness gave way for a short time under the awful disaster. "I asked Lord George Germaine afterwards," says his friend Wraxall, "how he took the communication?" "As he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast," replied Lord George; "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, 'Oh! God, it is all over!'—words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." Lord George Germaine, as secretary for the American department, sent off a dispatch to the king, who was then at Kew. In reply to the dismal intelligence, his majesty wrote in his usual calm, sedate manner; but Lord George remarked one little circumstance which *seemed to betray unusual emotion*:—he had omitted to mark the hour and the minute of his writing, which he was always accustomed to do with scrupulous precision. "The billet," says Wraxall, who was dining with Lord George when it came to hand, "ran nearly to this effect:—'I have received, with sentiments of the deepest concern, the communication which Lord George Germaine has made me, of the unfortunate result of the operations in Virginia. I particularly lament it, on account of the consequences connected with it, and the difficulties which it may produce in carrying on the public business, or in repairing such a misfortune. But I trust that neither Lord George Germaine nor any member of the cabinet will suppose that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me, under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest.' Not a sentiment of despondency or of despair was to be found in the letter; the very handwriting of which indicated composure of mind. Whatever opinion we may entertain relative to the practicability of reducing America to obedience by force of arms at the end of 1781, we must admit, that no sovereign could manifest more calmness, dignity, or self command, than George III. displayed in this reply."—*Sir N. W. Wraxall, Historical Memoirs of his Own Time.*

have reduced us from the most flourishing empire in the world, to be one of the most compact, unenviable powers on the face of the globe! Oh, wonderful rights! that are likely to take from us all that yet remains!" *Mr. Fox's amendment was nevertheless rejected by 218 against 129; and a similar motion made in the House of Lords by the Earl of Shelburne was rejected by 75 against 31. On the following day, when the address was reported, there was another and equally warm debate in the Commons, in the course of which Mr. William Pitt delivered a very remarkable speech, which drew down great applause from both sides of the House. Pitt protested against the House pledging itself by the address to persevere in this ruinous American war, and he asked how ministers, who had no confidence in one another, could expect the confidence of parliament. "I am convinced," said the young orator, "I am satisfied in my soul, that were I to go from one end of the Treasury bench to the other, and ask every man there if he could trust his neighbour, they would all answer in the negative." And, indeed, something very like this was actually the case in the ministerial camp; and symptoms of distrust of one another, and of wide disagreement, were plainly shown in these very debates, while the town was filled with stories of their quarrels and mutual accusations. Pitt denied that the war was either just or necessary: he spoke with horror of Lord Cornwallis's capitulation, by which he said all the American royalists were left to destruction at the hands of their enraged countrymen; and he hoped that ministers would be overtaken, if they persevered in their present course, by a fate equally severe. Burke followed Pitt in these denunciations, and said that a prince of the blood, who was then serving in the navy on the American station,† could not sail along those coasts without beholding the faithful adherents of his father hanging in quarters or gibbeted on every headland. He declared that the blood of all the Americans who were sacrificed by the capitulation at York Town rested on the head of Lord Cornwallis and the ministry, and he called the address the most hypocritical, infamous, lying paper ever presented to that House! Apparently no one was there to prove that Lord Cornwallis had shown the most tender attention to the royalists with him, and had provided for the safety of all those that were most obnoxious to the ruling powers in America, by securing their passage in the unsearched *sloop* of war. The headlands of America were decorated with gibbets long before his lordship set his foot in Virginia; and from the beginning of the contest no mercy had been shown to the royalists. One member, however, indignantly resented the aspersions cast upon Lord Cornwallis, and the comparison drawn by Burke between the capitulation at York Town and the surrender at Saratoga. Cornwallis, he said, had fallen not ignobly, by the united arms of France and America, and his chains were wreathed with laurels—he was an honour to his profession, and entitled to the highest dignities that could be conferred upon him by a discerning sovereign. Upon a division the report was received by 131 against 54. A few days after—on the 4th of December—Burke, who, in the latter part of the preceding session, had moved for an inquiry into the conduct of the captors of the island of St. Eustatius, moved for a committee of the whole House "to inquire into the confiscation of the effects, wares, and merchandize belonging to his majesty's new subjects of St. Eustatius, and further to inquire into the sale and distribution of a great part of the said effects to the islands belonging to France, and to other parts of the dominions of his majesty's enemies." He maintained that, by means of the effects and stores which had been sold at St. Eustatius, the French and Americans had been supplied with what they could not otherwise have obtained; and that, while Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan were loitering at St. Eustatius attending auction sales and looking after their own interests as captors, the French had been allowed to reinforce their fleet and take the island of Tobago. Rodney and Vaughan were both in the House, and they both spoke in their own defence. The admiral drew a curious, and we believe a perfectly true, picture of the residents who called themselves Englishmen, but who had been in the constant habit of supplying the enemies of England with warlike stores. He said that these men, chiefly Jews of the worst kind, were unworthy of favour, and that therefore he had determined to show them none. He affirmed that he had taken every care to see the stores found at St. Eustatius safely conveyed to his majesty's store-houses at Antigua; and that he had, in circumstances when his attention was distracted by many hostile movements in different directions, made the best possible use of the inferior fleet at his disposal. Burke's motion was negatived by 163 against 89. On the 5th of December Lord Lisburne having moved that 100,000 seamen should be granted for the service of the ensuing year, Mr. Hussey, a member of opposition, offered an amendment substituting 110,000. This brought on a long and stormy debate on the state of the navy; in the course of which ministers confessed that, owing to the great losses we had sustained, the ships of the line now in commission were fewer by six than they were at the beginning of the year; adding, however, that they expected fourteen sail at the least to be ready early in the ensuing year. The opposition taunted them with delay and neglect, and said that, as the want of money was the only plea they could allege in excuse for not having more ships ready, so now, if they refused the additional supply offered, they must be suspected of some dark and sinister design. The amendment was rejected by 143 against 77. On the 30th of November, in the debate on the army estimates, the opposition had adopted the bold measure, not resorted to since the revolution of 1688, of moving that no supplies whatsoever should

* It was in this speech that Burke called the attempt to tax America an attempt to shear the wolf!

† Prince William, Duke of Clarence.

be granted until the ministry had given the people some proof of their repentance and amendment—which meant, some pledge that the American war should go no farther. In this extreme measure they had been defeated by a majority of considerably more than two to one. But, on the 12th of December, Sir James Lowther, in an uncommonly crowded house, moved two resolutions:—"1. To declare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his majesty's loyal subjects there, and of defeating the hostile intentions of our confederated enemies; 2. That it was the opinion of the House, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual and injurious to the true interests of this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies." The motion was seconded by Mr. Powys in a long and eloquent speech. Some twenty or thirty ministerial members spoke or voted with the opposition on this occasion. Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who sniffed a change in the wind, and who had already a foresight of the greatness and preponderance of William Pitt, called upon Lord North to state in his place the difference of opinion which was presumed to exist in the cabinet; and even the old retainer Rigby, that servant of all work to the ministry, pursued the same course as Dundas. Lord North, avoiding any direct answer to these demands, declared that it would neither be wise nor right to *prosecute the war in America on a continental plan; that is by sending fresh armies to march through the colonies.* Hence it appears that light had at length broke in upon the royal mind, and that George III. had become sensible of the value of the advice which had been offered by Lord Barrington, and rejected by his majesty seven years before.* Lord North, however, urged that the posts we held in America must be defended—that the British trade must be protected against American privateers—that to adopt Sir James Lowther's resolutions would be to advertise all our enemies of our weakness, and to encourage the Americans beyond measure; and his lordship moved the order of the day, to get rid of the motion altogether. Then, according to a member present, wearied out and attacked no less by his friends than by his foes, the first minister quitted the treasury bench, and withdrew to one of the seats behind it, leaving Lord George Germaine alone, exposed to the attacks of the opposition.† Lord George, who, next to the king, had been the main manager of the war with the colonies, declared that if the House adopted a motion which went to give up our sovereignty in America, he would instantly retire from office, as he could not but consider the independence of America as another word for the ruin of Great Britain. Nor was this opinion confined to the stanch Tories and personal friends of the king; even now it was held by nearly the whole of the Shelburne section of the Whig opposition, and Dunning, one of the leaders of the Shelburne party, though approving of Sir James Lowther's motion, declared it to be his opinion that the man who should dare propose the recognition of American independence would be guilty of a crime little short of high treason!* Nor did even the Rockingham party consider that recognition otherwise than as a terrible though unavoidable calamity—a sure beginning of the end of the might, wealth, and glory of their country! At a very late hour Lord North's motion for the order of the day was carried, but by a majority of only 41; the numbers being 220 to 179.†

On the 14th of December Mr. Pitt again reviewed the whole of the American war, and again directed attention to the disagreements among ministers. He said that they were only agreed in one thing, and that was to destroy the empire. No invective could be more bitter; but unlike Fox, and unlike his own eloquent father, Pitt, in attacking ministers, always spared the king. On the present occasion he put up a prayer to God that the punishment of ministers might not be so long delayed as to involve a great and innocent family, who, though they could have had no share in the guilt, might, and most probably would, suffer the consequences. This debate was intended to delay the supplies; but the opposition only counted 84 against 166.

Early in the session Burke called the attention of the House to the case of the American envoy Laurens, who was still in the Tower, and reprehended ministers for their harsh treatment of that "distinguished person." Ministers denied that Laurens had been treated with any undue severity, and Burke proposed that the lieutenant of the Tower should be examined on the subject at the bar of the House. This being refused, Burke drew a very poetical picture of the duresse of the ex-president, and read a correspondence which had passed between himself and Dr. Franklin on the subject of Laurens's imprisonment. Lord George Germaine read a letter from Laurens himself, in which he thanked ministers for the indulgences he received in the Tower. On the 20th of December Burke presented a petition to the House from the prisoner, written by him with a black lead pencil on the blank leaf of a book, as Laurens had thought proper to refuse the indulgence offered to him of the use of pen and ink, from which he had been debarred at his first commitment. Three days before, Burke had given notice of his intention to move, soon after the Christmas recess, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the mode of exchanging prisoners with America, and in so doing he spoke as if the British authorities alone were blameable for the impediments raised to such arrangements. But

* See *ante*, pp. 244, 245. † Wraxall.

* Ann. Regist.

† Id.—It is said by Wraxall, that after this debate Lord George Germaine advised Lord North to open negotiations with Lord Shelburne for a coalition with that party, who were not objectionable to the king, inasmuch as they still so strenuously opposed American independence; and to give him (Lord George) his dismissal: and also that Lord George retired for two or three weeks to his seat in Northamptonshire to allow North time to select a successor to the American department.

the business ended here, as government liberated Laurens upon bail, and soon afterwards exchanged him for General Burgoyne, who, though at large in England, and constantly debating in the House on the side of the opposition, was still held as a prisoner upon parole. An attempt was made in the Commons to postpone the prorogation, and the opposition reminded the House that four years before an adjournment of six weeks had cost the nation thirteen provinces, and that during this recess they might lose all the West India islands. After a warm debate, in which Lord Sandwich was severely attacked for having sent Admiral Kempenfelt to sea with a fleet insufficient to cope with de Guichen, ministers agreed to take ten days from the recess, and to meet on the 21st instead of the 31st of January; and the House adjourned on the 20th of December.

A.D. 1782.—During the recess bad news came flowing in from all quarters, and soon after the reassembling of parliament intelligence was received of the entire loss of Minorca. After cutting off all supplies from Fort St. Philip, the French and Spanish commanders, impatient at the long resistance made by General Murray, began to assail the works with numerous batteries. Several spirited sorties were attempted by the garrison, and one of them was so successful that Crillon's head-quarters were penetrated, and for a short time kept by the British. But their numbers were insufficient, and, for want of vegetables, that dreadful disease the scurvy added its horrors to those of dysentery and putrid fevers, until the garrison was reduced so greatly that it could no longer furnish the ordinary guards. On the dawn of the 6th of January, the birthday of the Dauphin (the unfortunate child of a hapless father), the Duke of Crillon had opened a tremendous fire on the works from 150 pieces of heavy artillery. Yet General Murray held out till the 5th of February, when he capitulated upon honourable terms. "Perhaps," said that brave commander, in a letter written a few days after, "a more noble or a more tragical scene was never exhibited, than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip's through the Spanish and French armies. It consisted of no more than 600 old decrepit soldiers, 200 seamen, 125 of the royal artillery, 20 Corsicans, and 25 Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, &c. The two armies were drawn up in two lines, the battalions fronting each other, forming a way for us to march through; they consisted of 14,000 men, and reached from the glacis to George Town, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they had surrendered them to God alone, having the consolation to know the victors could not plume themselves in taking an hospital. Such were the distressing features of our men, that many of the Spanish and French troops shed tears as they passed them." Crillon behaved with great honour and humanity; both the French and Spanish surgeons attended the diseased; and every possible comfort was afforded to all classes of the prisoners, who, but for the scurvy and the fever, might have held out for another term of six months.*

To this discouraging circumstance were added rumours of the greatly increased danger of Gibraltar, and certain intelligence that St. Eustatius, the island which had caused so much commotion in the House of Commons, had been taken from the English, not by its old masters the Dutch, but by the French. Moreover every letter from the West Indies spoke of the great superiority of the French forces, and of the imminent peril of all the British possessions in that part of the world. Even before all these things were known, great popular meetings had been held in London and Westminster, in Surrey, and in other towns and counties, to deprecate the continuance of the war, and to draw up petitions and remonstrances. The West India planters resident in London drew up a particularly strong petition, representing their total ruin as inevitable if an end were not speedily put to hostilities. And it appears that the mass of the people, as usual, had grown weary of a war which had been exceedingly popular in its commencement, and that the more thinking part of those who conceived that the war ought to be continued were by this time thoroughly convinced that the present administration were incapable of conducting it with spirit and with honour to the nation. There still, however, indisputably remained, in all classes of society, multitudes of men who shared in the sturdy, unyielding sentiments of the king, holding with him, that it was better to bear the worst burthens of war than to submit to a dishonourable peace, and that the independence of the American colonies was a thing to be resisted even at the hazard of every other calamity.

When parliament re-assembled after the holidays Lord George Germaine, who had vainly requested permission to resign, attended in his place in the Commons; but the tide of opposition flowed past him to overwhelm Lord Sandwich. Fox moved for an inquiry into the causes of the constant ill success of the naval forces, and in so doing he heaped coals of fire upon the head of the first lord of the admiralty. Captain John Luttrell allowed that there had been abundant errors in the conduct of the navy; but he thought that this was more owing to factions, party animosities, and jealousies among the officers and commanders, than to any misconduct in the admiralty. Lord Mulgrave, who himself occupied a place at that board, and who, as the Honourable Captain Phipps, had obtained reputation by his services at sea and a voyage towards the North Pole, strenuously defended the conduct of Sandwich. Mr. Fitzherbert very rationally imputed the slow progress in building ships of war to the want of shipwrights, who would not work in the royal yards for the paltry pay fixed for them, when they could get far higher wages from private builders. He said that the King of France had 3000 shipwrights at Brest

* Papers cited by Archdeacon Coxe.—Ann. Regist.—Remembrancer.

alone, whilst the King of England had only 800 at Portsmouth. Some years ago the shipwrights had petitioned for an increase of pay, and Chatham had ardently wished them success; but their application had been disregarded. Lord North declared that Lord Sandwich and he himself would cheerfully concur in the inquiry; and Fox's motion was agreed to without a division; but there followed some violent discussions as to the papers and evidence which should be furnished. On the 7th of February, after the reading of the papers which ministers consented to produce, Fox made another eloquent attack upon Sandwich, and moved a resolution, affirming that, during the year 1781, naval affairs had been *grossly mismanaged.* Lord Mulgrave again undertook the defence of the first lord of the admiralty, whom he described as an old and faithful servant of the crown, who had always been vigilant, active, and intelligent, and altogether incapable of the treachery of which Fox very openly accused him. But Lord Howe, a greater naval authority than Mulgrave, and whose opinions and words produced the more effect, as he rarely obtruded them, made a long speech concurring in most things with Mr. Fox, and contending, as that great orator had done, that Brest ought to have been constantly watched by frigates; that the Texel ought to have been blockaded at the commencement of hostilities with the Dutch; that Admiral Kempenfelt ought to have been sent to sea with a greater force, &c. Upon a division Fox's resolution was rejected, but only by a majority of *twenty-two*, the numbers being 205 against 183. Several divisions and a few discussions, enlivened by some fine harangues from Burke, took place on the ordnance estimates and some contracts connected with them; but the ministerial majority here varied from *thirty* to *fifty-three.* In the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond moved an inquiry into the execution at Charlestown of Colonel Hayne, and with other lords in opposition he commented very severely on the conduct of Colonel Balfour and Lord Rawdon. His grace was outvoted by 73 against 25; and at the instance of Lord Rawdon and his friends he was afterwards induced to retract some of his hard words. In the same House the Duke of Chandos demanded an inquiry into the causes which had led to Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and called for copies of all the correspondence which had taken place between ministers and Sir Henry Clinton in the course of the year 1781. Both these propositions were agreed to, but they led to nothing.

Lord North, or rather the king, at last reluctantly consented to accept the resignation of Lord George Germaine. Undeterred by his great unpopularity and by the indelible stigma of the court-martial in his grandfather's time, his majesty, who was well pleased with his services, or, at the least, with his community of sentiment on the grand question of American independence, determined—and his determinations when once formed were unchangeable—to gratify Lord George with the peerage; and, as his lordship was desirous of being more than a baron, he created him Viscount Sackville. On the 7th of February, before the completion of the processes which are necessary to constitute a peer, the Marquess of Carmarthen brought the subject before the House of Lords, and moved a resolution, that it was derogatory to the honour of that House that any person labouring under the censure of a court-martial should be recommended to the crown to be raised to the dignity of the peerage. The marquess read at full length the sentence of the court-martial and the public orders issued upon it by George II. The resolution was strongly objected to as a violent encroachment on the prerogative of the crown; and the question of adjournment being moved, was carried by 75 against 28. A few days after, on the 18th of February, when the new Lord Viscount Sackville had taken his seat among the peers, the Marquess of Carmarthen returned to the charge, and repeated his motion in nearly the same words as before. He was supported by Lord Abingdon, who said that this new peer had been forced into the House in defiance of common sense and common decency. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow said it was now time to meet the question on its own proper merits, and to give it a direct negative; and the new peer himself stood forward the first in his own defence. He said that he was bound in duty to defend the rights of the crown, by which he had obtained the high privilege of a voice among the peers; that to bestow honours was the peculiar and indisputable prerogative of the crown; that the sentence of a court-martial could not amount to a legal disqualification—for that would be making the sword superior to the law; that his sentence had passed three-and-twenty years ago, under circumstances not very favourable to impartiality; that, five years after that sentence, he had been called to a seat in the privy council, and had held office with some of the party who were now so hostile to him. He objected to Lord Carmarthen's reading the orders or comments which George II. had tacked to the sentence of the court-martial: to the sentence itself, he said, he was bound by military law to submit, and he had submitted; but no one could contend that he ought to be judged by the arbitrary comment which the executive power had taken upon itself to superadd, and which was far more severe than the sentence itself. He affirmed that Lord North had had nothing to do with his elevation to the peerage, which arose solely out of the will and goodness of his sovereign. The Duke of Richmond, who had been present at the battle of Minden, though he had not been examined on the court-martial, justified the sentence of that court, by declaring, of his own knowledge, that Lord George had shown a long and culpable backwardness in the field; and Lord Southampton, who had been one of the witnesses on the trial, protested that *he* had not been actuated by party animosities. On the other side, Chancellor Thur-

low declared that George II. had been ill advised in issuing the orders or comments which fixed a stigma on the noble lord deeper than the sentence warranted. Lord Walsingham, who, as Mr. de Grey, had been for some time under secretary of state in Lord George's office, defended his character and his elevation, as did also Lord Stormont and other peers. Upon a division in what was a very full House for the Peers,* Carmarthen's motion was negatived by a majority of 65, the numbers being 93 against 28. The Marquess of Carmarthen, the Duke of Rutland, the Earls of Pembroke, Craven, Chatham, Derby, and Egremont, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Earl of Abingdon, subscribed a protest, stating that they held the elevation of Lord Viscount Sackville to be fatal to the interests and glory of the crown, and dignity of parliament; an insult to the memory of the late sovereign, and to every surviving branch of the illustrious House of Brunswick. It is said by a friend of the new viscount† that he was only restrained by the prayers and advice of Lord Amherst from calling Carmarthen to account with sword or pistol for his double attack. The important post which Sackville had held was conferred upon old Welbore Ellis, who had been drudging for so many years in inferior but profitable offices, who had no weight and consideration to bring to the cabinet, and whose appointment is said to have given satisfaction only to the enemies of the ministry, who exulted in it as a proof that they no longer knew where to look for support.

But, in reality, Lord North was now only looking to a quiet retreat for himself, his greatest affliction—and that did not prevent him from growing fatter and fatter—being, that the king was still most anxious to keep him in his service as a broad bulwark against the Whig chiefs, particularly the Rockinghamites, most of whom his majesty considered in the light of personal enemies. In the words of a recent writer who has had access to numerous private letters written by the king to the minister, "He was only kept at his post by constant entreaties, by monthly expostulations, by the most vehement protestations of the misguided prince against a proceeding which must leave him helpless in the hands of his implacable enemies, and even by promises, always renewed, to let him go, would he but remain for a few weeks until some other arrangement could be made. It is fit that this certain and important fact should be stated; and we have before us the proofs of it under the hand of the royal suitor to his reluctant servant's grace and favour, whose apparently fixed purpose of retirement he uses all these expedients to defeat, or at least to obstruct and retard, if he cannot frustrate. This importunity, working upon the feelings of a well-natured person like Lord North, might easily be expected to produce its intended effect; and the unavoidable difficulty of retreating from a post which, while he held it, had become one of peril as well as embarrassment, doubtless increased the difficulty of abandoning it while the danger lasted."* But at the crisis at which he was now arrived Lord North felt that the spirit and proceedings of the House of Commons and the dereliction of so many of his old followers must oblige the sovereign to consent to his retreat; and his only objects seem to have been to assist a little while longer in the defence of his colleagues, and to gain time for the king to make new ministerial arrangements the least painful to him that might be. His speeches became shorter and more languid; but, down to the very last moment, he retained his most enviable good humour and exercised his ready wit.

On the 20th of February Fox renewed his attack upon Lord Sandwich, making a motion similar to that which he had already lost in committee. He extended his censure to the whole board of admiralty, and was warmly seconded by William Pitt. He was again outvoted, but this time by a majority of only *nineteen*. At the very next sitting—on the 22nd of February—General Conway moved an address to implore his majesty "to listen to the advice of his Commons, that the war in America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force; and to express their hopes that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies." Upon a division, at two hours after midnight, ministers had still a majority, but this time it was a majority of only *one*—the votes being 194 to 193. This night's debate may fairly be said to have terminated the American war. When it was over, Fox called upon the minister to open the budget, which was considered as the only business to be done before the entire change of administration. Lord North calmly promised to do that work on the 25th, but said not a word about resigning—an omission for which he was virulently abused by Colonel Barré. On the promised day North opened the budget, and proposed a new loan, speaking as if he were still determined to continue in office. Fox and Burke joined their eloquence, as they had done on a former occasion, to condemn the conditions of the loan, and to prove the minister guilty of making corrupt bargains. On the 27th of February General Conway moved—"That the further prosecution of offensive hostilities for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force would weaken the efforts of Great Britain against her European enemies, increase the mutual enmity so fatal both to Great Britain and America, and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, frustrate the desire expressed by his majesty of restoring the blessings of peace and tranquillity." Upon this occasion Lord North could scarcely obtain a hearing from the impatient and triumphant oppo-

* The House of Lords then consisted of only 187 members.
† Sir N. W. Wraxall, Memoirs.

* Lord Brougham, Statesmen of the Time of George III.; art. Lord North.

sition, who had ascertained their strength and felt confident of a majority. His lordship, however, after objecting to the motion as dangerous on account of the information it would convey to our enemies, and as tending to retard rather than to advance the attainment of peace, which he said was now the great object on *both sides* of the House, intimated that, if the House should show that they had wholly withdrawn their confidence from him, it would be his duty to wait upon his sovereign and deliver up his seals of office. He also told them that, rather than pursue the present measure, they ought to address the crown to remove the whole administration and appoint another. The attorney-general observed that there were many obstacles to be removed before any government could treat of a peace with America; that several acts of parliament in existence must prove great bars to such an attempt; and he recommended, as the first necessary step, a truce between the two countries. He further declared his intention of bringing in a bill for this purpose; and he moved that the present debate should be adjourned until the 13th of March. Upon this proposition, at about two o'clock in the morning, the House divided, when ministers were defeated by a majority of *nineteen*, the numbers being 234 against 215. The original question and an address to the king, founded upon the resolution, were then carried without a division; and it was ordered that the address should be presented by the whole House. On the Monday following his majesty's answer to the address was reported to the House. It stated that, in pursuance of their advice, he would take such measures as should appear to him to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts should be directed against our European enemies, till such a peace could be obtained as should consist with the interest and permanent welfare of his kingdoms. This was sufficiently vague, and seemed to show that the royal aversion to the independence of America was as deep-rooted as ever. The House, however, unanimously voted thanks to the king for his gracious answer. But as soon as this compliment was paid General Conway rose again, and moved a resolution—"That the House would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who should advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." Neither Lord North nor any other member of the shattered administration offered any great resistance, and the resolution was allowed to be carried without a division. On the very next day—the 5th of March—the attorney-general introduced his plan of a truce with America. Fox, who, in common with the whole opposition, whether Shelburnites or Rockinghamites, was astonished and exasperated at North's still remaining on the treasury bench, declared that the scheme was a farce; that ministers had no wish for peace, and that nothing but force and punishment would ever make them renounce their old policy. He asserted that there were persons in Europe* fully authorized by congress to conclude a peace between Great Britain and America, but that those persons would not treat or negotiate with the present administration. He even boasted that he could himself bring those negotiations to a proper issue, and he said that he was willing to undertake the task, though merely as a government clerk or messenger. But he was anxious to impress the House and the country with the notion that the horror he felt at Lord North's government would for ever prevent him from rendering any service to, or connecting himself in any way with, that ministry. If, he said, he ever made any terms with any of them, he would rest satisfied to be called *the most infamous of mankind:* he could not for an instant think of *a coalition* with men who, in every public and private transaction as ministers, had shown themselves *void of every principle of honour and honesty!* Lord North told Fox that he would not quit office to gratify his impatience; that he remained to prevent confusion, and the introduction of mischievous, unconstitutional principles; that he would not resign until it pleased the king to order him, or until the House clearly proved that he must retire. Fox said that the House had already given sufficient proof. The attorney-general's motion was, however, agreed to without a division. In the House of Lords the ministerial majority had apparently lost little of its strength, and on the following day a motion by the Duke of Chandos, to declare that the immediate cause of the capture of Lord Cornwallis was the want of a sufficient naval force, was negatived by a majority of very nearly two to one. On the 8th of March, North found a small majority even in the Commons. On that day Lord John Cavendish moved the following resolutions:—That since the year 1775 more than 100,000,000*l.* of money had been expended on a fruitless war; that during that period we had lost the thirteen colonies of America, except the posts of New York, Charlestown, and Savannah, our newly-acquired colony of Florida, many West India islands, &c.; that we were at present engaged in an expensive war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally; and that it appeared to the House that the chief cause of all these misfortunes had been the want of foresight and ability in his majesty's ministers. The debate lasted till past two o'clock in the morning, when the House divided on the order of the day, which had been moved by ministers, and which was carried by 226 against 216. During the debate Dundas appears to have created some uneasiness among the opposition, by speaking as if government intended to try the effects of a dissolution and new election, and by alluding to the innumerable differences and jealousies which were known to divide the parties of Rockingham and Shelburne. The in-

* He meant more particularly Franklin, with whom several members of opposition were maintaining a correspondence.

terval between the 8th and the 15th of March is supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the two great parties in opposition, and to form a coalition with one, or a section of one of them. But on the 15th Sir John Rous moved—"That the House could no longer repose confidence in the present ministers." Lord North now let fall that his only anxiety was for the formation of a prudent, wise, and united administration; and that he would gladly see a coalition of parties for that end and for the arrangement of a cabinet in which he should have no place himself. Sir John Rous's motion was rejected, though only by a majority of *nine*, the votes being 236 to 227. Some of the country gentlemen, who, though anxious for peace, preserved a lingering affection for their old good-natured chief, were completely puzzled to guess what would follow these protracted struggles and narrow divisions. The capital, and the country, and the court perhaps more than all, were excited and anxious. Several ingenious artifices were adopted by the opposition. Lists of the divisions were published and distributed throughout the kingdom, the names of those who had voted with ministers being printed in red letters, as typical of their being men of blood. But in a very few days the struggle and the doubt were over. On Tuesday, the 19th of March, Lord North dispatched a messenger to the king to intimate the necessity of his immediately resigning. His majesty, in reply, told him that he would be in town on the following day, and would then speak with him. It is said that the king even then declared to two noblemen who were with him at Windsor that he would not accept the resignation. On the next day—the 20th of March—the minister had a long and private interview with the king at St. James's Palace, whence he drove down in his full court dress and with his blue ribbon over his coat to the House of Commons. It was five o'clock; the House was crowded, and Lord Surrey was only waiting the arrival of the minister to make a motion to the same effect as that which had been made and lost by Sir John Rous on the 15th, and of which notice had been given after the defeat on that day. As North proceeded up the House there was an incessant cry of "Order! order!—places." As soon as he reached the treasury bench he rose and attempted to address the chair; but Lord Surrey was on his legs, and insisted on his right (conferred by the notice of motion) to speak first. The opposition, not knowing what melodious notes were about to flow from the lips of the prime minister, cried out "Lord Surrey, Lord Surrey—no adjournment!" North's friends increased the uproar by contrary cries, and great disorder and confusion prevailed for some time in spite of every effort made by the speaker to enforce silence. As soon as some order was restored it was moved—"That the Earl of Surrey be now heard;" and, as this gave North a right to speak to that question, the opposition was silent while he spoke. He calmly told the House that, if he had been suffered to proceed before, he might have saved them much unnecessary heat and disorder; that he meant no disrespect to the noble lord, but that, as the object of the intended motion was the removal of his majesty's ministers, he had meant in rising to acquaint the House that such a motion was become unnecessary; and he would now assure them, with authority, *that the present administration was no more;* that his majesty had come to a full determination, and it was for the purpose of allowing time for new arrangements that he was going to move for an adjournment. It is said by one present* that no painter could have done justice to the aspect of the House, where the emotions of exultation or regret were heightened by surprise. At first the opposition seemed to hesitate and doubt; but, after a little delay, it was agreed that Lord Surrey's motion, which they had counted on as a *coup de grace*, should be dropped, and that the House should adjourn for five days. Lord North, on entering the House, had ordered his carriage to remain in waiting, but, as all the other members had expected a long debate, having no notion of the sudden resignation, they had not ordered their equipages to be ready before midnight; and the housekeeper's room became excessively crowded by the gentlemen who preferred waiting for their equipages to walking away on foot. In the midst of the jabber and confusion Lord North's carriage drove up to the door, and, as the heavy-bodied but light-minded ex-premier prepared to get into it, he said to those who were left waiting—"I protest, gentlemen, this is the first time in my life I ever derived any personal advantage from being in the secret."† And thus, with a smile and a *bon mot*, he quitted the House in which he had sat for twelve years as the supreme personage. He left office a poorer man than he came into it; and, as his father, the Earl of Guildford, was still living, his income would have been insufficient for the education and maintenance of his six children, and for the support of "his habitual, though unostentatious hospitality," but for the office of lord warden of the cinque ports, which the king had secured him in.‡

On the day after Lord North's resignation the king desired the attendance of the Marquess of Rockingham.§ His majesty was desirous that two

* Wraxall.

† Quarterly Review, vol. xiii., in a notice of the Memoirs of Wraxall, who tells the *bon mot*, but loses the point.

‡ See some very interesting communications from Lady Charlotte Lindsay, the youngest and only surviving daughter of Lord North, in *Lord Brougham's Statesmen of the Times of George III., Appendix.* Nearly five years before—in September, 1777—Lord North's pecuniary difficulties had claimed the attention of royalty, and the king had then offered assistance to him out of his own purse, assuring him that he "*loved* him as much as a man of worth as he esteemed him as a minister." But George III. was fond of money; and it is curious to observe the struggle between his love and esteem, and his parsimony, which, after all, could be induced to offer only 20,000*l.*—no great sum from a monarch to a prime minister—and even that was to be repaid! "'I must insist,' said his majesty, 'that you allow me to assist you with 10,000*l.* *or* 15,000*l.*, *or even* 20,000*l.*, if that will be sufficient. It will be easy for you to make an arrangement, or at proper times to take up that sum."—*See the King's Letter as quoted by Lord Brougham, in Statesmen, &c.*

§ According to many accounts, the king sent, in the first instance, not for Rockingham, but for Shelburne, and offered the latter the premiership.

of his late ministers, the Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Stormont, should be continued under the new administration. Rockingham consented as to the first, but put a decided negative upon Lord Stormont. The king could do nothing but submit to the terms proposed by the marquess, who, on his side, was obliged to gratify the Shelburne party as much as his own. He himself became premier as first lord of the treasury; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; the Duke of Grafton, privy seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a viscount, first lord of the admiralty; General Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces; the Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; and Dunning, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. In the distribution of places, Burke, without a seat in the cabinet, got the pay-office, which, with its then prodigious emoluments, had been held by Rigby for nearly fourteen years; Colonel Barré was gratified by Welbore Ellis's snug place of treasurer to the navy; Thomas Townshend became secretary-at-war in lieu of Jenkinson; and Kenyon was made attorney-general. The Earl of Carlisle was replaced as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland; and General Burgoyne, in virtue of his parliamentary exertions and connexions, and in despite of the surrender at Saratoga, was appointed to the chief command of the troops in Ireland. Sir William Howe, who had so mismanaged the early and only hopeful stages of the war on the continent of America, was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and his brother, Lord Howe, who was more deserving of his appointment, got the command of the grand Channel fleet. All the changes that it was then usual to make took place in the royal household. The Duke of Manchester succeeded the Earl of Hertford as lord chamberlain, and Lord Howard of Effingham became treasurer of the household in the place of Lord Salisbury. Nearly all these changes were exceedingly unpalatable to the king, whose friendships were of slow growth, and whose antipathies were always stubborn. He is said to have been much affected by the removal of Lord Bateman, who had held during many years the post of master of the buck-hounds; and altogether his strong feelings on these matters might have suggested a doubt whether anything could be gained by ministers in making the appointments in the household dependent upon the chances and changes of administration. William Pitt, whose eloquence and abilities were worth a high price to any administration, and who had indisputably contributed to the overthrow of Lord North, remained without post or situation. It appears that he was offered the place of a lord of the treasury, and that he rejected it with disdain. He could not but know the instability of the present government, and, as his ambition was of the most aspiring kind, he possibly already foresaw the high destinies that awaited him. The conditions upon which the Marquess of Rockingham had consented to form the ministry, and to place himself at the head of it, were—"1. Peace with the Americans, and the acknowledgment of their independence not to be a bar to the attainment of that object; 2. A substantial reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, on the plan proposed by Mr. Burke; 3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from seats in parliament, and disqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members, were included." But there were wide disagreements in the cabinet as to the proper means of pursuing the first of these objects, and as to the length to which the other two were to be pushed. There were also strong personal jealousies and dislikes between the members of the two confederating parties: the Marquess of Rockingham, who knew that the king, of the two, preferred Lord Shelburne, complained even before the arrangements were completed,* and Fox, and still more, Burke, who ruled Rockingham, entertained feelings of absolute aversion towards Shelburne, and apparently took little care to conceal them. There were five Rockinghamites and five Shelburnites; the eleventh member of the cabinet, Lord-Chancellor Thurlow, being the king's man, and obnoxious alike to both parties. Thurlow alone, with the known disposition of the king, would have been enough to destroy the harmony of the cabinet. It was with great reluctance that Fox consented to take office with Thurlow. Fox, moreover, could not help perceiving that the king on all occasions treated him with great coldness; and Burke, no doubt, thought that he had reason to complain in not obtaining the rank of a cabinet minister, although, in fact, by the great influence he exercised over Lord Rockingham, he became a sort of vice-premier.

On the 28th of March the new arrangements were announced to the House; and, the writs having been moved for new elections to replace such members as had vacated their seats by accepting office, the House adjourned for the Easter holidays, without proceeding to any other business.†

* One cause of complaint is said to have been the peerage conferred on Dunning, without the assent or even the knowledge of Rockingham. The Rockinghamites insisted on peer for peer, and their present adherent Sir Fletcher Norton was made a lord in a very great hurry to keep them quiet.

† "Never was a more total change of costume beheld, than the House of Commons presented to the eye, when that assembly met for the dispatch of business, after the Easter recess. The treasury bench, as well as the places behind it, had been for so many years occupied by Lord North and his friends, that it became difficult to recognise them again in their new seats, dispersed over the opposition benches, in great coats, *frocks*, and boots. Mr. Ellis himself appeared, for the first time in his life, in an undress. To contemplate the ministers, their successors, emerged from their obscure lodgings, or from Brookes's, having thrown off their blue and buff uniforms, now ornamented with their appendages of dress, or returning from court, decorated with swords, lace, and hair powder, excited still more astonishment. Even some degree of ridicule attached to this extraordinary and sudden metamorphosis, which afforded subject for conversation, no less than food for mirth. It happened that, just at the time when the change of administration took place, Lord Nugent's house, in Great George-street, having been broken open, was robbed of a variety of articles; among others, of a number of pairs of laced ruffles. He caused the particulars of the *effects* stolen to be advertised in some of the daily newspapers, where they were minutely specified with great precision. Coming down *to the House*

It was on the 8th of April that the new administration began to try their strength in parliament. The business first brought before them related to the affairs of Ireland, which still continued in a stormy and threatening state: The measures adopted by ministers, and by them carried through both Houses of Parliament with little opposition, and without a single division, were of a liberal and enlightened kind, and will be noticed at a greater length in the next period of our history, in an analysis of the most important events which preceded the Irish rebellion. As soon as Ireland was satisfied, or, rather, as soon as the administration thought they had afforded her reason to be so, by conceding independence to the Irish parliament, the bill for excluding contractors was carried through the House of Commons with little opposition. But in the Lords the principles of this bill were strongly opposed by Lord-Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Mansfield; and Dunning, now Lord Ashburton, carried an amendment to exempt from the exclusion such gentlemen as merely contracted for the produce of their own estates. When the bill was carried back to the Commons, they refused to concur in the amendment; and, after some demur, the Lords consented to pass it in its original form, and the bill received the royal assent. This measure was immediately followed by the bill to deprive revenue officers of their votes, as another means of bringing parliament to a state of perfect purity. Here the opposition was vehement in both Houses. In the Lords, Mansfield combated the bill with great learning and eloquence; and Lord Rockingham declared that in seventy boroughs the elections depended chiefly on revenue-officers, and that nearly 12,000 of that class of persons created by the late ministry possessed votes in other places. It had been agreed to except from the provisions of the act all such revenue-officers as held places for life, upon the supposition that they could not be subject to influence. The bill was carried by very large majorities in the Commons, and even in the Lords by nearly two to one. It was at this favourable juncture—on the 3rd of May—that Wilkes succeeded in getting the resolution of the 17th of February, 1769,* and all the subsequent proceedings founded upon it, expunged from the journals. He made the motion himself, and was seconded by Mr. George Byng. Fox opposed it upon the ground that the House ought to have the privilege of expelling such representatives as they thought unworthy of a seat. For this conduct, and for some slighting expressions held elsewhere, Wilkes never forgave Fox, of whom he continued to speak with great bitterness till his dying day. Dundas, on the other hand, though voting on the same side, condemned Fox's doctrine as unconstitutional. Lord North both voted and spoke against Wilkes, who, however, carried his point by a very large majority, the numbers being 115 against 47. A few days after the very rotten borough of Cricklade, in Wiltshire, was disfranchised, though not without a hard struggle, particularly in the House of Lords, where the measure was opposed by the Chancellor, by Lord Loughborough (the Wedderburn of former times), and by Lord Mansfield. The Duke of Richmond accused Thurlow of opposing every reform; and Lord Fortescue attacked the law lords in general, declaring that the dignity of the House was lowered and tarnished by a profusion of lawyers. All these bills originated with the Rockingham party; but Lord Shelburne now introduced, and got carried, a bill of his own for compelling persons holding patent places in the colonies and foreign possessions to reside and do something for their money.

The fate of Cricklade and the strong petitions for parliamentary reform got up by the Livery of London and the county associations, which still continued their exertions, seemed to give some encouragement to William Pitt in moving, on the 7th of May, for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the House their observations thereon. Pitt did not adopt the prayer of the petitions for doing away with the septennial act; but he demanded, as something vital to the constitution and indispensable to the well-being of the country, the sweeping away of all rotten boroughs, and the establishing an equal representation. He said that it was horrid to think of the influence of the treasury, of the hereditary right assumed by the aristocracy, of the number of seats filled by Indian nabobs or their creatures! He was seconded by John Wilkes's former ally, Alderman Sawbridge; and the first to oppose his motion was his own relative, Mr. Thomas Pitt, who declared rotten boroughs to be a very essential working part of the constitution. Fox supported the motion, and so did Sheridan, Sir George Saville, and other Whig orators; but it was very apparent that the Whig aristocracy now in power were as anxious to quash it as the Tories themselves could have been, and either through their bounden allegiance to that party, or through higher motives of conviction, Burke, Thomas Townshend, and others, were not merely lukewarm, but altogether adverse to the present scheme of reform. The question was met by moving the order of the day, which was carried, though only by a majority of *twenty*, the numbers being 161 against 141.

As early as the 15th of April, the king, as bound by his engagement to Lord Rockingham, sent down a message to the Houses to recommend Burke's plan of economical reform. Burke called this the best of messages to the best of people from the best of kings; and he said that, now that his majesty was freed from secret influence and bad counsels, he spoke the sentiments of his own pure, benevolent heart. In the beginning of May,

of Commons immediately after the recess, a gentleman who accidentally sat next to him asked his lordship if he had yet made any discovery of the articles recently lost? 'I can't say that I have,' answered he; 'but I shrewdly suspect that I have seen some of my laced ruffles on the hands of the gentlemen who now occupy the treasury bench.' This reply, the effect of which was infinitely increased by the presence of Fox and Burke in their court dresses, obtained general circulation, and occasioned no little laughter."—*Sir N. W. Wraxall, Memoirs.*

* See ante, p. 68.

Burke, as chairman of the committee appointed to take the scheme into consideration, was directed to move the House for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majesty to pay off the debt on his civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to legalise the retrenchments which his majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household. The bill was accordingly produced, but so mutilated, so changed from the form it wore when presented from the opposition benches, that it was scarcely to be recognised as the same. In the words of his biographer, Burke had "found what most reformers in time discover, that it is easier to propose public correctives when out of office than to carry them into effect when in."* Instead of 200,000*l.* a-year, the calculated amount of the saving he recommended in 1779, the whole of the saving he now proposed amounted only to 72,368*l.*: many places proscribed before were now allowed to remain as necessary or expedient, or decorous to the state; the Duchy of Lancaster, the Duchy of Cornwall, the separate jurisdiction of Wales, were left as they were; the scheme of supplying the royal household by contract, as barracks and hospitals are provided for, was dropped; the ordnance office was declared to be safe for the present in the patriotism and economy of the Duke of Richmond; the mint was to be left untouched; the treasurer and some other little more than ornamental offices of the household, formerly marked for abolition, were to be respected, as contributing to the splendour of the court; and other places were to be sacred, because the people were accustomed to them. Yet Burke is said to have melted into tears at the prospect of his triumph over court profusion and ministerial corruption! The bill passed coldly through the House; Colonel Barré, who pretended to be a great economist, and to have a most tender regard for the pockets of the people, hinting in a sort of *sotto voce* that he thought it scarcely went far enough. In the Lords, the pillars of the law bent their weight upon it, as if to crush it. Lord Mansfield, Lord Loughborough, and Chancellor Thurlow gave it a decided opposition. Thurlow, though a member of the government, put on a mournful and gloomy aspect, and reprobated the bill as an inroad on the majesty of the crown, and on the franchises of the subject; and he divided with the minority on all the most obnoxious clauses. The bill was nevertheless carried, and received the royal assent.† Burke showed his own disinterestedness by bringing in a bill immediately after for regulating the office of paymaster to the forces, which he then held. Up to his time balances amounting occasionally to the enormous sum of 1,000,000*l.* sterling had been allowed to accumulate in the hands of the paymaster; and not only was the interest lost to the public, but the money itself was risked and employed by the paymaster for his own private benefit in stock-jobbing and other speculations. It was this charm of the place which had kept Fox's father, the first Lord Holland of the name, so long in it; and whenever a man had a turn for money-making, it was the best of all places! It should be noted that few men ever held it so poor as Burke, who, but for the munificence of the Marquess of Rockingham, would have had for years a hard struggle to live. The bill passed, not, we suspect, without a sigh from some who knew by how frail a tenure Burke held the place, and who might hope in another shifting of the cards to get it for themselves or their friends. He also, as treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, gave up the profits upon clothing the pensioners, amounting to some 700*l.* a-year, and by a new contract he managed to save the country 600*l.* more in that single article.

Though restricted in many particulars by the decided will of the king, the new ministry seemed disposed to persevere in sundry improvements, and methods of saving money, by simplifying the mode of keeping accounts, raising taxes, &c., which they had recommended when in opposition; and they made strenuous attempts towards a general peace, by concluding a separate treaty with Holland. Shortly before he became Foreign Secretary, Fox had more than once insinuated in the Commons that he possessed the means of detaching the Dutch from the French; but when he came to try his powers, his overtures were received by the States General with coldness, if not with contempt. They were elated by the recent misfortunes of England, and the assurances of French protection for their trade and for their colonies in both the Indies, and they refused to enter upon any treaty unless in concert with France and Spain. But a more mortifying circumstance still, and one which Fox had time to know before quitting office, was that the Americans, whose moderation and magnanimity he had so often applauded from the opposition benches, met his overtures for pacification with a coldness even greater than that of the States General. The predictions of Lord North were fulfilled; the Whigs had made the enemies of England bold and insolent, by votes in parliament that she could and would no longer fight them. Fox found himself obliged to submit to the humiliation of courting the half-offered mediation of the Czarina Catherine and the Emperor Joseph, who literally insulted England while pretending a desire to serve her. In the first place, however, Fox dispatched Mr. Thomas Grenville to Paris to open in a private capacity a direct negotiation with the court of France, and he then empowered Sir Robert Murray Keith to commence a negotiation under the auspices of the emperor and the czarina, instructing him, however, to avoid making Vienna the real scene of the treaty. The chief terms which Fox proposed were the recognition of the independence of the thirteen American colonies, and for the rest a *status quo ante bellum*. Though France was on the very verge of a national bankruptcy, and Spain almost drained to her last dollar, they

* Prior.

† The court places, &c., abolished by Burke's bill were about twelve in number. Some of them were the merest sinecures, and they could all be held by members of parliament.

would not, at present, listen to these terms; for the first expected prodigies from their great fleet in the West Indies under Count de Grasse, and the Spaniards, after nearly four years' perseverance in the siege, fancied that Gibraltar must be theirs at last.

No progress had been made in these negotiations, or towards that peace which had seemed of such easy attainment to ministers when they were on the opposition side and Lord North on the treasury benches, when the death of the Marquess of Rockingham put an end to the cabinet. The marquess, whose health had been for some time declining, died on the 1st of July, while parliament was still sitting. The king instantly sent for Lord Shelburne, who still scrupled about recognising American independence, and placed him at the head of the cabinet. Fox, though almost in a desperate state of poverty, instantly threw up his place, and Burke, Lord John Cavendish, and John Townshend followed his example. Fox, indeed, had declared, even before Rockingham's death, that he would not long consent to act in a situation in which he was hampered and thwarted, and expected to give up his judgment and his principles. The king received his resignation with very apparent satisfaction, and appointed Mr. Thomas Townshend, soon after created Lord Sydney, to succeed him as foreign secretary. Lord Grantham got the other secretaryship, which had been held by Shelburne; and William Pitt, who had so recently been offered a mere lordship of the treasury, was raised to the eminent post of *chancellor of the exchequer*, which Lord John Cavendish had resigned. Colonel Barré, the old satellite of Chatham, was made paymaster of the forces instead of Burke, and Dundas took Barré's place of treasurer of the navy. The promotion of Thomas Townshend to be one of the secretaries of state made way for Sir George Yonge to the secretaryship at war. Other substitutions were made in the boards of treasury and admiralty: Mr. Lee was succeeded as solicitor-general by Mr. Pepper Arden; and the Duke of Portland, now considered the head of the Rockingham party, resigning the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, was succeeded by the Earl of Temple, formerly George Grenville, the nephew and heir of Chatham's brother-in-law, who died in 1779. The first and most obvious reflection suggested by these changes was, that Lord Shelburne's ministry was not likely to have strength enough to stand in face of the enmity and opposition of the displaced Rockinghamites; and that therefore a return to a Tory system of government would not be a very remote event. Hence Fox, Burke, and their friends were accused of heat and precipitancy, and of having committed the whole Whig cause by their animosities against Lord Shelburne and their sudden resignation. On the 9th of July Fox defended his conduct in the House of Commons, alleging that it was impossible to act with honour and benefit to the country either under, or in conjunction with, Lord Shelburne. The matter which opened this debate was of a sufficiently striking and irritating kind. It had been discovered that the late administration, though so loud for economical reform, had conferred upon that rough-tongued patriot, Colonel Barré, the disproportionate and enormous pension of 3,200*l.* a-year, and upon Dunning, now Lord Ashburton, a pension of 1,000*l.* a-year. These things were the more remarked, as the same administration had voted Rodney for his great victory over de Grasse only 2,000*l.* a-year. Fox admitted that his deceased friend, the Marquess of Rockingham, had indeed been led to concur in recommending the pensions granted to Barré and Dunning, two determined Shelburnites; but he hoped the House would observe that, while Lord Shelburne's adherents received such marks of bounty, the followers of Lord Rockingham, many of whom could plead equal merit and *equal poverty*, remained without pension or provision of any kind. He directly accused the new first minister of duplicity, and of a complete abandonment of the political principles on which he had professed to come into office with the deceased marquess. He declared that Lord Shelburne had opposed, and would still oppose, the independence of America, without which there could be no peace; and in the flow and dash of his eloquence Fox predicted, that, in order to maintain the power he had now acquired, Shelburne would be base enough *to enter into a coalition even with Lord North*, whom the House and the nation had so recently driven from office! General Conway, who remained in office under Shelburne, after lamenting that the country should be deprived of the splendid abilities of his friend Mr. Fox, attempted to defend Lord Shelburne. He said that in a cabinet composed of eleven ministers there must be some shades of difference; but he denied that these were sufficient to justify the retreat of the friends of the deceased marquess, whose principles he thought had not been departed from in any one material point. Fox rejoined, and was followed with great warmth by Lord John Cavendish and one or two others of the Rockingham party. The new chancellor of the exchequer, Pitt, arraigned the conduct of the late secretary, Fox, in severe terms, accusing him of being more at variance with men than with their measures, and of having resigned in pique and without any good public ground. Personal pique and animosities no doubt had some weight even in the generous, kindly nature of Charles Fox, whose bitterness, however, was nearly all on his tongue when in the House of Commons; but there were surely other grounds for his retiring. The dispute is so overlaid with words, and some of the few court arcana are still so impenetrable, that it is difficult to form a decided opinion on many points. It appears to us, however, that Fox must have been cruelly mortified and discouraged by the disappointment of his splendid hopes in diplomacy, and by the insolent rejection of his overtures both by the Dutch and the Americans; that he must have perceived, after

Rodney's brilliant victory, which restored the naval supremacy of England in the Western world, and the relief of Gibraltar, and the accounts now hourly received of the poverty and embarrassment of France and Spain and the absolute pauperism of the American congress, that the king might be tempted to persevere in the war, and would have his views favoured by Lord Shelburne, who, in objecting to the independence, only adhered to the dogma of Chatham, whose name and opinions still continued to be quoted (often inconsistently enough) by the more liberal party; that the king, on the other hand, considered that Fox had committed his honour and the character of the nation by making overtures, only to be rejected, to the Dutch and Americans; that he was incensed at the great coldness with which the Rockingham ministry had received the news of the triumph of the Tory Admiral Rodney, and at the stinted manner in which they had rewarded the services of the conqueror of de Grasse; and that his majesty, who had always personally disliked Fox on account of the irregularities of his youth, could no longer tolerate his recommending negotiations which, *ab initio*, had failed, and discouraging warlike attempts which were succeeding, at least by sea, which, it had been determined, should be the only element on which the war was to be prolonged.

Two days after—on the 11th of July—the king prorogued parliament, declaring from the throne, that, though anxious for peace, he should still rely on the spirit of his parliament and people to support the honour of his crown and the interests of the nation; that the most triumphant career of victory would not excite him to aim at more than fair and reasonable terms of pacification, and that he saw no reason which should induce him to think of accepting less.

While the French fleet under de Guichen, which Admiral Kempenfelt was too weak to intercept, was proceeding to the West Indies, Rodney, who had the start of them by a few days, was making with all haste for the same quarter. Rodney arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and soon after put to sea with the intention of joining Sir Samuel Hood, who had been attempting the relief of our island of St. Christopher, assailed by the Count de Grasse and a land force under the Marquis de Bouillé. On his passage Rodney met Hood returning from St. Christopher's, which had surrendered in spite of his efforts to save it. In making these efforts, Hood, with only twenty-two ships of the line, had gallantly risked an action with de Grasse, who had thirty-three sail of the line, had skilfully dispossessed the French of their anchorage ground, and had repulsed, with terrible loss to them, two attacks made to regain it. But, having no land troops, Hood could not dislodge de Bouillé from St. Christopher's, the fall of which was immediately followed by that of two more of our islands—Nevis and Montserrat. Upon Hood's information that de Grasse had proceeded to Martinique to prepare for a grand attack on Jamaica, almost the last of our islands, and the richest of them all, Rodney ran with the whole British fleet to St. Lucie, and threw out his frigates to watch the French in Martinique. On the 5th of April intelligence was received that de Grasse was embarking troops, and on the 8th, at day-break, a signal announced that his fleet was coming out from Fort Royal Bay. Upon this the whole British fleet weighed anchor, and proceeded with a press of sail in pursuit. At day-break on the morning of the 9th the French were discovered under Dominica; and in this situation both fleets were for some time becalmed. When the wind rose the French got the breeze first and stood away for Guadaloupe; the van of the British fleet under Hood received it next and stood after them with a press of sail, the centre and rear of the British being still becalmed and almost motionless. Although it was obviously the design of de Grasse to avoid an engagement, and to seek the junction of a great Spanish fleet, then at Hispaniola, which was to co-operate in the reduction of Jamaica, and which would have raised his force to nearly sixty ships of the line, he was tempted by the separated, exposed position of the British van, and he bore down upon Hood with his whole force, hoping to destroy him before the centre and the rear could come up to his assistance. At one time—at about nine o'clock in the morning—Hood's ship, the 'Barfleur,' had three sail of the line firing upon her, and nearly every ship of his division was exposed to the same unequal contest; but they all behaved nobly, their steady fire, apparently, inflicting more mischief than they received; and as soon as the other divisions of the British fleet got the wind, and the centre came up, de Grasse withdrew, and, having still the advantage of the wind, he was enabled to baffle all the efforts of Rodney to bring him to a general action. Two of the French ships had suffered so much that they were under the necessity of quitting the fleet. On our side three ships were materially injured, but they were still able to keep the sea. Captain Bayne of the 'Alfred' was killed. Rodney lay to the night after the action to repair the damages which some of the van had suffered, and the next morning made all sail in pursuit. In the course of that day he kept de Grasse in sight, but on the morning of the 11th the French were scarcely visible. In the mean time the rear of the British fleet, commanded by Admiral Drake, had been transposed to the van, and the van, under Hood, had become the rear. Nearly all the French were hull down, and Rodney began to despair of coming up with them, when, about the hour of noon, two of their ships of the line which had been crippled in the late action were discovered far to the leeward of the rest, with their topmasts struck. The signal was made for a general chase, and was immediately obeyed by the whole British fleet. It was blowing a fresh and steady gale, and the 'Agamemnon' and some others of the headmost ships would have cut off the two Frenchmen if de Grasse had not hastened

to their relief with his entire force. This brought the enemy so far to leeward that Rodney once more hoped that he might force them to battle. But as it was now evening the British admiral called in the foremost ships, and, forming a close line of battle, he plied to windward all night. On the following morning—the 12th of April—the two fleets were near each other, and at about seven o'clock they met on opposite tacks. The action was begun by the 'Marlborough,' the leading ship of Rodney's van, and it soon became general from van to rear. But the wind was slight, and unfavourable to the execution of the grand manœuvre which had probably been for years cherished and matured in the mind of the British admiral.* Towards noon, however, the breeze freshened; the centre of his fleet was enabled to fetch to windward of the enemy: and then Rodney made his signals for breaking their line. Captain Gardiner, in the 'Duke,' seventy-four, would have been the first to cut through; but his main-topmast fell over the side, and his ship dropped to leeward. But Rodney, in the 'Formidable,' supported by the 'Namur' and the 'Canada,' broke through a few minutes after, about three ships short of the French centre, and was soon followed by those in his rear, who doubled upon the enemy and kept up a tremendous fire. By this manœuvre the French line was completely broken and thrown into confusion, and the British were enabled to bring a double force upon one part of it, while the other was unable to come to its assistance. The British rear, however, under Hood, being at some distance, and out of the way of the wind, could not come into action for a long time, and some of Hood's ships were never able to engage at all. The van of the French bore away and endeavoured to re-form to leeward; their rear, though overmatched, made a desperate resistance, and the battle was prolonged from noon till evening. Captain Cornwallis, in the 'Canada,' seemed determined to avenge the fate of his brother, General Lord Cornwallis, and, after making one ship of the line strike her colours, he pushed on to the 'Ville de Paris,' de Grasse's own ship, and the largest vessel in the French navy. Cornwallis reduced the 'Ville de Paris' almost to a wreck, but de Grasse bravely fought on until Hood came up in the 'Barfleur' about sunset, and poured in a most destructive fire, which in ten minutes induced the French admiral to haul down his flag. Three other ships of 74 guns and one of 64 were taken, and the 'Diadem,' another 74, was ruined by a single broadside from Rodney's ship, the 'Formidable.' The remainder of the French rear fled to join the van, and the whole of their remaining fleet went off before the wind in small detached squadrons and single ships. They were pursued for some short time, but, as night was closing in, Rodney made signals and collected all his fleet. Shortly after the action one of the French ships of the line that had surrendered blew up, and in her perished four hundred Frenchmen and about fifty English sailors, who had been sent with a lieutenant to secure her as a prize. On board the 'Ville de Paris' were found thirty-six chests of money for the pay of the troops destined to the attack of Jamaica, and in the other ships that were taken were found nearly all the battering cannon for that expedition. On the following morning, when the British had repaired their damages, the French fleet were entirely out of sight. Rodney attempted to pursue, but was becalmed for three whole days under Guadaloupe. Hood, however, on the 19th, overtook and captured in the Mona Passage, between Hispaniola and Porto Rico, two ships of the line and two large frigates. Thus, in all, the loss of the French amounted to seven ships of the line and two frigates. Their loss in killed and wounded was terrific, for many of their ships had fought at the closest quarters, and at times each with two English line-of-battle ships upon it, and they were all crowded with land troops, who might have done good service on shore at Jamaica, but who only served to swell the carnage where they were. Their killed alone were computed at from 2000 to 3000; their wounded at double that number; and, according to their own confession, their ships that escaped were so shattered in the action as to be little less than ruined. On the side of the British, including the engagement of the 9th with that of the 12th, the loss in killed was under 250, and in wounded about 760. Jamaica was saved, the power of the allied fleets in the West Indies was ruined, and the dominion of the ocean was once more restored to the British flag.*

The news of Rodney's victory reached London about the middle of May, just after the rejection of Pitt's project of parliamentary reform. It threw

* It seems evident, at least, that Rodney had contemplated breaking de Guichen's line on April 17th, 1780. But there has been a deal of controversy on the question whether the honour of the original idea is to be attributed to Rodney, or to Mr. John Clerk, of Eldin (N. B.), or to Sir Charles Douglas, a captain of the fleet, who was serving on board Rodney's ship, the 'Formidable.' Mr. Clerk, who was not in the navy, and who knew very little (practically) of the sea, had certainly the merit of conceiving the idea before it was acted upon, but it is not quite so clear that Rodney (before his victory) was made acquainted with his plan. As Rodney, in our apprehension, had the idea two years before, when fighting de Guichen, we can hardly admit the claim started for, but not by, Sir Charles Douglas, of having suddenly conceived and recommended the idea while they were actually engaged with de Grasse. But, after all, the idea itself, simple and obvious, was likely enough to strike several minds at once, and the great merit must lie in Rodney's bold execution of it. It has been shown, indeed, by one of the ablest of the controversialists (Quarterly Review, No. ii.), that neither the notion nor the practice was new; that, as early as the year 1697, a French Jesuit, the Père Paul Hoste, in a Treatise on Naval Evolutions (which, most probably, Clerk of Eldin, or Rodney, or Douglas, never read), gave a whole chapter on "breaking the line," stating particularly the advantages and disadvantages likely to attend the manœuvre; and that thirty or forty years before the publication of the Jesuit's treatise both the English and the Dutch, in fighting each other, broke the line more than once. The grand merit of all lay in rooting out the factious, jealous spirit which had raged among no inconsiderable portion of our naval commanders during the whole of this war, and in re-introducing the practice of bringing ships in action to close quarters, which had not been very common since the desperate Dutch war in the time of Charles II.

* Schomberg, Naval Chron.—Stedman.—Ann. Regist.—Mundy's Life of Lord Rodney.—As two of de Grasse's ships had been obliged to withdraw in consequence of the treatment they met with in the action of the 9th, the French had only thirty-one sail of the line in the decisive battle on the 12th. The British had thirty-six sail of the line, but of these five or six (of Hood's division) never, as we have seen, got into action. The French, too, were decidedly superior in weight of metal.

the country, so long accustomed to reverses, into a delirium of joy; and if it had happened two months earlier, it might have prevented the overthrow of Lord North's administration and the passing of the pacific votes of the Commons. The Rockingham administration, however, who had no anticipation of the grand triumph which North and Sandwich's favourite admiral would achieve, and who had already superseded him by naming the Whig Admiral Pigott to the command in the West Indies, seemed to render their tribute of honour and applause slowly and reluctantly; and they never cancelled their order for recalling Rodney. Keppel, their first lord of the admiralty, when questioned in the House of Peers as to Pigott's appointment, very uncandidly shirked the question; but Fox, with more manliness, frankly avowed in the House of Commons that Rodney was, indeed, superseded. In the end, votes of thanks were carried in both Houses; Rodney was raised to the peerage, but only as a baron, and was voted an additional pension of 2000*l.* a-year;* Sir Samuel Hood was made a baron in the peerage of Ireland; Admiral Drake and Commodore Affleck were made baronets; and a monument was voted to Captains Bayne, Blair, and Lord Robert Manners, who had fallen in the battle.

On the American continent the news of the defeat of de Grasse, without whose aid they could never have reduced Lord Cornwallis at York Town, filled the whole republican party with dismay, and no inconsiderable part of them with despair. Even Silas Deane confessed that they were apparently as far from peace and independence as ever, and that nothing could be done unless France sent them more assistance and more money. Washington, however, preserved all his firmness. Some of the American royalists, maddened by their losses and the wholesale destruction inflicted on their friends and relatives by the republicans since the retreat of the British troops in the Carolinas and Georgia to the walls of Charlestown and Savannah, and the capitulation of York Town, took the law into their own hands, and hanged on the 12th of April one Joshua Huddy, a captain in Washington's army, leaving a label on the tree to denote that his death was a retaliation for the murder of one White, a royalist, whom the republicans had put to death on the 30th of March.† Sir Henry Clinton immediately arrested the perpetrators of the deed, but the whole body of American royalists joined in representations‡ that the retaliation was perfectly justifiable, and a court-martial, appointed to try Captain Lippincot, the commander of the party, returned a verdict of not guilty; it appearing to them that the prisoner had "proceeded from a conviction that it was his duty to obey the orders of the board of directors of associated loyalists, and his not doubting their having full authority to give such orders." Washington demanded that the assassin should be given up to him to be tried and executed by republican law; and when Clinton refused this haughty demand, with which it was impossible to comply, the American commander-in-chief put a young English officer, one of his prisoners taken at York Town, into the hands of his provost-marshal, and informed Sir Henry that he meant to hang him in retaliation for the hanging of Huddy. Washington even intimated that he had fixed the time and place of the execution. This letter was written on the 5th of May; and a few days after Sir Henry Clinton was superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, formerly governor and commander-in-chief in Canada, who arrived in New York with the pacific votes of the House of Commons, and instructions from the Rockingham administration to open negotiations with congress on the basis of independence. In conjunction with Admiral Digby, Carleton remitted copies of the votes and of the bill enabling the king to conclude a truce to General Washington in a letter stating that these papers would show the pacific dispositions of the government and people of England, and that if the same temper prevailed in America the rest would be easy work. Sir Guy also informed Washington that he had a letter ready for congress containing the same communications; and he solicited a passport for a person to convey this letter to Philadelphia. The American commander-in-chief not only sternly refused the passport and spurned the overtures, but also returned to the subject of Huddy, declaring again that he would hang the British officer. He, moreover, rendered any intercourse and communication more difficult by limiting the admission of flags of truce to one particular place. His conduct was fully approved by congress, who, still further to quiet the suspicions of the French envoy, passed a vote on the 21st of May, binding themselves to make no separate treaty, and to entertain no overtures of negotiation except in common with their allies. And for the present all that the friendly advances of the Rockingham administration elicited was a partial exchange of prisoners; for it was not owing to their overtures, but to the weakness, poverty, and wretchedness of the American army, and the for-

* He had previously received the thanks of the House of Commons and a pension of 2000*l.* a-year for his victory over the Spaniards and his battle with de Guichen in 1780.

† The following label was fixed on Huddy's breast:—"We, the refugees, having, with grief, long beheld the cruel murders of our brethren, and finding nothing but such measures carrying daily into execution, determine not to suffer without taking vengeance for these numerous cruelties, and thus begin and have made use of Captain Huddy as the first object to present to your view; and further determine to hang man for man while there is a refugee existing. Up goes Huddy for Philip White."—*Gordon.*

‡ One of the remonstrances of these American royalists or refugees was sufficiently strong. It mentioned how Philip White, one of their associates, had been inhumanly and wantonly murdered; it complained of many horrible acts of cruelty which had been perpetrated with impunity by a set of the republicans called "the Monmouth retaliators," headed by one General Forman, whose horrid doings had procured him the name of "Black David;" and it set forth that many of their friends and neighbours had been butchered in cold blood. It further declared that Huddy, of whom they had made an example, had been the cruelest of all the persecutors, and had with his own hands tied the knot and put the rope round the neck of Stephen Edwards, the most amiable and inoffensive of royalists. The counsel who defended the executioners of Huddy made use of this plea:—"*By a strange fatality the loyalists are the only people that have been treated as rebels during the unhappy war, and we are constrained by our sufferings to declare, that no efforts have been made, by the government under whose protection we wish to live to save our brethren from ignominious deaths. The rebels punish the loyalists under their usual distinctions of prisoners of state from prisoners of war.*"—*Documents as cited by Gordon.*

midable positions occupied by the British troops, that hostile operations were suspended. But even this suspension was only partial, for in Carolina and Georgia a war of posts was continued with fierceness and carnage. For some time Sir Guy Carleton's renewed attempts at negotiation were confined to the business of the unlucky officer who had been selected for the gibbet. This young man, who was only in his twentieth year, was Captain Asgill, son of Sir Charles Asgill; and his family in England were kept in a state of suspense and agony by his long detention and the stern and unyielding letters of the American commander. Sir Guy Carleton presently broke up the board of directors of associated loyalists, expressing to the American commander-in-chief his deep regret at their stretch of authority, and his own willingness to prosecute a further inquiry into the death of Huddy. But the person of Captain Lippincot was still demanded; and it was not until the 19th of August, more than four months after the close confinement of young Asgill, that Washington referred the matter to congress, and congress referred it to a committee. In September, Washington received a letter from the Count de Vergennes, enclosing a letter from Lady Asgill, the mother of the prisoner, to him, the count. The French minister told Washington that the king and queen of France, to whom he had communicated it, had been extremely affected by her ladyship's letter, and that "the goodness of their majesties' hearts induced them to desire that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother might be calmed and her tenderness re-assured."* Washington forwarded copies of both letters with one of his own to congress on the 25th of October; and on the 7th of November congress resolved that the commander-in-chief should be directed to set Captain Asgill at liberty. In sending the young captain a passport to go into New York, Washington wrote a letter to assure him that, in whatever light his agency in this unpleasing affair might be viewed, he was never influenced by sanguinary motives, but by what he conceived to be a sense of his duty. Of this strange affair Washington's most minute and best American biographer says not one word, though numerous documents relating to it must have stared him in the face, and though he must have known that most of these documents were given to the world in many publications both French and English, and that the story at the time excited almost as much interest and was as universally known as that of the unfortunate André. Judge Marshall's silence looks like a confession of the impracticability of defending his character and conduct in this particular.† In our eyes few things in the course of this unhappy war seem more dishonourable and indefensible, and we believe Washington, as at the crisis when he put Major André to death and refused him the last sad consolation he asked for, was rendered gloomy and irascible by the constant and degrading troubles and mortifications in which he was involved. Those who have been accustomed to entertain a vain vision of American victory, glory, and prosperity, and to believe that they were in a state to continue the war against Great Britain to an indefinite period, must be startled by Washington's own account of the real state of things. On the 28th of May, only a few days after refusing Sir Guy Carleton's messenger a passport to congress, he was obliged to write that his army on the Hudson was left destitute of provisions and in a state of disorder and almost mutiny; and that, if the British knew his real situation, and were to make a sudden attempt, he must be driven from all his posts. Nor did the condition of the army improve. Early in October he declared that there never was so much suffering or so great a spirit of discontent as at that instant; and in this letter he exclaimed, "It is high time for a peace!" Nor was the American army in the south under General Greene in better case. That general, in a letter dated the 13th of August, complained that one third of his men were "entirely naked, with nothing but a breech-cloth about them, and never came out of their tents;" that the rest of his men "were as ragged as wolves;" that their beef "was perfect carrion, and that, bad as it was, they were frequently without any." Both in the north and in the south there were frequent mutinies, and not unfrequent executions in the camp to check them. But Washington now dreaded not only that these executions would fail in their effect, but that even peace would come too late, or that, come when it would, it would be succeeded by a horrible internal social war, as the country had no means of paying the arrears of the army, and as men with arms

* Vergennes called Washington's attention to the glaring fact that Captain Asgill, though doubtless his prisoner, was among those whom the arms of the French king had contributed to put into his hands at York Town. The French court was evidently averse to the whole system of brutal retaliation. The count added—"In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to seek another victim in his place: *the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire.*"

† Washington at first took the business upon himself, without waiting for any orders or instructions from congress. On the 3rd of May—twenty-one days after the death of Huddy—he commanded Brigadier Hazen to designate by lot, for the purpose of retaliation, a British captain that was an *unconditional* prisoner, or, if he had no captain in that predicament, then a lieutenant. But Hazen chose to designate a captain, as Huddy had held that rank, and the lot fell upon young Asgill, who, so far from being an *unconditional* prisoner, was included in Lord Cornwallis's capitulation, which made his life doubly sacred. It is not quite clear that the designation of this gentleman was left to chance. When Hazen sent this victim to Philadelphia, Washington expressed his regret that an *unconditional* prisoner had not been chosen; and to remedy the mistake he ordered that one Lieutenant Tumer, a British officer, then confined in York gaol, who had been taken prisoner without conditions, should be substituted for Captain Asgill. But Brigadier Hazen, it appears, never obeyed this order, or at least the substitution of the *unconditional* prisoner for the conditional one never took place. As Washington never submitted against his will to any disobedience of orders on the part of his officers, the conclusion is inevitable—that he was not anxious there should be any such change. "If you inquire," says Gordon, "why was not Tumer or some other officer sent on to take the place of Asgill? it is not in my power to answer." The Americans, no doubt, thought it proper and spirited to adhere to the principle of captain for captain, though Lord Cornwallis's capitulation stood in their way; and they may, besides, have given their cruel preference to young Asgill from the knowledge of his being a person of family and superior consideration, whose fate would excite greater attention than that of a more obscure officer.—*Letters and other Papers in Gordon.—Remembrancer.—Annual Register, and other Works of the day.* Gordon states that Washington, during a part of his captivity, allowed Asgill several indulgences; and he accuses the young captain of being deficient in politeness in not expressing his gratitude after his release to the American general!

in their hands might not be disposed to disband at the bidding of congress to retire to poverty or starvation. His letters at the time are full of these gloomy anticipations. Congress had established a national bank at Philadelphia; but to get or to keep money in it, or to obtain credit or confidence for it, was above the power of financier Morris, who in the month of September was constrained to confess that money he had none, and, as for running in debt still further, it would only increase the mischief, as he saw no prospect of payment. The usual interest demanded for money in July was at the rate of 60 per cent. per annum. In this state of things the French army, which had rendered such notable service against Lord Cornwallis, were collected and marched to Boston, where, in the month of October, they were shipped for the West Indies, not to attempt new conquests, but to defend their own sugar islands.*

A French squadron under the command of La Perouse destroyed some defenceless British settlements in Hudson's Bay; and the Spaniards captured the Bahama Islands, defended by a few companies of invalids. On the other side, the British captured some Spanish forts on the Mosquito shore, and took from the Dutch—the great losers in this war—all the forts they had on the African coast except Cape Town and a few places in its neighbourhood. In the East Indies the affairs both of the Dutch and of the French, who had made extraordinary and most costly exertions to expel the English by means of Hyder Ally, were going to ruin; and the victories of Sir Eyre Coote and Commodore Hughes, which will be related in the next Book, contributed very importantly to make the court of Versailles—the real supporter of the war—desirous of peace.

In various latitudes the summer and autumn of this year—the last of a destructive war—were unusually vexed by storms and hurricanes. Four of the French ships of the line captured by Rodney on the 13th of April—the 'Ville de Paris,' 'Centaur,' 'Glorieux,' and 'Hector'—and an English-built ship of the line, the 'Ramillies,' all foundered at sea while employed in giving convoy to a great fleet of West Indiamen. The crew of the 'Ramillies,' where Admiral Graves had his flag, were saved by being shifted to the merchantmen; in the 'Centaur' only Captain Inglefield and ten of the crew escaped in the pinnace, and after sixteen days of struggle and horror upon the wide Atlantic they got safe to Fayal: the fate of the 'Ville de Paris' and the 'Glorieux' was only known from one man taken up at sea floating on a piece of the former ship's wreck, and who had seen the 'Glorieux' go down with all her crew the day before the 'Ville de Paris' went to pieces. The 'Hector,' when dismasted and unmanageable, and in a condition which ought to have claimed pity and assistance even from an enemy, was fiercely attacked by two French frigates, who could not conquer her or board her, but who left her almost in a sinking state with a great number of wounded on board. Fortunately an English ship came up in time to take the crew on board, and then the 'Hector' was left to founder. Several of the merchant-vessels in the convoy perished with their crews, but their loss was small compared with that sustained by the men-of-war.*

On the 13th of April, the very day after Rodney's great victory, Admiral Barrington sailed from Spithead for the Bay of Biscay with twelve sail of the line, and on the 20th he discovered seventeen or eighteen sail of large merchantmen and transports under the escort of two French ships of the line and a frigate. This fleet, which had left Brest only the day before to carry supplies and reinforcements to the West Indies, was hotly pursued, and in the course of the 20th and the 21st two French ships of the line, ten large transports, and a schooner were captured by the British. On board the prizes were found a great quantity of ordnance and ammunition, anchors and masts for ships, and other materials greatly needed by the French in the East Indies; besides eleven chests of Dutch silver and a considerable number of troops. Shortly after the combined fleet of France and Spain captured eighteen sail of British merchantmen and transports bound to Canada and Newfoundland.† On the 5th of May the Dutch, who had claimed the affair off the Dogger-bank as a victory, but who had hardly ventured to show themselves at sea since, crept out of the Texel with nine sail of the line, with the double object of escorting a convoy of their own, and cutting off our Baltic fleet; but Lord Howe left Spithead with twelve sail of the line, and as soon as they learned that he was at sea, the Dutch ran back into the Texel. After blockading that water for about a month, Howe was recalled to look after the combined fleets of France and Spain, which had come out of Cadiz. On the 28th of June his lordship sailed to the westward with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates, having taken under his orders Vice-Admiral Barrington and Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt. In a few days he discovered the French and Spaniards with thirty-six sail of the line, besides frigates; and, undeterred by their great superiority of force, he formed a line of battle a-head. But the combined fleet declined the challenge, and Howe was allowed to protect the arrival in our ports of some great fleets of merchantmen.‡

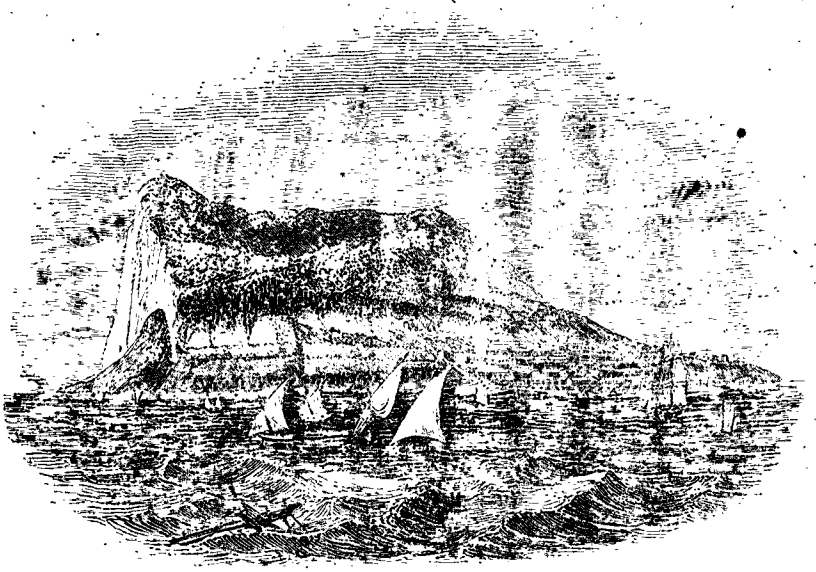
It was on his return from this cruise that Howe was appointed to a service which has rendered his name immortal in the annals of his country. Gibraltar was again considered in danger, and the service was to relieve that important place, the prolonged defence of which under the brave and skilful General George Augustus Eliott was by far the most memorable and glorious achieve-

* Letters of Washington.—Lafayette's Memoirs and Letters.—Life of General Greene.—Various American Memoirs.—Gordon.

* Captain Schomberg, Nav. Chron.—Ann. Regist.

† Id. Id.

‡ Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Schomberg.



ROCK OF GIBRALTAR. From an Original Drawing.

ment of the British in this generally mismanaged war. After the relief afforded to the garrison in the preceding year by Admiral Darby, the Spaniards opened a terrible cannonade and bombardment both from batteries on land and huge gunboats in the bay; and in spite of the well-directed fire of the garrison, which blew up whole batteries and levelled various parts of the works, they continued their approaches and nearly completed their fourth line. Still, however, Eliott kept repairing and improving his own formidable works, which were stronger at the end than at the beginning of the siege, notwithstanding all the bombardment of the enemy, whose shot and shell, after a while, could do little more than strike the hard face of the rock. Late in November (1781) a deserter from the Spanish lines gave General Eliott accurate information as to the state of the guards in the fourth line, which state was anything but military or vigilant, as it never entered into the heads of the Spaniards that the English would risk a sortie. On the night of the 26th of November Eliott ordered all his grenadiers and light infantry, the veteran 12th regiment, and the German regiment of Hardenberg, to assemble just outside the rock, on the low sandy isthmus called the neutral ground; and at the moment appointed these men, amounting in all to 2004, were silently assembled under the broad shadow of the rock, together with about 300 English sailors, who had volunteered their services.* This detachment was placed under the orders of Brigadier-General Ross; but the brave old governor resolved to accompany it in person to the Spanish works. In a very few minutes, marching silently through the soft sand, they were under the fourth line, and, although some of the Spanish sentinels, who were not asleep, fired their pieces and gave the alarm, in a very few minutes more they were within the lines and the enemy flying half naked towards the village of Campo in their rear. Then, under the direction of cool and able officers, the pioneers and artillery-men set to work to destroy what had cost the Spaniards prodigious labour and expense; and within three quarters of an hour all the artillery was spiked, mines were dug and trains laid, the fourth line was blown into the air, and the detachment returned to their own works. So coolly and in so orderly a manner was the service performed, that not a musket, a spade, or tool of any kind was lost. The loss in men amounted merely to four killed, twenty-six wounded, and one missing. This tremendous explosion checked the exertions of the besiegers for some time, the Spaniards not even attempting to clear the smoking ruins, but seeming stupified and lost in amaze. But, in the month of April, the Duke of Crillon, the captor of Fort St. Philip, arrived from Minorca

* It is worthy of remark that the brave old Twelfth and Count Hardenberg's regiment had fought side by side in the battle of Minden. General Eliott, who had learned the art of war in the best school on the continent—that of La Fere—and in a long active service, had been wounded in the famous battle of Dettingen, in 1743, when he was acting as aide-de-camp to George II. He had also served in Germany during a good part of the Seven Years' war, under the late Duke of Cumberland and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Few officers of the day knew their profession so well, and he was an accomplished man in other respects—a fair classical scholar, a good linguist, and a most perfect gentleman. His name was revered even by his enemies. Many years after the unfortunate siege which cost them so much, and when he had long been in the grave, we have heard from the lips of Spanish officers who had served against him and been his prisoners, and from old Spaniards living in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, the highest and most touching encomiums of the brave and humane veteran. Even religious bigotry gave way to this spontaneous feeling of admiration. "He was so good a man," said an old Spanish Don, "that he could not but succeed,—the blessing of heaven was upon him!"

to take the chief command of the besieging army, and he brought with him, or was afterwards joined by, a numerous body of skilful artillery and engineer officers, some French, some Italians, some Germans or Swiss; for ability was sought for and purchased for this great undertaking in nearly every country in Europe, and the most extravagant, and, in some instances, ludicrous rewards were offered for the invention of processes which might destroy the more than adamantine works of the old rock. Moreover, from 18,000 to 20,000 French and Spanish troops were added to the army under the duke, and princes of the blood of the House of Bourbon, with long retinues of French and Spanish nobles, repaired to St. Roque and the Spanish lines, to encourage exertion and to be present at the final triumph.* Forty thousand men, and more artillery than had ever been collected on so narrow a point, might justify sanguine hopes in one who had never seen or closely examined the natural and artificial, and almost incredible, strength of the place. Charles III. now began to ask every morning on waking—"Is it taken?"—never failing to reply to the negative—"*Well!* but *it must soon be ours!*" This siege fills a history of itself, and a very admirable one has been written of it.† We can merely notice the chief particulars of the final assault. When thousands of projects, some of which seemed to have been conceived in Laputa, had been proposed, and when many had been tried without the least effect, the Chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer, got a plan adopted which he felt certain was infallible. This was, to construct, out of large ships, floating batteries, that could neither be sunk nor set on fire by red-hot shot, which the British garrison, by long practice, employed with wonderful rapidity and skill. These vessels were to be secured from sinking by the extraordinary thickness of timber with which their keels and bottoms were to be doubled; they were to be made fire-proof by having their sides secured with a rampart or wall composed of timber and cork, with an interstice between filled up with wet sand; and a constant supply of water was to keep all the parts wet, the cork acting as a sponge to retain the moisture. Pumps, cisterns, pipes, were to be placed in all directions to convey the saving fluid wherever a red-hot ball might strike or lodge. To protect these floating batteries from bombs, grape-shot, and all sorts of fire from above—on the sides of the steep rock the garrison had admirable positions for maintaining a plunging fire right on the heads of their assailants—hanging roofs were contrived of strong rope-work netting laid over with a thick covering of wet hides: these roofs were to be worked up and down at pleasure by mechanism, and their sloping position, it was calculated, would throw the shot and shell off into the sea. Ten large ships of from 600 to 1400 tons burden were cut down and prepared according to d'Arcon's devices; 200,000 feet of timber were worked into their construction, and the neighbouring country was swept bare of cow-hides, and bull-hides, and horse-hides, to make the sloping roofs. When the "constructions" were finished they were covered with new brass cannon of unusual weight; and d'Arcon had contrived a sort of match or train which, it was said, would fire a whole broadside at once. These new monsters of the deep, too huge and heavy to move through the water with any alacrity, were to be helped to their stations abreast of the English batteries, and were to be supported by forty gun-boats with long guns, forty bomb-boats mounted with twelve-inch mortars, five large bomb-ketches, and an immense raft mounted like a battery: a swarm of Spanish frigates and smaller vessels were to act as tenders, and from 200 to 300 large row-boats were to keep supplying them with ammunition and fresh men. The combined fleet was to anchor in the bay near its head, and out of the way of the British red-hot balls, until the decisive moment, when every craft, great or small, was to join in the "crack of doom," and assist in disembarking the land troops on the crumbling or obliterated works. At the same time the army on shore was to maintain an incessant fire with 300 long guns and mortars. Old Eliott, as firm as the immoveable rock where he commanded, made a more copious distribution of furnaces and grates for heating his cannon-balls, and calmly awaited the event; but, as an intimation of what might be expected from his furnaces and fiery globes, he burnt one of the foremost landworks of the besiegers only a few days before their assault. It was in the morning of the 13th of September that d'Arcon's floating batteries got under weigh, and at nine o'clock they were within gun-shot of the walls, when they were instantly assailed by a fire loud enough to awake the dead. Four hundred pieces of heavy artillery thundered together. The Spanish commanders were not disconcerted, but proceeded to place their craft in a line, so as to be able to open their fire all together; and they were completely moored and in order in little more than ten minutes. The brunt of the assailants' fire was directed against the fortifications on the Old Mole and the South Bastion. For a time their people were steady and intrepid, and hopes were entertained that d'Arcon had really solved the problem, and that success was certain. The surrounding hills of Spain, from the height called by the English "The Queen of Spain's Chair," all round by St. Roque and the old Moorish town and aqueduct of Algeciras, to Cabareta Point, where the straits open into the bay, and then into the wide expanse of the Mediterranean, were all

* The late wrong-headed and unfortunate Charles X. of France, then Count d'Artois, went to the siege with his cousin, the Duke de Bourbon. One honourable little circumstance may be mentioned in regard to a prince who has seldom had much good said of him. In passing through Madrid, d'Artois found a number of private letters addressed to officers in Gibraltar by their wives, families, or friends, which had been captured in some English ships. He prevailed upon the Spanish king to give these letters up to him; he conveyed the packet to the Spanish lines, and thence sent them into Gibraltar with a kind and polite message, accompanied by a letter in the same style from the Duke de Crillon.

† By Colonel Drinkwater.

crowded by spectators—a vast natural amphitheatre commanding a spectacle more terrible and sublime than was ever witnessed in the coliseums of old.* "The floating batteries," says an Italian officer engaged, "were so constructed that the shot which pierced their sides or roofs would at the same time pass through a tube which would discharge a quantity of water to extinguish the fire which it might create; but this hope proved fallacious. From nine till two they kept up a constant and well-directed fire, with very little damage on their part; but their hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at two o'clock, the floating battery commanded by the Prince of Nassau, on board of which was also the engineer (d'Arcon) who had invented the machinery, began to smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. The firing, however, continued till we could perceive the fortifications had sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red-hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews; and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service."† But it was no easy matter to move those unwieldy leviathans from their moorings; and to approach them when they might every moment blow up, and to get within the range of the British batteries, was like going into the jaws of death. Whatever were the attempts made, they appear to have been unsuccessful; for, five hours after, the floating batteries were still in their old and fatal position, immoveable and helpless. "A little after midnight," says the Italian officer, "the floating battery which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance: the light produced by the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews." "The light, thrown out on all sides," says the worthy English historian of the siege, "enabled our artillery to point their guns with the utmost precision, whilst the rock and neighbouring objects were highly illuminated, forming, with the constant flashes of our cannon, a mingled scene of sublimity and terror."‡ By this time the only flashes from the floating batteries were the flames that were consuming them—their guns were silenced, and the only sounds on board were shrieks and maddening yells. The sole naval force the British then had at Gibraltar was a marine brigade of gun-boats under the command of Captain Curtis. These boats had now come out, and by their low fire, almost *à fleur de l'eau*, took the floating batteries in the whole extent of their line, and sunk or kept off the French and Spanish boats that were approaching. The land-fire from the Spanish lines, which had swelled the hubbub without doing any mischief, slackened or ceased altogether soon after the sun went down; but the whole of that dark November night was illuminated by the fire of the garrison and of Curtis's gun-boats, and by the ascending flames of d'Arcon's constructions. "During the night," says the Italian officer, who renders full justice to the skill, valour, and humanity of his English opponents, "our batteries were so close to the walls that the hot balls pierced into them full three feet, but, being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and, for want of air, they did not immediately produce an effect. At five A.M. one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after, the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft, and many of their gallant fellows were indebted to the exertions of the English for their lives. As the English boats were towing one of these batteries into the mole, not supposing her to be on fire, she also blew up." What followed on the part of the conquerors is become a household word,—a touching and a sacred tale, which two generations of Englishmen have learnt in the cradle, and which succeeding generations will tell to their children, as the best exemplification of the axiom that the bravest are ever the most merciful. Eliott ordered the guns on shore to hold their fire, and on the water Curtis, with his gallant little crew, dashed among the burning wrecks and braved far greater dangers than they had hitherto been exposed to for the sole purpose of saving the shrieking Spaniards; for many of them were still exposed on the burning rafts, and many more were floating in the bay clinging to spars and fragments. Many wounded were dragged from the very midst of the flames, and about 250 in all were rescued from inevitable death by fire or water. Curtis was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. A pinnace into which he had thrown himself was close to one of the floating batteries when she blew up, and was involved by the explosion in one vast cloud of fire and smoke and masses of burning wood. General Eliott and the garrison, who saw the explosion, never expected to see Curtis again; but as the smoke cleared away the pinnace became visible on the face of the water; but her coxswain was killed, several of her crew were wounded, one of the burning pieces of timber had fallen into her and gone through her bottom, and she was only saved from sinking by the sailors stuffing their jackets into the hole. And thus ended all the Chevalier d'Arcon's high-flown hopes and visions of greatness: his "constructions" were involved in total destruction; his 150 brass cannon of large calibre were at the bottom of the sea or in the hands of the English; an enormous sum of money

* According to a tradition common among the English soldiers at Gibraltar, a Queen of Spain, on one occasion, ascended the high hill they call her chair, vowing she would not come down again or take food until called to dine in Gibraltar; so sure was she that the place would be taken.

† This very interesting paper, used by Sir John Barrow, in his Life of Howe, was found among the papers of the late Sir Evan Nepean, and sent by his son to Captain Brenton, R.N., who communicated it to Sir John Barrow.

‡ Drinkwater.

had been worse than thrown away; and, between killed, wounded, and prisoners, nearly 1000 men had been sacrificed. The blow—and well it might—appears to have affected the poor engineer's intellect. He wrote to the French ambassador at Madrid—"I have burnt the temple of Ephesus! everything is lost, and through my fault. What comforts me under my misfortune is, that the honour of the two kings remains untarnished."*

That the siege was not immediately abandoned was owing only to the knowledge that Eliott's stock of ammunition and provisions was greatly reduced, and to the hope that the combined fleet collected in the narrow bay, with scouts in the straits of Gibraltar, would prevent any relief. The French and Spanish admirals, indeed, believed that no such attempt would be made, when, on the 24th of September, an express was received from Madrid announcing to them the departure of the British fleet for the relief of Gibraltar. Upon the reception of this intelligence, 2000 land troops were embarked in the ships of the line; but the whole fleet still remained anchored in the bay, nor did they move to the strait's mouth, when, on the 9th of October, they were informed that the British fleet had been seen off Lisbon steering to the south with a fair wind. The fleet was of course the brave Lord Howe's, which had been increased to thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships; Vice-Admirals Barrington and Milbank, Rear-Admirals Hood and Hughes, and Commodore Hotham having been placed under his lordship: and an immense convoy of transports and trading vessels, about 150 sail in all, followed under the protection of the fleet. Before reaching Cape Finisterre the convoy was scattered in a gale of wind; and the weather during nearly the whole of the voyage was squally and hazy; yet, through the care of Lord Howe, the vigilance of the officers of the royal fleet, and the good seamanship of the masters and crews of the transports and traders, that multitude of shipping was collected and kept together; and on the 11th of October they glided, in a compact mass, between the shores of Europe and Africa, through the Straits of Gibraltar, with the fore-knowledge that the force of the enemy in the bay amounted to fifty sail of the line, besides frigates, smaller vessels, and an infinitude of gun-boats. The convoy went first, under the charge of two 60-gun ships—the 'Buffalo' and 'Panther:' the fleet followed in three divisions, the third squadron and the centre squadron being in line of battle a-head, and the second squadron in reserve. The current ever flows through the straits into the Mediterranean with great force, and, as the wind was blowing in the same direction, the transports shot past the not very broad mouth of the Bay of Gibraltar, becoming what sailors call "back-strapped"—a not uncommon accident—that is, they were driven behind the rock. Only four of them got to the appointed anchoring stations in front of the rock near the old mole, where they landed their cargoes without any interruption from the combined fleet, which lay at anchor between Algeciras and the Orange Grove. Lord Howe, in the 'Victory,' of 100 guns, passed the end of the rock called Europa Point, and hauled up behind to protect the convoy, and cover their passage, when the weather should serve, back into the bay. On the morning of the 12th Captain Curtis, who had commanded the brigade of gun-boats, came round from General Eliott in an open boat, and informed his lordship that, in the night of the 10th, the combined fleet, huddled in the bay, had suffered from a violent gale of wind, which had driven one ship of the line on shore at the Ragged Staff under the guns of Gibraltar,* another ship on shore near the Orange Grove, and another, of the largest size, upon Punta Mala; and which had forced two ships of the line to quit the bay altogether and run up the Mediterranean in the direction of Malaga. On the following day, the 13th, the combined fleet put to sea, with the double purpose of giving protection to their two stray ships in the Mediterranean, and of cutting off the supplies for the relief of the garrison before they could be brought round into the bay. But Lord Howe had all his multitude of shipping under his hand in compact order, there were no stragglers, and the accidents of the wind proved most favourable to him. The French and Spaniards, in clearing Europa Point, got into the strong current, and, as the breeze was still in the same course, they were swept far behind the rock and beyond the snug corner where the British fleet lay; and then there came on a calm, which kept them motionless all night off Malaga. And on the morning of the 14th an easterly wind—the wind for which Howe was sighing—springing up suddenly, carried the whole British fleet round Europa Point into the bay and in front of the old rock, in the midst of the shouts and acclamations of the garrison and inhabitants. Two new regiments, with an abundant supply of gunpowder and of provisions, were thrown into the place; and, as the operations of landing all these things must occupy a considerable time, his lordship kept guard at the mouth of the bay and right across the sea from Europa Point to the African coast, to prevent the return of the French and Spaniards to the ground they had left. Every transport as she discharged her cargo came out of the bay and ran through the straits, which were kept open to them all by Howe's disposition of his forces. By the evening of the 18th the landing of the stores and troops was completed, and most of the convoy were getting out of the straits into the Atlantic. At break of day on the 19th, his important duty being done, Howe began to repass the straits himself with his

* Letter as given by Archdeacon Coxe, Memoirs of Spanish Kings of House of Bourbon.

* This was the 'St. Michael,' a fine Spanish ship of seventy-two guns, which, with her crew of 650 men and some soldiers, was captured by the garrison. The allies tried to destroy her as she lay stranded, but their shot and shell (fired at too great a distance) took little effect, and three or four days after the English got her afloat with little damage.

ships of war, being now closely followed by the combined fleet, who came down from Malaga with the same wind that favoured his passage against the current, and who, under several variations, continued to be between him and the wind, or in possession of the advantage of the weather-gage. On the morning of the 20th both fleets were clear of the straits and in the open ocean. As the enemy gained upon him in the course of the day, Howe formed in order of battle to leeward. As they had the wind, and as it was blowing freshly, the Spaniards and French, who had still forty-five or forty-six sail of the line to oppose to the British thirty-four sail, were left uninterruptedly to take their own distance at which they should think fit to engage; but they testified no anxiety for coming to close quarters, and, indeed, no alacrity in coming into action at all; for it was sunset before they began their cannonade at random-shot distance. They continued their fire, at a considerable distance and with little effect, until ten at night, when they hauled their wind and gave up all idea of battle or further pursuit. They had—at least such of them as had gone near enough—been sorely mauled by the steady fire of some of Howe's ships, and their loss in killed and wounded had not been inconsiderable. In this partial action the British lost 68 in killed, and 208 wounded. The combined fleet went into Cadiz to repair their damages; and Howe, after detaching one squadron to the West Indies and another to Ireland, came home, and on the morning of the 14th of November anchored safely at St. Helen's.*

After the total destruction of d'Arcon's "Ephesian temple" and this opportune relief, the bravest and most persevering of the besiegers must have felt that their enterprise was utterly hopeless; but, as if to save the pride of the Spaniards, the siege was not formally raised until preliminaries of peace were agreed upon—a conclusion which was greatly hastened by the recent events. The sacrifices which Spain had made in this blockade and siege of four years were every way enormous, and were felt by an impoverished government and declining country for many a long year after. Owing to the nature of the place, the form of the fortifications, and innumerable skilful little arrangements of General Eliott and the officers serving under him, the loss of the garrison was very inconsiderable: from the 9th of August to the 17th of October, a term including the greatest efforts of the enemy, there were only, in men, officers, and non-commissioned officers, 65 killed and about 400 wounded. The force of the garrison at the beginning of the siege was, counting all arms, about 7000. The ruinous exertions and failures of France in the East Indies, the state of wretchedness and almost helplessness of the Americans, were not so well or so universally known, and great efforts had been made to patch up or conceal the defeat of the French in the West Indies; but all Europe had had their eyes fixed intently on the siege of Gibraltar for at least one whole year, and the miscarriage of that great enterprise, and the exploit of Lord Howe, were rapidly reported to every court, capital, and town. Charles III., who had been led into the war by the hope of regaining not only Gibraltar, but all that Spain had ever lost to England, became most anxious for a peace; and, though he continued to make high demands, the secret was easily penetrated that he must in reality rest satisfied with the cession of Minorca and a few other places, or at least that he was in no condition to support by arms the pretensions of his diplomacy. The French ministers were feeling the accuracy of Turgot's predictions, and in their augmenting poverty and embarrassment they also were anxious for peace. The Dutch were groaning for an end to the war, and the Empress of Russia, departing from some of her unfavourable prejudices in regard to England, now really began to act as a fair and anxious mediatrix. She told Spain that she must give up all idea of obtaining the Rock, either by arms or by treaty; and she intimated to France and to Holland, and indirectly to the agents of the United States, that they ought each and all to moderate their pretensions. In the meanwhile the British government, though they had sent out no more troops, had ordered an immense naval force to collect on the American coast, and in the month of September there were at New York alone twenty-six sail of the line, with frigates, fire-ships, &c. Except a few wrong-headed enthusiasts, who, like Lafayette, were still dreaming of the conquest of Canada and of the total expulsion of the British from the American continent, every man in the States felt with Washington that it was high time for a peace, and that, if France, for views and objects of her own, should endeavour to prolong the war and bind them to it according to the treaty, with England blockading their coasts and triumphant at sea, with no money and no credit, they must rapidly sink to the lowest stage of human wretchedness. Whatever were the private feelings of Lord Shelburne as to the great question of independence—he subsequently stated that they had undergone a change and had been liberalized by his intercourse with a Frenchman, an abbé-philosophe, an economist, an author, and encyclopædist*—he sent Mr. Fitzherbert to Paris to take up the thread of the negotiations as they had been left by Mr. Grenville, Fox's nominee, who had been recalled after the breaking up of the Rockingham ministry; and nearly at the same time he dispatched to the same capital Mr. Richard Oswald, a merchant and ship-owner, who had formerly had extensive commercial dealings with America, and who was now authorized to treat with the American agents and commissioners at the court of France—Dr. Franklin, Adams, Jay, and Laurens. Vergennes, the French minister, partly, perhaps, through the habit of his

* Sir John Barrow, Life of Earl Howe.—Ann. Regist.—Captain Schomberg, Nav. Chron.

* The well-known Abbé Morellet, the uncle of the wife of Marmontel.—*See Lord Shelburne's Letters to the Count de Vergennes, in Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet, de l'Académie Francaise*, &c.

country in diplomacy, partly through a half-malicious and half-selfish desire to embarrass and prolong the negotiations, and in part no doubt to keep the new republic weak and dependent, had recourse to sundry manœuvres, propositions, and counter-propositions. For example, he instigated the Americans to claim a share in our profitable Newfoundland fishery, and he strongly urged the British government to refuse them this concession; and he formed a design to weaken and divide the American States before they should acquire stability by peace. But the English negotiators detected and exposed to the agents of congress his double dealing about Newfoundland, assuring them that a share in that fishery would be allowed them; and the fortunate capture by an English cruiser of dispatches containing the project of division and dismemberment enabled the British government to expose that matter also. Mr. Fitzherbert secretly laid the intercepted paper before the American commissioners at Paris. Both Adams and Jay were furious against Vergennes; and, though Franklin was cooler in his indignation towards the French, or hotter in his animosities to England, he agreed in opinion that no time was to be lost in bringing the treaty to a conclusion.* And accordingly, on the 30th of November, *at a private meeting unknown to Vergennes*, they signed separate preliminary articles of peace with England. This proceeding was of course contrary to the letter and spirit of their treaty with France, and the recent votes of congress. Vergennes, in his turn, complained of being duped, and felt, or pretended, great indignation at what he called American subtlety and chicanery. He afterwards, in conjunction with Spain, laboured to limit the boundaries to be assigned to the United States, and advised the English government not to make too ample concessions. But, though Vergennes' affection to the new republic might be exceedingly small, his great object in this last side-scheme was to keep a bone of contention between the parent state and the enfranchised colonies, and to prevent the return to the old friendly feeling and close commercial intercourse. And it happened in the end, certainly not out of Vergennes' diplomatising, and perhaps not out of any premeditated design on the part either of America or of England, but apparently owing to haste, a confusion of ideas, and a vagueness of expression or definition in the negotiators, who were neither great geographers nor mathematicians, that the boundary lines, as settled in the final treaty, were so drawn as to leave a large field open for discussion and disputation, and good or plausible reasons for either party, and for both together, to put into some future manifesto or declaration of war.

Lord Shelburne was so anxious to announce the coming peace, that, even eight days before the American commissioners at Paris had signed the separate preliminaries, he addressed a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, to acquaint him that the negotiations promised a speedy conclusion, and that on that account parliament would be prorogued from the 26th of November, the day appointed for its meeting, to the 5th of December. Slight progress was reported either with France or with Spain; but, as it was considered that America was completely detached from the hostile league, no excessive anxiety was felt by any party as to the prolongation of a naval war with the rest of our enemies.

On the 5th of December parliament met; and the speech from the throne announced that, in pursuit of a general pacification, his Majesty had offered to declare the American colonies free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. George III. had not all his habitual composure of manner when he added—"In thus admitting their separation from the crown of Great Britain, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition shall be wanting on my part." Fox now declared that it had been Lord Shelburne's shifting and changing on the great question of independence that had induced him to quit the cabinet, and he maintained that his lordship ought to have recognized the independence in the first instance instead of reserving it as the condition of peace. Burke, though severely criticising the greater part of the speech, more particularly as being stuffed full of undeserved self-praises, yet thanked his majesty for concluding a provisional agreement which had, in fact, ended the American war. Lord North intimated that difficulties might yet arise; that England was not reduced to so abject a state as to accept whatever terms of peace might be offered to her by her enemies; that the House would be unanimous in demanding an honourable peace, or a vigorous prosecution of war; and that he should reserve the right of objecting to the provisional treaty, when laid before parliament. But there was no regular opposition to the address in either House. In the Lords, Shelburne, in reply to some strong objections against the preliminaries agreed upon with the American commissioners, declared, that the full recognition of independence of the United States was still dependent on the conduct of France, and that, if France did not consent to peace, that recognition would be withheld. Several warm debates followed on the same subject. On the 18th of December Fox moved for copies of all the parts of the provisional treaty that related to American independence;

* Jay accused Franklin of a too great subserviency to the will of the French court!—*Life and Opinions of John Jay, by his son W. Jay.*

but Thomas Pitt met him by moving the order of the day. Lord North supported Thomas Pitt, and Fox was left in the small minority of 46 against 219. On the 23rd, the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the opinion of no very inconsiderable part of it still being, that the negotiations with France, Spain, and Holland would fall to the ground, and that a general peace was a distant event. But during the recess, the negotiations came to a pacific end. Numerous and strong indications of the revived spirit of the English nation are said to have hastened the march of diplomacy. In the autumn the gentlemen of the county of Suffolk proposed building a ship of the line at their own expense; their example was followed in other counties, contributions poured in rapidly, and in a short time the fund in hand exceeded 200,000*l*. At the same time, the wealthy Sir James Lowther offered the king a first-rate ship completely manned, victualled, and armed at his own and sole expense. The French court, which had been led to believe, by opposition orations, and other means, that any idea of prolonging the war was odious to all classes of Englishmen, and that the country was, to the last degree, impoverished and reduced, were greatly struck with these demonstrations, to which, probably, they attributed more importance than they were entitled to. Mr. Fitzherbert, then negotiating at Paris, compared the striking effect to that which would have been produced by a great naval victory on our part. The Spanish ambassador, the Count d'Aranda, at the opening of the negotiations at Paris, had urged the pretensions of his court with great violence, for he was distinguished by his antipathy to England. Dr. Franklin strongly supported the count, and put arguments into his mouth for proving that Gibraltar ought to be ceded to Spain as one of the prices of peace. As an equivalent, d'Aranda offered Oran, and then Oran and Porto Rico; but his propositions were met with determined negatives, his tone was soon lowered, and he acquiesced in the conditions of a treaty which the French court had determined to accept.

A.D. 1783.—On the 20th of January the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris.*

By these arrangements his Britannic majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent, relinquishing all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same; the boundaries were settled very liberally for the Americans; and they were secured in full liberty to take fish of every kind on the grand bank and on all other banks of Newfoundland, as also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and all other places in the sea where they had formerly been accustomed to fish. His majesty agreed, with all convenient speed, without causing any destruction or *carrying away any negroes or other property of the Americans*, to withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the United States. The navigation of the river Mississippi from its source to the ocean was for ever to remain free and open to the *subjects* of Great Britain and the *citizens* of the United States equally. Franklin, Jay, and all the American commissioners had sternly opposed any compensation to the American royalists, that unfortunate class of men who had strong claims on the British government; and Franklin had even declared that they would rather risk a war by themselves alone, than consent to any indemnification for the enemies of, and *traitors* to, their country. A clause was, however, agreed to and inserted in the treaty—certainly with the intention that it should, and with the fore-knowledge that it would, remain a dead letter on the other side of the Atlantic—that congress should *earnestly recommend* it to the legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties which had been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States; and that persons of *any other descriptions* should have free liberty to go to any part of the States, and therein remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, &c., as had been confiscated; and that congress should also *earnestly recommend* a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding these matters, so as to render them perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, *but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail*; and that congress should also *earnestly recommend* that the estates, &c., should be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who might be now in possession the *bonâ fide* price (*where any had been given*) which such persons might have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation. It was, however, expressly agreed, that all persons whatsoever who had any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, should meet with no impediments in the prosecution of their rights; that there should be no future confiscations made, or any prosecutions commenced against any person for the part which he might have taken in the present war—that no person should, on that account, suffer any further loss or damage, either in person or property, and that all those who might be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America should be immediately set at liberty.

The conditions of the treaty which regarded France were—that she should have the right of fishing at Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the same footing as at the last peace—only, to prevent future disputes, the limits were more accurately defined and restricted; that she should again be put in possession of the small islands

* The American signatures were—John Adams. B. Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens. Before signing, Franklin is said to have put on triumphantly the dress suit which he had never worn since the day of Wedderburn's attack in the British privy council.

of St. Pierre and Miquelon on the Newfoundland coast; that in the West Indies she should keep Tobago, and have St. Lucie restored to her, she, on her part, restoring to Great Britain, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; that on the African coast she should keep Senegal and Goree, Great Britain retaining Fort James and the River Gambia; that in the East Indies she should have back Pondicherry and all that she had lost, together with liberty to carry on her accustomed commerce, and also to fortify Chandernagore; and finally, all the stipulations against fortifying Dunkirk, and making it a great port—stipulations which, to very little purpose, had been inserted in so many successive treaties—were omitted and renounced.

Spain procured better terms than she had ever obtained since the peace of St. Quintin. The two Floridas and Minorca were ceded to her, she renouncing all claim to the Bahama islands, which had been recaptured by the British before the execution of the treaty. In the Bay of Mexico, the British were to be strictly confined to the district between the rivers Honda and Wallace, and, while allowed to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, they were on no account to erect any forts or block-houses, without the protection of which they had always found it impossible to carry on their trade.

The Dutch agreed to a truce, with the understanding that there was to be a mutual restoration of conquests between them and Great Britain; but the preliminaries were not arranged till nearly eight months after.

No notice whatever was taken in the treaty of the principles of the Armed Neutrality, which no British minister could have ventured to admit.

Parliament re-assembled at the time appointed, and was occupied for a day or two on the affairs of Ireland. But, on the 24th of January, when the preliminaries of peace were laid before both Houses, ministers were attacked with the utmost violence, and the nation was astonished by a close coalition between those old adversaries, Lord North and Mr. Fox. Nearly the whole Rockingham party had followed Fox, and it was evident that their strange union with North's friends and the great body of the Tories would drive Shelburne from his post. Fox, with all his abilities, could hardly have succeeded in obtaining better terms of peace; and he had expressed or implied a readiness to yield quite as much as Shelburne had done in order to put an end to the horror and expenses of the war; his party had repeatedly declared that a high price must of necessity be paid for the inestimable blessing; but this hindered neither him nor them from going into an extreme condemnation of the whole treaty. In the Commons, the address of thanks to his majesty for ordering the preliminary articles of peace to be laid before the House was moved on the 17th of February by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, at this period the bosom-friend of William Pitt. It was opposed by the entire strength of the coalition, the antagonists in so many fierce debates acting together as if they had always had one will and one principle, and as if Fox and Burke had not a hundred times threatened Lord North with the block for persevering in the war. The first amendment, "to reserve to the House the power of disapproving the conditions of the treaty," was moved by Lord John Cavendish; and Lord North moved the second, which was "to express the regard of the British Parliament for the unfortunate American royalists." It was admitted, however, on all hands, "that the preliminary articles for which the public faith was pledged should be kept inviolate." Ministers urged that a peace was the great desire of parliament and of the country, and that the only thing to be considered was, whether the peace they had been enabled to procure were not preferable to the war which they found raging when they accepted office. In defending their conduct they only made use of arguments which had been worn threadbare by the Rockingham party, such as the hopelessness of the struggle, the total want of any allies, the rapidly increasing national debt, &c. They held that the sacrifices they had made were neither numerous, nor, in reality, important; and that better terms could not possibly have been procured without prolonging the war at an enormous cost. They declared that even one year of hostilities would have cost the country from sixteen to twenty millions. On the other hand, the coalesced opposition proclaimed that a worse peace could not have been concluded—that the treaty was replete with infamy and ignominious sacrifices, dismembering the British empire everywhere, and introducing disunion in the most valuable parts of it. Fox challenged ministers to produce the treaty which he had sketched a few months before, and which, he said, would prove how far he had been from yielding things which they had yielded. The course of events in that part of the world, more than any preconceived scheme, had led Lord North to fix an attentive and hopeful eye on the East Indies, and to promise himself there something more than a compensation for our loss of dominion in other parts. He saw with unaffected anxiety that the treaty, by giving the French a fresh footing on the coast of Coromandel, might shake our rising empire and re-introduce all the anarchy of the old system. In his speech he dwelt with great ability upon this point, predicting hostile leagues between the French and the native princes, and the speedy interruption of our valuable commerce. He condemned nearly every concession made, but more emphatically the boundaries allowed to the United States, the liberty given to the French and Americans to fish on the banks of Newfoundland, and the surrender to Spain of the Floridas and Minorca. He severely censured the abandonment of the unfortunate American royalists to the fury of their revengeful countrymen, and the degrading notion of the British

government, sending prayers and petitions to congress in favour of those victims. Mr. Powys distinguished himself among the many who condemned as infamous and monstrous the coalition between men so different as Lord North and Mr. Fox. He said that this was indeed a season of strange confederacies—arbitrary despots were figuring as the protectors of an infant republic, and in that House the lofty assertors of the power and prerogative of the king were uniting in close alliance with the humble worshippers of the majesty of the people. Burke said there was nothing so monstrous in such an alliance, if any such had been formed—which he had yet to learn. Fox seemed fully to admit the formation of the alliance, and he undertook its defence most eloquently. One of the best arguments he could have used would have been to declare that orators in opposition always say a great deal more than they mean, or more than they know to be true; and that the best of oratory is often little more than an acting for effect. He reminded the House that he had often paid a tribute to the private worth of Lord North; and that now that the American war, which had caused the hostility between Lord North and him, had ceased, their animosity also ought to end. He declared that he had ever found Lord North open and sincere as a friend, and honourable and manly as an enemy, above practising subterfuges, tricks, and stratagems. And no man could utter with greater truth than Fox, whose very vices were better or more generous things than some men's virtues, the words which he added—"It is not in my nature to bear malice, or live in ill-will; my friendships are perpetual, my enmities not so: *amicitiæ sempiternæ, inimicitiæ placabiles.*" This most animated debate was prolonged till half-past seven in the morning, when both the coalition amendments were carried by a majority of sixteen—the numbers being 224 to 208. In the House of Lords an amendment similar to that of Lord North was moved by the Earl of Carlisle, and rejected by a majority of thirteen, or by 72 to 59. Four days after—on the 21st of February—the coalition followed up their victory in the Commons; and Lord John Cavendish moved a series of resolutions condemning the recent treaty, though still pledging the house to preserve the peace inviolate. Lord John, forgetting how very recently he and his friends had pursued the same course, reprehended men who, with un-English minds, could permit their gloomy imaginations to brood perpetually over our own losses, debts, and disgraces, without looking at the actual state of our enemies. He said, and with perfect truth, that France and Spain were almost ruined by the war; that Holland was in a reduced and helpless condition; and that, in America, most of the people had refused to pay the taxes ordered by congress for continuing the contest. Fox made a brilliant display, and Pitt, though ill and suffering, rose to reply to him: he spoke from one o'clock till four o'clock in the morning, defending the treaty, article by article, and vehemently reproaching the coalition, which he called an "ill-omened and baneful alliance." He pronounced a high eulogium on the eminent abilities, character, and patriotism of Lord Shelburne, and expressed his own indifference to the loss of power and the want of fortune.* Other hot attacks were made on the coalition, which was now defended by Lord John Cavendish and by Lord North, as well as by Fox, who said that it had arisen only from the imperative necessity of times and circumstances, and that it was intended to preserve the constitutional vigour of the state. Lord John compared it to the coalition of parties in 1757, which had brought Pitt's father into office, with his old antagonist the Duke of Newcastle, and which had ended in a successful and glorious administration. His lordship declared that he took pride in being one of the authors of the coalition, which might yet save the country. Lord North applauded the amiable and upright character of Lord John Cavendish, and paid a longer and a warmer tribute to the abilities, eloquence, genius, and generous nature of Fox. "While I admire the vast extent of his understanding," said North, "I can rely on the goodness of his heart. As an enemy I always found him formidable, but in proportion as I had reason to dread him while our principles were adverse, I anticipate greater prospect of success now that we unite with one mind and one heart in the cause of our country." He allowed that in the heat of debate that great orator had delivered many bitter things against him, but it should be remembered that he had never charged him with any want of integrity. There was more said in the debate upon the coalition than about the treaty; but, after four in the morning, Lord John Cavendish's resolutions were carried by a majority of seventeen, the numbers being 207 to 190.

Immediately after this second defeat Lord Shelburne resigned, but the rest of the administration remained, and Pitt even continued in office five weeks after the first lord of the treasury had retired, a circumstance which was considered as unprecedented. According to one who was in his closest intimacy, Pitt, on, or even before, the 24th of February, was sent for by the king, who made him the "very surprising proposition" to form a cabinet of his own.† On the 25th Dundas moved an adjournment for three days, to afford time for the forming of a new cabinet. This motion was readily agreed to; but the three days passed without anything being settled, and when the House met again (on the 28th) neither Dundas nor any one else on that side said a word about the matter. It appears that in the course of that day Thomas

* "Pitt," says Wilberforce, "spoke three hours, till four in the morning; stomach disordered, and actually holding Solomon's Porch (a portico behind the old House of Commons) door open with one hand, while vomiting during Fox's speech, to whom he was to reply."—*MS. Mem. in Life of Wilberforce by his Sons.*

† Wilberforce; Diary, in Life by his Sons. At this time Pitt and Wilberforce were almost inseparable; Pitt, Bankes, and Pepper Arden dining and sleeping several days in the week at Wilberforce's villa at Wimbledon.

Townshend had been sent to persuade Pitt to accede to the king's wishes, but all in vain.* Day after day elapsed, and still all was undecided. On the 2nd or 3rd of March the king sent for Lord North, having previously seen his father, the Earl of Guildford. His majesty insisted that Fox should be given up and excluded; North refused, and they parted on bad terms. On the 5th the king saw Lord North a second time, but he could not prevail upon him to break the coalition.† On the 12th his majesty sent for North a third time, and then commissioned him to desire the Duke of Portland, who had succeeded to the great party influence of the Marquess of Rockingham, to form an administration. But fresh difficulties arose: the Duke of Portland would in no way break the league which had been formed between his party and the party of Lord North; the king still tried to exclude Fox, his animosity to whom was certainly not moderated by any Christian charity or by any constitutional deference; and Fox, and some of his friends, could not agree as to the admission into the cabinet of Lord Stormont, whom they had rejected before; and on the 24th of March it was currently reported that all negotiation between the king and the coalition was broken off.‡ On that evening Mr. Coke, the popular member for Norfolk, moved an address requesting his majesty "to consider the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and comply with the wishes of the House, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might tend to terminate the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country." The debate which ensued was rendered remarkable by Lord North's solemn denial of having ever found, while in office, any secret influence behind the throne—for that cry was again revived and was now applied, not to Lord Bute, who had almost disappeared from the public eye, but to Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool. Coke's motion was carried in a very full House with only four dissentient voices. His majesty replied to this address, that it was his "earnest desire to do everything in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful Commons." But, though more than a month had passed since the resignation of Lord Shelburne, nothing was done. On the 31st of March Lord Surrey moved another and stronger address, "to assure his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government; and most humbly to entreat that he would take such measures as might quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But, as it was intimated by Mr. Pitt that he had that day resigned as chancellor of the exchequer, the motion was ultimately withdrawn. Two days after this the king surrendered at discretion to the coalition, and an end was put to this long ministerial interregnum, which, however, was not so long by six weeks as the ministerial hiatus in the year 1757. The Duke of Portland became first lord of the treasury, Lord North secretary for home affairs, and Mr. Fox secretary for foreign affairs; the Earl of Carlisle got the privy seal; Lord John Cavendish was reappointed chancellor of the exchequer; and Admiral Lord Keppel, who had quitted the Shelburne party, and resigned in January on account of the treaty of peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty. The wishes of the king were complied with as regarded Lord Stormont, who became president of the council; but that other king's man, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, who had been admitted before at the formation of the Rockingham cabinet, when Stormont had been excluded, was now, in his turn, barred and put to the ban: the great seal was given in commission to Lord Loughborough, Mr. Justice Ashhurst, and Mr. Baron Hotham; and the aged Lord Mansfield accepted the temporary office of speaker of the House of Lords; Lord Townshend became master-general of the ordnance, Colonel Fitzpatrick secretary at war, Burke again paymaster of the forces, and Charles Townshend treasurer of the navy. These seven—Portland, North, Fox, Cavendish, Carlisle, Keppel, and Stormont—formed the new cabinet. Lord Sandwich, who still enjoyed the protection of North, and whose poverty was notorious, was gratified with the rangership of St. James's and Hyde Parks; and his son, Lord Hinchinbroke, was made master of the buckhounds; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee took again the places of attorney and solicitor general; Sheridan, whose poverty and eloquence were equally conspicuous, became secretary to the treasury, having for his colleague Burke's brother Richard; Lord North's son (Colonel North) and the Honourable Mr. St. John were appointed under secretaries of state; the Earl of Northington was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. William Windham secretary for that kingdom. Among other household changes the Earl of Jersey was appointed captain of the band of pensioners. No pains were taken at court to conceal the dislike to all these changes; and, as the coalition, in spite of all the eloquence employed to defend it, was at first startling and then odious to the country, it was presently seen that this administration would not last longer than Lord Shelburne's. Fox, who was the real head of it, saw that his popularity was declining, and the king's aversion to him increasing every day; and that, of all experiments in politics, coalitions are apt to prove the most dangerous.

One of the first measures which the new cabinet were obliged to propose, was a loan of twelve millions; and a stamp-duty on receipts soon followed. As the loan presently bore a high premium, it was attacked by the present opposition precisely in the same way in which Fox and his friends had attacked Lord North's loan in 1781. The defence, also, was much the same as on that occasion, with the additional strong argument that Lord Shelburne's ministry had left an empty trea-

* Wilberforce; Diary, in Life by his Sons.
† Id. Id. ‡ Id. Id.

sury. The stamp-duty, also, was furiously assailed by the opposition, and warmly defended by the new administration as an excellent mode of raising revenue. Pitt, while chancellor of the exchequer, had been importuned to reproduce his scheme of parliamentary reform; but he declined the undertaking till the cabinet was changed. On the 7th of May he moved three resolutions:—1. That it was necessary to adopt measures for preventing bribery and expense at elections. 2. That, when the majority of voters in any borough should be convicted of corruption, the borough should be disfranchised, and the minority, not convicted, entitled to vote for the county. 3. That an addition should be made to the number of county members, and of representatives of the metropolis. Varying upon that point, as his father had done before him, Pitt now defended the rotten boroughs, as necessary deformities, which might disfigure the constitution, but which could not be removed without risking a terrible catastrophe. As Chatham had once done, he maintained that increasing the number of county members would give new life and vigour to the constitution. He would not fix the specific number, but he gave it as his opinion, that, including the new members for the metropolis, not less than one hundred representatives ought to be added to the House. After a long debate, and a very remarkable speech from Lord North, who ridiculed the project, the motion was rejected by 293 to 149. Some very important debates took place on the modes of arranging our commercial intercourse with the United States, the importance of whose trade was ably explained by Gibbon's friend, Holroyd (now Lord Sheffield), both in speeches in parliament and in publications. A bill was passed for repealing the restraining act, and other obstacles were removed by a temporary bill, vesting in the crown the power of making future regulations. The fate of the American royalists was also discussed, and with much good feeling on all sides. Scarcely any one believed that congress, or the several state governments, would pay much attention to the recommendations of England; or that the unfortunate partisans would be allowed to recover their property, or had any other chance of compensation than what might be found in the generosity of Great Britain. An act was passed appointing commissioners to inquire into their losses and services; and a committee of supply agreed to allow half-pay to all the American officers who had borne arms for the king, though only in volunteer corps. A host of these royalists soon found themselves compelled to quit their native country for ever. Counting all classes and conditions, they subsequently received, in various parliamentary grants, somewhat more than twelve millions of money.

On the 17th of June a remarkable petition—the first of so many—was presented to parliament by the Quakers for the total abolition of the slave trade. It was considered as little more than a romantic aspiration of the amiable enthusiasts who had sent it up, and after a very short debate it was ordered to lie upon the table. It was not until Clarkson and Wilberforce had entered upon their high mission, and had persevered in it for some years, that the feelings of the nation were awakened and excited by this great question. On the 23rd of June a message was delivered from the king to the House of Commons, recommending to their consideration the forming of a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales, who had now attained his twenty-first year, and whose debts and extravagance were already the talk of the town. As the prince was exceedingly intimate with Mr. Fox, and linked with the coalition ministry, which still commanded a great majority in the Commons, there was no risk of parliamentary parsimony. But the king, who was very anxious to break the connexion between his heir and his present ministers, had put his decided negative upon the Duke of Portland's plan for allowing the prince a *hundred* thousand a-year, saying that he could not think of burthening his people by so large a grant, and encouraging the prince in his habits of expense; and, though Portland and his colleagues had bound themselves to the prince to procure him the larger amount, they were obliged to submit to the king's will, which was that *fifty* thousand a-year should be allotted by himself out of the civil list, and that Parliament should merely grant *sixty* thousand pounds as an out-fit. A vote to this effect was carried with the full knowledge that the House would soon be called upon again to pay the debts accumulated on the civil list. The prince, fully aware that the limitation of his income proceeded from his father alone, continued his close intimacy with Fox, whom his father abhorred, and gave all the countenance he could—which was little enough at this moment—to the coalition. On the 16th of July Parliament was prorogued. Mr. Pitt went over to France with Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Elliot to improve his French, and to take a glance at the court. The king remained groaning under the ministry which had been imposed upon him.

On the 2nd of September preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch were signed at Paris, Great Britain obtaining the cession of Negapatam, and restoring Trincomalee and all her other conquests. On the very next day the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were signed at the same place. Shortly after, when Adams arrived as envoy from the United States, the king said to him, at his first audience—"I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but, now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it." Adams, it is said, was much affected with the interview, and retired from it with altered sentiments as to the real character of George III. Jay, also, who had written so considerable a part of the American manifestos and revolutionary documents, in which the king was described as an unfeeling and savage tyrant,

thirsting for the blood of his subjects, was constrained to confess, a year or two later, when he was brought personally in contact with him, that he had overcharged his picture, that the king had many virtues and no inconsiderable share of ability, and that, instead of being hated, he was much beloved by the English people.* Of all the public men whom the revolution had produced, and who afterwards visited England, Jefferson appears to have been the least susceptible of a return to friendly feeling, and the most disposed to underrate, not merely the character of the sovereign, but also the character of the people, and the beauty and productiveness of the country.†

When parliament re-assembled—on the 11th of November—the Prince of Wales took his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cornwall; and Fox produced his famous India Bills, which became the immediate cause of the dismissal of the coalition ministry. The first of these bills was for "vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public." Fox proposed that these directors should be seven in number, to be nominated, *in the first instance by parliament*, and afterwards by the crown, to act for four years; but there were to be added nine assistant-directors, to be chosen in open election by a majority of the proprietors of East India stock. The seven directors were to be intrusted with the entire management of the territorial possessions and revenues of the company; and the nine assistant-directors acting under them were to manage the commercial concerns of the company; and both classes were to be removeable by the king, *on address of either House of Parliament*. The second bill,—"for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India"—related chiefly to the powers to be granted to the governor-general and council in India, and to the conduct to be observed towards the natives. It contained much that was good and admirable, and was decidedly calculated to attain the end proposed by Fox—to annihilate tyranny and oppression, and improve the political and social, the moral and physical, condition of thirty millions of people. But it was opposed as a most dangerous measure on grounds altogether distinct from that of its fitness or unfitness for securing a good government to the people of India. According to a rumour current at the time, the cabinet-excluded Lord Thurlow, who had frequent access to the king, early availed himself of his opportunities to prejudice the royal mind by representing the whole scheme as calculated to render ministers, who, in fact, would have the appointment of the seven great directors, independent of the crown, through the mighty India influence they would acquire; and as containing many clauses that must injure, and that might even subvert, the British constitution. Fox, however, encountered no opposition till the first of the two bills had been once read—on the 20th of November—and it was moved that it should be read a second time that day week. This motion was opposed by Mr. W. W. Grenville (afterwards Lord Grenville), who denounced the plan as one of the most alarming nature, involving the most daring violation of the chartered rights of the company, and putting an extent of patronage into the hands of ministers which would enable them to defy both the parliament and the crown. Grenville moved that the second reading should be postponed till after the Christmas recess; and he was supported by his relative, Pitt, by Dundas, Jenkinson, and other members, including Mr. John Scott, afterwards Lord Chancellor Eldon, who on this night spoke in parliament for the first time, as did also, but on the other side of the House, Mr. (afterwards Lord Chancellor) Erskine. Fox exerted himself greatly; but Lord North was absent on account of indisposition. Grenville, contented with having made a beginning, did not press his motion to a division. The second reading, therefore, came on on the 27th, and then there arose one of the longest and most animated of debates. Pitt moved the adjournment of the debate till the next day, on the pretext that members ought to have time allowed them to study certain papers and statements of figures on which ministers grounded some of their arguments. Fox, who protested against any delay at this stage, again exerted himself with wonderful eloquence and ability; and at half-past four in the morning Pitt's motion was rejected by 229 against 120. The bill was accordingly read a second time. On the 1st of December another great struggle took place on the motion for going into committee. Burke, who is said to have been even more than Fox the real author of the India scheme, was the principal orator on this occasion, and delivered a speech which has never been exceeded in the British parliament, equally full of minute information and eloquence—for Burke had long and laboriously studied the complicated affairs of India. Lord North, though still unwell, took a warm part in this night's debate, defending the bill. Pitt pledged himself that, if the House would throw out the present bill, he would bring forward another, which would answer the exigencies of the case, without the violence or danger of the measure then before them. Again it was half-past four in the morning before a division took place; but then the motion for going into committee was carried by 217 against 103. On the 8th of December the third reading was carried by 208 against 102. These were great and triumphant majorities, and Fox, it appears, thought he had reason to hope for the concurrence of the Lords, although the king had resolutely opposed a new and copious creation of Whig peers. On the very next day, the 9th of December, the bill was carried up to the Lords by Mr. Fox, attended by a great body of the Commons. Though allowed, as a matter of course, a first reading, it was at once

* Life and Opinions of Jay, by his Son.
† See Jefferson's own Letters in Tucker's Life.

reprobated by the Duke of Richmond, by Lord Thurlow, and by Lord Temple, who since his recall from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland had risen greatly in court favour, and had had repeated interviews with the king to concert measures for relieving him from the coalition. Temple described the whole bill as *infamous*. Thurlow, bending his heavy brows, making up his most solemn face, and looking full in the face of the Prince of Wales, who was attending the debate as a peer, to vote for it, proclaimed, with his sonorous voice, that, if the bill passed, the crown of England would no longer be worth a man of honour's wearing. "The king," he added, "will, in fact, take the diadem from his own head and place it on the head of Mr. Fox!" The second reading was fixed for the 15th. On that day the Duke of Portland, the nominal premier, said he must mention a matter that materially concerned the constitution of the country:—a rumour had prevailed for the last three days that had given him very great alarm; and in that rumour the name of the most sacred character in the kingdom had been aspersed, and the name of one of their lordships, he hoped, abused. The report alluded to, and which appears to have been substantially true, was, that the king, in a private audience, had given Lord Temple a note, written in his own hand, stating "that his majesty would deem those who voted for the bill not only not his friends, but his enemies; and that, if Lord Temple could put this in still stronger words, he had full authority to do so." After a few words from the Duke of Richmond, who read a newspaper paragraph in which Earl Temple was mentioned by name, the latter noble lord rose and said that his defence must be unparliamentary, as the attack and the mention of his name had been, but that he must insist upon being heard. He called upon the noble duke at the head of the treasury to make a specific charge, which he would meet directly: he allowed that his majesty had recently honoured him with a conference, and that he had given his advice; what that advice had been he would not then say; but he would tell their lordships negatively what it was not:—it was not friendly to the principle and object of the bill! Earl Fitzwilliam professed to receive this as a satisfactory explanation, and to understand that Lord Temple had totally denied the alarming rumour, which was therefore to be regarded as the idle breath of calumny,—the miserable artifice of the day. But Temple immediately begged that the noble earl would not give to his words an interpretation which they did not bear. He had said that the rumour, whatever it was, affected not him, while flung out in a loose and vague manner. What the newspaper reports might be, he knew not and cared not. If the noble duke at the head of the treasury had spoken out, and said clearly what he had alluded to, he should have known what to reply. He begged it to be clearly understood that he had explained no tittle of the conference which he had held with his majesty in the closet: he had neither said what was the advice he had given, nor what the result of the conference; but that he never should be ashamed to avow the advice, nor would he hesitate to publish what he was empowered to communicate when he was properly called upon to do so. The real effect of the advice and of the king's billet was seen upon a division. After the bill had been read a second time, the opposition moved for an adjournment till the following day, in order to give a further opportunity for hearing evidence and counsel in defence of the rights of the East India Company, who had petitioned against the bill; and this motion was carried against ministers by a majority of eight, the numbers being 87 against 79. Several lords, chiefly such as were of the king's household, had a few hours before withdrawn their proxies which they had entrusted to ministers; and the Prince of Wales did not vote at all. On the very same evening the Commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into consideration the rumour about Lord Temple and the king's strong note, and voted the two following resolutions:—1. "That it is now necessary to declare that, to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty, upon any bill, or other proceeding, depending in either House of Parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country: 2. That this House will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the state of the nation." The majority which carried these resolutions was nearly two to one, the numbers being 153 against 80. In the course of the debate Fox declared, among other things, that the rumour did not rest upon mere newspaper reports or verbal gossip. "There is," said he, "a written record to be produced. This letter is not to be put in the balance with the lie of the day." And he pulled from his pocket and read a copy of the note which the king was said to have given to Temple. When Fox had sat down, after a long speech, W. Grenville stated that, having taken down the words read as the king's note, he had shown them to his noble relation (Temple), and his lordship had authorised him to say that such words had never been made use of by him. Fox, in reply, said that, if Mr. Grenville had authority to say no more than what he had said, he had authority to say nothing to the purpose; and he asked if the honourable gentleman or any other person would affirm that the noble earl had not made use of some words to the same effect as those which he had read—words calculated to influence the minds of men by the use of the royal name. It appears that no answer was given to this direct question. Fox followed up a tremendous diatribe against back-stairs' lords and bedchamber politicians, and closet conferences, by the declaration that he was willing and ready

to forego all such underhand influence—that he would not even be the minister of a great and free people on any condition derogatory to his honour and independence as a private gentleman. In the debate Pitt, with the cold, sarcastic manner which was natural to him even in his early days, said that ministers ought instantly to resign, as it was evident, even from their own confessions, that they had lost the confidence of the sovereign. The reply of Fox to this argument was tremendous; and in it Pitt's "usual consequence and triumph" were not overlooked. He spoke of his own glorious and independent majority in the Commons, and of the private cabal consequently convened elsewhere. "It was natural," said he, "to expect that I, for one, would not be backward to spurn at such an interference. This circumstance affords all the advantage they wished. I could not be easy in my situation under the discovery of such an insult; and this critical moment is eagerly embraced to goad me from office, to upbraid me with the meanness of not taking the hint, to remind me in public of the fate which I owe to secret advice. When that hour comes—and it may not be very distant—that shall dismiss me from the service of the public, the honourable gentleman's example of lingering in office after the voice of the nation was that he should quit it shall not be mine. Although I did not come in by the fiat of majesty, by that fiat I am not unwilling to go out." He added, however, that it was necessary to act with caution as well as spirit. "We have been repeatedly reminded," said he, "of our disagreeable situation; but the chief fact to which we owe this inconveniency was only not foreseen from an idle opinion that no man could be base and servile enough to undertake it! But now our eyes are open to transactions of which ocular demonstration only could have convinced us. We only beg that, when the revolution which it is supposed may be effected in the royal breast is authentically announced, we may be allowed to judge for ourselves. I will apprize gentlemen, however, that the situation of ministers is at present extremely delicate. They stand pledged to the public, and a very honourable majority of this House, not to relinquish the affairs of the state while in so much anarchy and distraction. . . . . I accepted of office at the obvious inclination of this House; I shall not hold it a moment after the least hint from them to resume a private station." As a dissolution of parliament was apprehended, Mr. Erskine, as an addition to the resolutions already carried, moved another, pledging the House to pursue, with unremitting attention, the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses in the government of India; and concluding with the words—"that this House will consider as an enemy to this country any person who shall presume to advise his majesty to prevent or in any manner interrupt the discharge of this important duty." All strangers were excluded; but it appears that in the debate the motion was warmly attacked as an invasion of the king's prerogative. The entire resolution was, nevertheless, carried by 147 against 73.

All this passed on Wednesday, the 17th. The next day was employed by the king in making dispositions for the formation of a new cabinet; and at twelve o'clock at night on Thursday, the 18th, a messenger delivered to Mr. Fox and Lord North his majesty's orders, "that they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." Fox, who had not the habit of early hours, complied immediately; but Lord North was a-bed and asleep, and when he woke he could not lay his hand on his seal, which he had entrusted to the keeping of Colonel North, his son, and one of his under-secretaries. At last, however, the colonel was found, and the precious symbol was sent to St. James's. The king then delivered both seals into the hands of Lord Temple, and returned to the queen's house. On the following day—the 19th of December—Temple sent letters of dismission to all the other members of the coalition cabinet. At the same time, Pitt, though only in his twenty-fifth year, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Gower, president of the council; and Temple, one of the secretaries of state. In the afternoon, when the Commons assembled, Lord North confirmed the reports in circulation, by taking his place on the opposition bench. He was presently followed by Fox, who sat down by his side, and then by Burke, General Conway, General Burgoyne, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Surrey, and other conspicuous members; and, the House beginning to fill soon after, a most formidable body appeared on the opposition side, while the benches on the treasury side were very thinly occupied. The first thing done was the moving a new writ for the borough of Appleby, for which Pitt had sat. Mr. Dundas then moved that, in order to carry the land-tax bill through the House in time to meet large payments that were to be made by the treasury on the 5th of January, the House should meet on the next day—a Saturday—instead of being adjourned, as usual, till the Monday. As the expelled party thought that the court meant to hurry over the voting of the supplies, that it might immediately proceed to a dissolution, Mr. Fox rose and opposed this motion, which was rejected without a division. In his speech, Fox averred that a dissolution would draw down dreadful calamities upon the nation; he declared that he meant not to question the prerogative of the crown, but must hold ministers answerable for any wanton or imprudent exercise of that prerogative; that no one could say that such a prerogative ought to be exercised merely to suit the convenience of *an ambitious young man;* and that if a dissolution should take place without solid and substantial reasons being assigned for it, he would in the next parliament move a very serious inquiry into the

business, and bring the advisers of it to account. Earl Temple, the active agent in the overthrow of the coalition, now resigned on the 22nd the place which he had accepted on the 18th; upon which Viscount Sydney was appointed secretary of state for the home, and the Marquess of Carmarthen for the foreign department. At the same time, the new cabinet was completed by the additional appointments of the Duke of Rutland as lord privy seal, of Earl Howe as first lord of the admiralty, and of Lord Thurlow as chancellor. A few weeks afterwards, however, the Duke of Rutland was transferred to the government of Ireland, on which Earl Gower took the privy seal, and was succeeded as president of the council by Lord Camden. The Duke of Richmond was made master-general of the ordnance without a seat in the cabinet; Mr. William W. Grenville and Lord Mulgrave became joint paymasters of the forces; Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy; Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Rose and Mr. Thomas Steele, secretaries of the treasury; Mr. Lloyd (afterwards Lord) Kenyon, attorney-general; and Mr. R. P. Arden, solicitor-general.

The very large majority by which the ministers found themselves opposed in the House of Commons permitted the land-tax to pass; but on the very same day—the 22nd—Mr. Erskine moved an address to his majesty not to dissolve the present parliament, but to be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of his faithful Commons, and not to the secret advices of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of his majesty and his people. Pitt had not yet been re-elected, but his friend Mr. Bankes, of Corfe Castle, declared that he was authorised to state that he had no intention whatever to advise either a dissolution or a prorogation; and that, if either of these measures were resorted to, Mr. Pitt would unquestionably resign! Erskine's motion was, nevertheless, pressed, and was finally agreed to without a division. During this debate Lord North eulogised Fox as the best and the most honourable of men and statesmen. Some one spoke of Mr. Fox as having resigned. "No," said North, "my right honourable friend did not resign; *he was turned out; I was turned out; we were all turned out.*" The king's answer to the address moved by Erskine was reported to the House on the 24th (Christmas-eve), and it contained an assurance that his majesty would not interrupt their meeting by any exercise of his prerogative either by prorogation or dissolution. Fox immediately remarked that this was merely a promise that they should not be prevented from meeting again after the Christmas recess; and he suggested that in the present circumstances that recess ought to be a very short one. He said he knew that the present ministers could not stand long, and he spoke of the youth of some of them as the only possible excuse for their rashness in accepting office at all. It was resolved to adjourn only till the 12th of January.*

A.D. 1784.—When the House reassembled, Pitt and the other members of the government who had been re-elected appeared in their places. Fox immediately moved the resumption of the committee on the state of the nation. After a debate which lasted till two o'clock in the morning the motion was carried against Pitt; but by a majority of no more than thirty-nine—or, by 232 against 193. Imputations were thrown out that the ministerial minority had been raised by unfair methods and influences; but Erskine nevertheless described the youthful premier as about to be hurled from his eminence in a few hours. In this fierce contention men thought not of rest. The House immediately resolved itself into committee, and Fox moved a resolution declaring "the payment of any public money for services voted in the present session, after parliament should be prorogued or dissolved, if such events should take place before an act should have passed appropriating the supplies to such services, to be a high crime and misdemeanor." This was carried, after a short debate, without a division. Fox then moved another resolution, deferring the second reading of the Mutiny Bill till the 23rd of February; and this was carried in the same manner. Lord Surrey then stood forward, and moved, "That, in the opinion of the committee, it was peculiarly necessary, that in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, there should be an administration which has the confidence of this House and the public;" and, after an attempted amendment by Dundas, this resolution too was agreed to without a division. Lord Surrey next moved, "That it was the opinion of the committee that the late changes in his majesty's councils were immediately preceded by dangerous and universal reports, that his majesty's sacred name had been unconstitutionally abused to affect the deliberations of parliament, and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of the House." A warm debate followed, and when it was past six in the morning Dundas moved an adjournment. Upon this question the House divided, and the new ministers were left in a minority of *fifty-four*, the numbers being 196 to 142. In the course of this debate, Pitt declared that he had taken upon himself the government of the country upon one single, plain, intelligible principle, by which he desired to stand or fall with the people, namely, to save the country from the India bill, which threatened destruction to its liberties. The House at last adjourned at half-past *seven* o'clock in the morning. It did not re-assemble till Wednesday, the 14th, when Pitt moved for leave to bring in a new bill, the provisions of which he explained at great length, for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India Company. Fox criticised the proposed measure with great severity; but no opposition was

* Parl. Hist.—Ann. Regist.—Changes of Administration and History of Parties, in Companion to Newspaper.—Wraxall's Memoirs.—Nicholls, Recollections and Reflections.

made to the motion, and the House diverged to charges and counter-charges of corruption and of attempts to purchase votes. On the 16th, Pitt's India bill was read a first time with very little debate; and, the committee on the state of the nation being then resumed, Lord Charles Spencer moved a resolution, declaring, "that, after the expressed opinion of the House, the continuance of the present ministers in office was contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." This was carried by a majority of *twenty-one*, the numbers being 206 to 185. During the debate, Mr. Powys alluded to the possibility of an accommodation between the two contending parties, or a coalition between Fox and Pitt. Fox spoke as if the thing were feasible, but Pitt carefully avoided committing himself on that delicate subject. When the House met again on the 20th, Pitt found himself obliged to take notice of the recommendation of the respectable and independent country gentlemen; but he repeated the declaration made on the previous evening by Fox, that a union not founded on principle would be fallacious and dangerous. On Friday, the 23rd, the new India bill was read a second time without opposition; but a long debate took place upon the motion for committing the bill, which, on a division, was negatived, and the bill consequently thrown out, by 222 against 214. Upon this, Fox moved for, and obtained, leave to bring in a new bill of his own on the same subject. As the opposition apprehended that these triumphs, thus carried by constantly diminishing numbers, would only hasten the dissolution, they endeavoured to extract from the young premier his interpretation of the precise meaning of the royal promise on that head; but Pitt preserved an obstinate silence, and the House, at two o'clock in the morning, adjourned to the next or rather the same day, Saturday, at twelve. When they met again the same question was put, and the same silence preserved by the young and haughty minister, as to the king's intention of dissolving them. On Monday, the 26th, Mr. Eden moved a resolution, declaring the firm reliance of the House, that they should not be interrupted either by a prorogation or a dissolution from considering of proper measures for the regulation of the affairs of the East India Company, and for supporting the public credit. Mr. Pitt then rose and said, that he did not see how the royal word could be considered pledged to the extent of the motion; but he added, that, in the present situation of affairs, he thought a dissolution could not but be attended with great detriment and disadvantage, and therefore he would not advise any such exercise of the prerogative. Mr. Eden's resolution was agreed to without a division, and the House adjourned to the 29th. The three days that intervened were employed in anxious but useless efforts to bring about a coalition. Mr. Grosvenor, member for Chester, called a meeting of the members of the two parties, and about seventy gentlemen met at the St. Alban's tavern, where an address was agreed upon, and transmitted to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, entreating them to communicate with each other, and expressing a hope that, by a liberal and unreserved confidence, every impediment to their cordial co-operation might be removed. The Duke of Portland insisted that, before he met Mr. Pitt, the latter should resign; and this Pitt declined doing. The negotiation was suspended at this point when the house reassembled on the 29th, to be again adjourned—on the motion of Fox—till the 2nd of February. In the course of a short conversation, Fox spoke openly of the St. Alban's tavern negotiation, and said he trusted that those well-meant endeavours might yet produce something like a union; adding, however, that, while the present ministry retained their situations, every effort of that kind must prove unavailing. Pitt said a few words, that were not at all conciliatory.

On the 2nd of February, when the House met again, Mr. Grosvenor, who had been chairman of the St. Alban's tavern meeting, moved, that it was the opinion of the House that the critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a fair, sufficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country. Pitt now said that nothing but evil would come from the resignation of ministers; that neither his principles nor his feelings inclined him to resign; but that, if he could see any prospect of a strong and well-connected government ready to succeed him, he would cheerfully retire, without any desire to form a part of such government. Mr. Grosvenor's motion was unanimously agreed to; and then Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, moved that it was the opinion of the House that the continuance of the present ministers in their offices was an obstacle to the formation of such an administration as might enjoy the confidence of the House, &c. This motion was carried by 223 against 204. On the following day, after expressing his disappointment at seeing Pitt still in his place, Mr. Coke moved that the two resolutions should be laid before his majesty by those members who were of the privy council; and this motion was carried by 211 against 187. The Lords had hitherto been quiet in the struggle; but Pitt, that great maker of peers, had already made several, including his uncle, Thomas Pitt;* and on the 4th of March the eloquence, or zeal, of the new lords was brought into play. Lord Howard of Effingham, an old lord, but a new convert, moved two resolutions, directly levelled at those which had recently been passed by the Commons: the first, declaring that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the course of the law was unconstitutional; and the second asserting the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government to be solely vested in the sovereign. There was a long debate, but both resolutions were carried by 100 against 53. On

* The first Lord Camelford.

the very next day, in the Commons, a series of resolutions, asserting that that House had not assumed any right to suspend the execution of law, or done anything else that was unconstitutional, was carried by 187 against 157. On the 11th of February the proposed union of parties was once more discussed in the Commons, and Fox made what was considered a conciliatory and even complimentary speech. In replying to Fox, Pitt said that, whatever might be his disposition to coalesce with that gentleman, there were other persons of the same party with whom he would never act. Lord North, who considered himself more particularly pointed at, immediately rose, and declared, with great frankness, that he would never be the man to stand in the way of the formation of such a stable, united, and extended administration as the present exigencies of the country required. The St. Alban's tavern association now succeeded in prevailing upon Mr. Pitt to agree that a message should be sent in the king's name to the Duke of Portland, expressing his majesty's earnest desire that his grace should hold a conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming an administration "on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." But the duke insisted upon being permitted to construe this message as a virtual resignation on the part of Pitt; and requested to know what was meant by fair and equal terms, and also to have the honour of receiving his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person. It is affirmed by a member of the House of Commons that the Duke of Portland herein acted under the advice of Burke alone, and that Fox's absence at St. Ann's Hill overthrew a negotiation which otherwise, at this point, was not without promise of success.* We are inclined, however, to believe with another member of the same parliament, that Pitt, whose ambition impelled him to govern alone, was mortally averse to the coalition, and was all along supported by the king's known hatred of Fox.† The Duke of Portland immediately received a flat negative, both to the proposed assumption of Pitt's virtual resignation, and to the personal audience with the king; and thus the negotiation terminated. When afterwards called upon in the House to explain, Pitt said that he had taken it for granted that the Duke of Portland and his friends intended that the arrangements should *not* be made on "fair and equal terms." On the 18th of February, on the order of the day being read for going into the consideration of the supplies, he intimated that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers in compliance with the resolution of that House, and that ministers had not resigned. Fox, after declaring that such language had not been heard in the House since the Revolution, or, at least, since the accession of the House of Hanover, moved that the report of the committee of supply should be received, not now, but on Friday, the 20th; and the motion was carried by the narrow majority of *twelve*, the numbers being 208 against 196. On the 20th, Mr. Powys moved a mild resolution, implying that the House relied on his majesty's royal wisdom, and hoped that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful Commons, which had already been humbly represented to his majesty. In the debate which followed, Fox complained bitterly of the efforts which had been made to load him and his friends with unpopularity and public odium, particularly by representing their late vote for a short postponement of the supplies as a fatal blow given to the national credit. He also endeavoured to explain and defend his strong objections to a recurrence to the voice of the people through a new election; he declared that the people at the present moment were labouring under deception and delusion—were running to their own ruin—and that, therefore, it became an act of duty to resist them! Powys's motion was carried by 197 against 177; and then, though it was near two o'clock in the morning, Fox proposed an address to his majesty founded upon the resolution. After a stormy debate, this, too, was carried by 177 against 156; and then, at half-past five, the House adjourned.

In reply to the address, which was not presented till the 25th, the king said that unsuccessful efforts had been made to arrange a united administration, for which he was very desirous; but that he could not see how it would in any degree be advanced by the dismission of his present ministers, against whom no charge had been made, while numbers of his subjects had expressed to him in the warmest manner their satisfaction in the late changes. "Under these circumstances," added his majesty, "I trust my faithful Commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect." When this answer was reported—on the 27th—Lord Beaumont moved, first, that it should be taken into consideration on Monday, the 1st of March, and then, that the House should adjourn to that day. Pitt offered no objection to the first motion, which was accordingly agreed to; but, as the object of the second was to delay the supplies, he opposed it with all his might. It was, however, carried against him by 175 to 168. On the 1st of March, when the House reassembled, Fox moved a second address to the throne, to be carried up, like the former, by the whole House. This address was much stronger than the last, and contained a direct prayer for the removal of ministers. It was carried by 201 against 189. On Thursday, the 4th of March, the Commons went up to St. James's, and were told by his majesty that he remained in the same sentiments he had formerly expressed. Upon the motion of Fox it was agreed that this answer should not be taken into consideration before the

* Nicholls, Recollections and Reflections.
† Sir N. W. Wraxall, Memoirs.

following Monday. On the next day—Friday, the 5th—Fox moved that the committee on the Mutiny Bill, which stood for that day, should also be adjourned to Monday. This motion, too, he carried, but by a majority of only *nine*, the numbers being 171 against 162. On the great Monday—the 8th of March—the House was crowded to excess, strangers going down to take their places in the gallery as early as ten o'clock in the morning. But just as the important debate was about to begin, Sir James Lowther, complaining that he had not been able to find room for his friend, the brother of the member for St. Alban's, and saying that he had reason to believe that there might be strangers in the gallery not introduced by members, insisted upon carrying into force the standing order of the House for excluding all strangers whatsoever; and the gallery was accordingly cleared. Fox moved another address to the throne, repeating at greater length the prayer for the removal of ministers, and vindicating the loyalty of the Commons, who were declared to be incapable of any wish to lessen the prerogative. Pitt took little or no part in the debate, but his place was ably supplied by Dundas. About midnight, the House, in the midst of uncommon anxiety and impatience on both sides, prepared to divide. In a few minutes Fox was found to have the majority, but this time only by *one* solitary vote, the numbers being 191 against 190. Tremendous cheers were raised on the ministerial benches; and the coalition felt that the fight was over, and that nothing was left but a dignified retreat. The majority of *one* stuck in their throats, and they tried no more divisions. The Mutiny Bill was voted, the supplies were voted to the extent demanded by Pitt, and the appropriation act was left to sleep. On the morrow there was some angry conversation. Mr. Powys lamented, that, though a century had not elapsed since a vote of the Commons could bestow a crown, their repeated votes were not able now to procure the dismission of a minister! He further accused Pitt of great duplicity in his negotiations with the Duke of Portland, declaring that in reality all concession had been on one side, the minister refusing any frank explanation, or the smallest advance to conciliation. To these charges Pitt made an animated reply, but neither his words nor his manner carried conviction. Nearly everybody now knew that both the king and the minister had entered into the St. Alban's tavern propositions merely to gain time and to amuse the House while they were preparing for the great event of a dissolution. Yet even after the knowledge of this fact, and of the rapidly declining strength of opposition, had become universal, the young premier continued to preserve his mystery and silence. On the 23rd, after several members had tried to force some words from the dumb oracle, Lord North said that the report that they were at the point of death was in everybody's mouth; that it would be treating the House with unparalleled insult and contempt to dissolve parliament without waiting for a bill of appropriation; and that he had hoped the minister would have condescended to utter a single syllable by way of satisfaction. Pitt coldly replied that gentlemen might ask as many questions as they pleased, and attribute to him what motives they chose for his not answering them; that he did not conceive that he was bound to answer one way or another; and that he should pursue the line of conduct he thought right. On the very next day—the 24th—the king went down to the House of Lords, and put an end to the session by a prorogation; declaring, however, in his speech, that he felt it to be a duty which he owed to the constitution and the country, under its actual circumstances, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of his people by convoking a new parliament. And the next day the sentence of dissolution appeared in the Gazette.*

As it was indispensable to procure an appropriation bill as soon as possible, the elections were commenced almost immediately, and the new parliament was convoked for the 18th of May. Pitt felt that his danger was over and his majority certain. The coalition had made a wreck of the wonderful popularity of his rival, and the India bill had arrayed against Fox the immense weight and influence of the company, and nearly the whole city interest. No method had been neglected to heap odium on the coalition and the heads of Fox and North. Extracts of former speeches, lampoons, satires in prose and verse, were printed daily, and scattered through every town and village in the kingdom. The pencil and etching-needle of the caricaturist were brought into the service, and furnished with subjects out of the recent history of parliament. In one print Fox, under the character of a "Political Sampson," appeared carrying away on his shoulders the whole East India House: in another, called "The Triumphal Entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi," the queer, fat, good-humoured face of Lord North was stuck upon the body of an elephant, and Charles Fox, in the splendid costume of a Mogul emperor, was seated triumphantly on the elephant's back; while Burke, as a trumpeter, walked before, proclaiming the successes of Tamerlane and Aurungzebe. The youth of Pitt, and the bold stand he had made against numbers, told greatly in his favour; and, while he was represented to one party as a staunch defender of the prerogative, he was held up to the admiration of the other as the champion of parliamentary reform and the declared antagonist of aristocratic influence. The king, too, who had become popular in the midst of reverses, was pitied and admired, even in the quarters whence the great storms proceeded which had troubled the early part of the reign. Addresses and petitions, imploring his majesty to support Mr. Pitt, had from the commencement of the contest been pouring in to St. James's from all parts, from the city of London down to

* Changes of Administration and Hist. of Parties.—Ann. Regist.—Wraxall, Memoirs.

the memorable borough of New Sarum, which then, as at a later period, consisted of one solitary farm-house.* Middlesex, Southwark, and even Westminster, had abandoned Fox, and had congratulated the throne on the dismission of the coalition ministry. Worcester, Exeter, York, Edinburgh, and many other towns had followed the example. It is not to be supposed that all these demonstrations were spontaneous: for three months, while the opposition in the House of Commons, confident in their numerical strength, were striving to prevent a dissolution, Pitt had been preparing for the new election, and every influence a government can command had been employed in his favour. In many counties and towns the oldest and best established interests were completely undermined, and the Pitt candidates returned by triumphant majorities. Not less than 160 members, friends of the coalition ministers, lost their elections, and were sent back to private life with the name of "Fox's Martyrs." The result of the whole was a complete establishment of the political supremacy of Pitt.

The new parliament assembled on the day appointed—the 18th of May—when the king, with a joyful countenance, descanted in his speech on the declared sense of his people and the demerits of Fox's India bill. The addresses from both Houses expressed thanks and gratitude to the king for having dissolved the late parliament, the opposition amendments having been rejected by large majorities. On the 21st of June Pitt moved several resolutions for stopping smuggling by reducing the duty upon tea from 50 to 12½ per cent.; and for raising the window-tax in proportion. These resolutions, which were the basis of his "Commutation Act," were passed, though not without much debate. After some financial arrangements he introduced his new constitution for the East India Company, materially altered from his first draught. It left the directors of the company to be elected, as they had always been, by the proprietors; but it associated with them in the government of India what is called the Board of Control, the members of which are appointed by the crown, and come in and go out with the ministry of which they form a part, just like the members of the Board of Trade or of the Treasury. The bill, which will be described more at length in our view of Indian affairs, in the next Book, was carried through both Houses by large majorities.

On the 30th of June the premier produced his budget, which included a loan of six millions. He gave all his support to a humane and liberal bill, moved by his friend Dundas, ex-lord advocate of Scotland, and now treasurer to the navy, for restoring the Scottish estates forfeited on account of the Rebellion of 1745. The measure encountered no opposition whatever in the Commons; but in the Lords the restored Chancellor Thurlow ventured some splenetic comments upon it. The bill was, however, carried, and received the royal assent. On the 20th of August, after the appropriation bill and all other indispensable measures had been carried by jubilant ministerial majorities, the king prorogued parliament, with the satisfactory conviction that he had established a ministry to his own mind, and had nothing more to fear from the once formidable coalition which had for months deprived him of his rest. From this period, for seventeen long and eventful years, we shall find the councils of Great Britain directed by William Pitt.

* The precious borough was then the property of Pitt's uncle, Thomas, (now Lord Camelford.)

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE alliance of Church and State may be regarded as a sort of matrimony, in which the state stands in most respects in the position of the husband, and the church in that of the wife. Altogether, indeed, the nature of the latter is essentially feminine. All power, may in a certain sense be said to be founded upon opinion; but ecclesiastical power rests upon and is upheld by no other support. A political tyranny may hedge itself round with material defences which shall long set opinion at defiance; a church can no more wield the sword than a woman can. Like a woman, deprived of its reputation, or of the influence over us which our own feelings or imaginations confer upon it, it is deprived of every thing. In that airy panoply resides its whole strength. And, as its strength is feminine, so are its instincts and passions. Of course, in its deficiency of material force, it is as averse from as it is unfit for those struggles and conflicts which must be waged and decided principally by arms or violence. A church literally militant is the phenomenon only of a rude, unformed condition of society, just as even women sometimes go out to battle among savage tribes; a church in a civilized age, above all, an established church, is of all organizations the most unwarlike. It shrinks from whatever is likely to lead to the arbitrement of blows. Its dominant habit, in truth, is thoroughly quiescent and conservative. It is inclined in this direction not only by its constitutional timidity, and by the fragility or delicacy of its natural means of defence, but also by some things in the very essence and definition of a church and a religion. A political system may acknowledge the principle of progression as one of its elements; a system of religion cannot, without proclaiming by the very admission that it is not a religion at all. The profession of everything calling itself a religion necessarily is a perfect freedom from all error, from anything either requiring or allowing of amendment. Where advancement is impossible, innovation, or change, or movement of any kind must be held to be a folly or a crime. Thus, to let what is alone, to maintain things as they are, is for a church the policy both of prudence and of principle. It is true that both in England and in other countries the church has frequently broken through, or seemed to break through, what from the considerations that have been stated may be held to be its proper bounds, as they are undeniably also those within which it has usually confined itself. Among ourselves, in the early part of the seventeenth and again in the beginning of the eighteenth century, it may be thought to have exchanged its stationary and merely defensive attitude for a rather violently aggressive course; and indeed it may appear to have frequently manifested the same tendency pretty strongly in earlier periods of its history. But perhaps it might be found after all, on a full and fair view of the whole case, that in none of the instances referred to—whether the old contests about the rights of investiture and the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, or the more modern attempts of Laud in the reign of Charles I., and of the majority of the convocation in that of Anne—was the church really aspiring to occupy any new ground, or to do more than retain what it actually held, at most to recover what it had indisputably once possessed. No doubt there must have been a time when it possessed nothing—when it had all its temporal powers and privileges yet to acquire. But it did originally acquire them all not by force, of which it never had any to wield, but by the willing concession of both government and people, of the same parties that afterwards refused (naturally enough too, in the changed circumstances of society) to submit to the authority, or to acknowledge the rights, which they had themselves created. No wonder that the church should have kicked and struggled in the first instance against such spoliation, and also made some attempts subsequently to regain what it had lost, when a tempting opportunity presented itself. Nor ought we to be surprised that such movements should sometimes have been characterised by a fair share of female impetuosity and recklessness. Whatever of this temper may have shown itself on extraordinary occasions has been more than compensated for by the female regard for decorum which has generally regulated the demeanour of Mother Church—by the quiet and, as we have said, conservative spirit which is natural to her when nothing has occurred to throw her into a state of excitement. Treated by the state with the indulgence, as well as respect and honour, due to a wife by a husband, who, according to the well-known rule, besides being very

kind to her virtues, should be a little blind to her faults, she has proved upon the whole, it must be admitted, a tolerable helpmate, and has been brought at last to submit gracefully enough even to a curtailment of her ancient power and splendour which may be compared to the declension or bedimment experienced in most other cases, as well as in this, by the haughty beauty who has passed from the station of mistress simply to that of mistress of a family. For in truth those were as yet only the days of courtship and adoration, when the church carried it with so high a hand, and was allowed to have its own way in everything, the state sitting suppliant at its feet, and counting it honour and happiness enough to receive its commands; the more equal condition and sober bliss of matrimony cannot properly be said to have come till a later date—till a little before the time when we find the two parties beginning to wrangle with one another about their respective rights, and to evince that, in becoming one flesh, they had, somehow or other, ceased to be, quite so much as formerly, one spirit.

Before the accession of George III., the Church of England had been pretty well broken in to the duties of its position, and had come to bear the conjugal yoke without needlessly tormenting itself with unavailing recollections of its old days of freedom or supremacy. To all appearance the last battle in support of its ancient pretensions had been fought and lost; and it seemed to have wisely made up its mind to waste no more of its strength in endeavours to regain what no efforts could bring back, but to accept the tranquillity, security, and other conveniences of its modern condition as a full equivalent for any absolute right of dominion over the national faith, or other airy prerogative, it might have enjoyed in a former age. This pleasant sunshine was at all events something better than the stormy contention of latter times, when the old claims of the ecclesiastical estate had been urged with so much vehemence, but with so little effect, unless it were to strengthen the barriers, and to exasperate the spirit of resistance, by which their recognition was now seemingly rendered for ever impossible. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that what are called low-church principles, which had held the ascendancy on the episcopal bench ever since the Revolution, should, almost from the accession of the House of Hanover have begun to acquire a similar prevalence among the body of the clergy.

Indeed, notwithstanding a very flourishing outward appearance which it presented at the time of the accession of George III., the progress of legislation and of events between the Revolution and that date had probably, upon the whole, tended to lower the position and power of the established church as much as its principles. It is true that the reigns of William, of Anne, and of George I., had produced a long series of new and severe penal enactments against popery both in England and Ireland;*

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 634—636.

but that these laws conferred any new security or strength upon the establishment may be more than questioned. With the exception perhaps of the short reign of James II., the established church had been in no danger from popery since the reign of James I., or of Elizabeth. Nor was the hatred of popery, which had mainly produced both the Revolution and the penal laws, so much a feeling of the church, as of the Puritans and Dissenters, with whose outcry about the matter the church chimed in rather from policy than out of any real or very ardent sympathy. Ever since the rise and spread of dissent, popery had been naturally rather the reserved auxiliary of the established church than a hostile force. If the church had not a greater affinity in spirit with popery than with dissent, popery was at least separated by much stronger antipathies from dissent than from the church, and that would have equally determined the arrangement of parties in any new struggle that might arise. It never, therefore, could really have been an object with the church to depress popery beyond a certain point: that, in so far as it was done, was the doing of the dissenters, and was a victory gained by them at the expense of the establishment. But, at any rate, the persecution of the Roman Catholics, whether good for the church or the reverse, had for some time past been going out of fashion; no new penal laws had been placed on the statute-book for the last forty-five years; and of those that had been previously enacted the most severe were now rarely, if ever, enforced. So that, if it really had been for the interest of the church to have popery kept down, the position of the church would have been weakened rather than strengthened in that respect between 1715 and 1760. Then, besides the Act of Toleration, passed immediately after the Revolution, which had for the first time taken from the established church by legal declaration the absolute control of the national faith, dissenters had been since raised to a still nearer equality of civil rights with churchmen by the annual Indemnity Acts, which had been regularly passed by parliament ever since the accession of George II.,* and were now universally held to be as much a part of the constitution as the Habeas Corpus Act or the Bill of Rights. On the other hand, the meetings of the convocation had been prevented ever since the beginning of the reign of George I.; and that ancient ecclesiastical parliament—the only representation of the body of the clergy,—their only public or common arena for debate, for consultation, for legislation, for the examination and exposure of grievances—might now be regarded as to all intents and purposes abolished.† Add to all this the continued growth of dissent, both by the rise of new sects and by the increasing numbers of the principal old denominations of separatists. Finally, add also the extended and extending spirit of division within the church, which low-church and high-church

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 687.

† Ibid. p. 648.

principles, no longer making only a fracture in one of the corners of the edifice, now separated, by a rent reaching from its summit to its base, almost into two churches as mutually adverse as any two dissenting communities.

The numerical preponderance, however, was still decidedly with the high-church party, or at least with the section of the clergy whose principles or sentiments were most of that complexion; for this creed had no doubt been considerably softened down in the course of the last forty or fifty years, having under the same influences undergone much the same change with the system of political doctrine of which it was the counterpart, and with which it was generally associated.* As Jacobitism had now for the most part subsided into mere Toryism, so the high-churchism of the middle of the eighteenth century was, on the whole, but a cold and dim lunar reflection of that of the middle or even of that of the latter end of the seventeenth—of the high-churchism either of Laud or of Sancroft. Nor did this relaxation and enlargement of the bonds that held them together, while it extended the numbers of the high-church party, prove, at least for the present, detrimental to their union and combined efficiency: the points about which they might have differed among themselves were little if at all brought into discussion by the politics or circumstances of the time; as to all questions that were not obsolete, or in abeyance, they were sufficiently at one, and presented a firm and unbroken front to their adversaries. The latter, on the other hand, were kept together in one flock rather by their common opposition to high-church principles than by any other principles in which they agreed among themselves; and their differences chiefly respected the very points that were most agitated in the controversies of the day. Among them, those whose views were comparatively moderate were in truth much farther separated from those of their own party who held extreme opinions than from the great body of their nominal opponents, and, whatever might have been the style of their ordinary professions, would probably in any circumstances calling for action that might have arisen have found themselves compelled to join the former rather than the latter. In the grand fundamental question, especially, of movement and resistance, the mass of the low-church clergy might be said to be, if not theoretically, yet practically, of the same politics with their high-church brethren—that is to say, thoroughly conservative. Such, indeed, as we have said, are the natural politics of every established church.

During the reigns of the two first princes of the House of Hanover the patronage of the court and the government gave for a season more than its natural strength to the low-church party; but with the Toryism which after the accession of George III. obtained the ascendency in the state, high-church principles, brought down, indeed, somewhat from the true ancient standard, and accommodated, like Toryism itself, to the circumstances of the time, also rose into favour and power. On the whole, this revolution proved highly advantageous, not only to the high-church party, but to the stability and general interests of the entire establishment. The support which had formerly propped up the essential weakness of the low-church party was no longer wasted in merely producing something like a balance between that party and its opponents, but was now bestowed where in every way it was calculated to tell with the most effect—upon that section of the church which was both by far the strongest in itself, and the best fitted, by principle, or natural bias, to profit by the aid thus accorded to it. Even the change, or modification, of the original character of high churchism, which was one of the results, was probably fortunate for the temporal welfare of the establishment; inasmuch as it substituted opinions and ways of thinking more in harmony with existing circumstances for a creed with which there was now very little of a general disposition to sympathise. Taking along with all this the additional security arising both from its own longer establishment, and from the more confirmed tenure of the civil government, and the whole political system with which it was connected, we may consider the church as having probably from this epoch more than recovered whatever it might have lost in stability and power by the Indemnity Acts, the suppression of the convocation, the spread of dissent, and any other adverse circumstances that had come into operation in the course of the preceding seventy years.

Archbishop Wake. From a Print by Vander Gucht.

It might or might not be another piece of good fortune for the church at this period, that for some time it had not been disturbed either by active hostilities with the dissenters or by any serious controversy among its own members. In the beginning

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 638.

of the reign of George I. indeed, some little commotion had been excited by the discovery of a correspondence into which Archbishop Wake had been drawn with some French ecclesiastics on the project of a union between the churches of England and France*; and in that of George II., some of the doctrinal differences between the high-church and the low-church parties had been again brought into debate by the publication of Warburton's "Alliance between Church and State" in 1736—by Dr. Conyers Middleton's "Free Inquiry" into the supposed miraculous powers of the first centuries of Christianity—and by a dispute which was revived about the same time respecting the "Intermediate State" of the dead. But all these holy wars might be said to be waged in the air, for any effect that the artillery brought to play in them had in either shaking the foundations of the establishment, or at all alarming its occupants. The first movement, threatening any actual results, that had been made since the abolition of the convocation was that the signal for which was given, in 1766, by the appearance of "The Confessional, or, a Full and Free Inquiry into the Right, Utility, Edification, and Success of establishing Systematical Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches,"—published anonymously, but well known from the first to be the production of the Rev. Francis Blackburne, Rector of Richmond in Yorkshire, and Archdeacon of Cleveland,—a writer who had already distinguished himself among the extreme partisans of low-church doctrine and politics, both by the part he had taken in the controversy about the intermediate state, and more especially by his "Apology for the author of a book entitled Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England," by which he had first made known to the world his free and easy principles and lively style. Blackburne's avowed opinions, indeed, not only with regard to ecclesiastical polity, but even on some fundamental points of theology, were of such a complexion that most people wondered he should remain in the established church at all; and he himself considered it right, or decent, having already obtained a rectory, an archdeaconry, and a prebend, to decline all further preferment after he had announced his peculiar tenets. It is difficult to understand what view he took of his own position. In the preface to the Confessional he speaks of his precursor, Bishop Hoadly,† as "only vulnerable in point of his conformity to a church whose forms of discipline and government he had shown, upon gospel principles, to be liable to so many important objections;"‡—remarkable words, which at once declare his conviction of the unscriptural character of the Anglican establishment, and seem to pronounce his own condemnation for continuing to adhere to it. Other passages in the body of the book are yet more curious in reference to this matter. For instance, in considering Dr. Clarke's notion, that a person may honestly subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, although believing them only in so far as they are agreeable to his own understanding of the sense of scripture (which indeed is to make the act of subscription to mean nothing at all), he admits that, although he formerly thought the doctor's reasoning conclusive, he had come to hold it insufficient for the justification of those who had been thereby prevailed upon to subscribe.* In a subsequent page he comes still closer upon his own delicate and tender case in discussing that of the late Bishop Clayton, of Clogher, who, in the Dedication to his famous "Essay on Spirit," had stated that, being a clergyman, he had subscribed the articles pretty early in *life*, and probably in the sense in which the compilers understood them; but, finding reasons afterwards to change his opinions, he laboured under some difficulties how to direct himself in these circumstances. Referring to a sermon on the "Case of Subscription," by the late Dr. Conybeare, Bishop of Bristol, Blackburne remarks that, had that prelate been consulted upon the said difficulties, "there is little doubt but he would have answered, that this change of opinion in the essayist was virtually disclaiming his subscription, which let him into his function; and, as he now no longer complied with the conditions required by the church of all her ministers, an obligation seemed to lay upon him to resign his preferment in the church." And then our anti-subscriptionist goes on to expose the hollowness of the conclusion with which Clayton came at last to satisfy himself, that the articles were to be considered not as articles of doctrine, but only as articles of peace—that, as the church did not set up for infallibility, it was not to be supposed that she required any other kind of subscription than such as was necessary for peace-sake.† He winds up his argument by observing that "there is one particular weakness, and want of forecast, common to all these pleaders for latitude"—namely, that their principles of Christian liberty are absolutely irreconcilable with the authority which the church of England actually claims and exercises; so that if they had shown, as they conceived they had, that the church had no such authority *of right*, "consistency required that they should have withdrawn from a church which usurped an authority that did not belong to her, and to have borne their testimony against her in *deeds* as well as *words*."† This is tolerably hard hitting from a man to himself. But he goes still farther in the next chapter, where, after having examined the practice of subscribing "with a latitude" in every point of view, and discovering no satisfactory defence for it, he ends by moralizing upon the subject in the following style:—"There will still be numbers among us who will continue to subscribe, and continue likewise to *care for none*

* Dr. Maclaine has published a full account of this affair, with all the material parts of the correspondence, at the end of his translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.
† See Pictorial History of England, iv. 647.
‡ P. xlv.

* Confessional, pp. 175, 176. † Id. p. 200.
‡ Id. p. 212.

of these things. Such as these, perhaps, care not for matters of more consequence; which, indeed, I should apprehend to be the case with the most of those who can bring themselves to give a security of this kind to the church, and to the public, without a previous examination to what the nature and circumstances of so solemn an act do in reality amount."* On the publication of the Confessional, the dissenting congregation of the Old Jewry, who had just lost their eminent pastor Dr. Chandler, invited Blackburne to be his successor; but, having already managed to digest his scruples for above a quarter of a century, he did not feel it necessary now to make such an exhibition of squeamishness, and he quietly remained in the church till his death, more than twenty years after. He has the reputation of having been a very exemplary parish minister.

The Confessional is a very ingenious as well as animated exposition of the inconveniences attendant upon subscription; but it is hardly necessary to observe that the author fails in showing how it would be possible for any church to maintain itself as a distinct body without having some standard of doctrine, conformity to which should be the test of membership. Still less does he explain how any state would be safe in setting up and supporting a church the clergy of which should be at liberty to teach any doctrines, upon all sorts of subjects, which they might individually contrive to extract out of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The notion of absolutely dispensing with confessions of faith, or articles of religion, is tantamount, in fact, to proposing that the national Christianity should be a jumble of all the diversities of sectarianism which learning and ignorance, sense and folly, honesty and knavery ever have asserted or may assert to be the religion of the Bible. But this is not all; for the arguments that are brought against subscription to articles of faith will, if carried out, be found equally applicable, at least upon the principles of those using them, to the exaction even of a declaration of belief in the Scriptures themselves. There are, as is well known, many varieties of opinion among Christians both as to the general authority of Scripture, and as to the authenticity of particular books. One man holds that every syllable in the sacred volume is of divine inspiration, and consequently that there is no room for dissent as to the smallest tittle of what is therein delivered: another conceives that the writers were more or less left to themselves, not merely in the matter of expression, but even in their statements of facts and doctrines. One man would receive the apocryphal books into the canon of Scripture; another would reject the Epistle to the Hebrews or the Book of Revelations. If a church has no right to require subscription to particular doctrines, it can have none to require adherence to any particular copy or collection of the Scriptures, or even to the Scriptures at all as the word of God. The most it can ask is, that a person should simply declare himself to be a Christian—leaving him, for the rest, to put any meaning he pleases upon that appellation—to hold the Christianity of the whole of the commonly received New Testament, or of only the half of it, or a Christianity founded upon the New Testament combined with something else, or one not derived from the New Testament at all. In short, consider Blackburne's crotchet from any point of view we will, it is destructive of the very nature and essence of a church, or indeed of any society whatever. No church, no society (unless held together by force), can subsist without some standard or other authority to which reference may be made on occasion of differences affecting points fundamental to the constitution of the society. Even in a congregation of Independents, which is, or professes to be, the simplest of all religious organizations, there must be some controlling power—whether the minister, or the majority of the general body of the members, or some committee more or less popularly constituted—for preventing the intrusion of false doctrine and heresy, or, at any rate, of what is held to be such by this denomination of Christians. Blackburne himself, in fact, when he comes to announce the practical measures which he would have adopted, has hardly the face to propose in distinct terms that all subscription should be done away with; so much perhaps may be gathered from some of his expressions, but it is not set down with any precision or emphasis. The only reform in regard to which he goes into any specification is an alteration or curtailment which he would have made in a part of the office of ordination for priests. Of the eight questions put to every priest at his ordination, he would omit the first, third, and eighth; in other words, he would not insist upon a clergyman declaring that he thinks himself to be called to the ministry by Jesus Christ, or promising that he will minister

Archdeacon Blackburne. From a Painting by G. Cuit.

* Confessional, p. 280.

the word and sacraments "as this church and realm hath received the same," and that he will reverently obey his ordinary and other superiors in the church;—but he would retain the other five questions, in his answers to which the candidate for ordination to the priesthood declares his persuasion that the Holy Scriptures contain all doctrine necessary for salvation, and promises that he will be diligent in driving away all erroneous and strange doctrines, in praying and in studying the Scriptures, and in maintaining quietness, peace, and love among all Christian people. This is, in fact, to propose, not that the practice of demanding a declaration of their belief from the clergy should be done away with, but only that it should be modified—that the declaration should be made shorter and less special.

The Confessional, however, immediately produced considerable commotion in the clerical world. The subject of subscription had been occasionally agitated, in sermons and pamphlets, ever since the publication of Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the attack made upon that work by the Lower House of Convocation in 1701.* Burnet's performance, as he himself mentions, drew forth "some books writ on purpose against it," besides many "sermons and other treatises, in which particular passages in it were reflected upon with great severity."† A few years after the subject was again brought into discussion by the publication (in 1712) of Dr. Samuel Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity—which was also ere long pounced upon by the Convocation‡—and particularly by a passage in the Introduction, in which the learned doctor argued that the clergy, in subscribing the Articles, were only to be regarded as declaring their assent to them in so far as they were agreeable to the Scriptures as understood by the subscriber. Clarke's principal assailant was Dr. Waterland; against whom he was chiefly defended by his friend Dr. Sykes, in several anonymous pamphlets. The controversy was once more revived in 1748 by the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Case of Subscription Calmly and Impartially Reviewed," by Dr. Chandler, the eminent non-conformist; which was immediately attacked in a series of letters by Dr. John White, B.D., the same person who a few years after measured his pen with Blackburne in the controversy occasioned by the work entitled "Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England." While this dispute was still going on a new impulse was given to it by the appearance of Bishop Clayton's Essay on Spirit, already mentioned, in 1751. Dr. Conybeare, Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Fothergill, Principal of St. Edmond's Hall, Oxford; Dr. Powel, afterwards Master of St. John's, Cambridge, and others now mingled in the fray—all those named arraying themselves on the orthodox side: among their opponents was Blackburne, who in 1758 dealt his first blow in this battle in a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Rev. Dr. Powel's Sermon in Defence of Subscription." But no publication to which the question had yet given rise had been either so elaborate and searching on the one hand, or so fitted to attract the popular attention on the other, as the Confessional. From the date of its publication a party began to be formed among the clergy which acknowledged Blackburne as its head, and professed as its object and bond of union the emancipation of the church from the bondage of subscription. The members of course had all themselves subscribed the Articles; but they appear to have felt satisfied that, although they could not otherwise, they might believe anything they liked if they could only obtain authority so to do by act of parliament. At the desire of this party Blackburne, in the beginning of the year 1771, published "Proposals for an Application to Parliament for Relief in the Matter of Subscription, &c., humbly submitted to the Consideration of the learned and conscientious Clergy." On the 17th of July following the abolitionists, or such of them as resided in London and its neighbourhood, met and unanimously agreed to take immediate steps for an application to the legislature, and to announce themselves as the nucleus of an association for that purpose. From their place of meeting, they received the name of the Feathers Tavern Association. Having adopted a petition prepared and laid before them by Blackburne, they made arrangements for having it circulated through all parts of the country before the meeting of parliament in the following January; but, although it is admitted that no exertions were spared to obtain signatures, not quite 250 individuals could be prevailed upon to give their names, and of that small number scarcely 200 were clergymen; the rest were lawyers and physicians, whose case, though thus mixed up for a purpose with that of the clergy, stood upon altogether different grounds from theirs. As has been already related in the preceding chapter, the petition, of which we there gave an abstract, was introduced to the notice of the House of Commons on the 6th of February, 1772, by Sir William Meredith, whose motion, that it should be read by the clerk, and afterwards discussed, was, after an animated debate, negatived by a majority of 217 against 71.* Among the minority were Colonel Barré, General Burgoyne, Lord George Cavendish and his two brothers, George Dempster, Dunning, Wedderburn, Lord George Germaine, Admiral Keppel, Sir George Savile, Thomas Townshend, jun., and Aldermen Sawbridge and Trecothick. The debate lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon till eleven at night, and all the petitioners that were in town were present.† Mr. Lindsey, one of them, writing

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 641.
† Own Time, ii. 228.
‡ See Pictorial History of England, iv. 646.

* See *ante*, pp. 123—125.—*It* is assumed by mistake in Chapter I. that the clerical signatures alone were 250 in number.
† See Letter from John Lee, Esq. (afterwards Solicitor-General), printed in Belsham's Memoirs of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey. Lindsey, who had married a daughter of Archdeacon Blackburne, and adopted Socinian principles, was one of the petitioning clergy,

to a friend, describes it as a debate which entered gloriously into the whole merits of their cause, "and which was well worth going two hundred and forty miles to hear."* In the course of it Blackburne was expressly pointed at as the leader of the petitioners. "The Confessional," said the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, brother of the Earl of Shelburne, "I hold to be their creed. The arguments contained in that work set them first in motion; and I suspect its author to be the soul of this combination." And then he proceeded to read some extracts from the archdeacon's book, that from the responses of this oracle the House might discover the views and principles by which his adherents were directed. Blackburne's character was defended by Lord George Germaine and other speakers; but little or no answer appears to have been made, or even attempted, to the much more cogent objections urged by Burke, who, avoiding personalities, considered the application of the clergy for relief from subscription with a reference to the necessary conditions of an established church, and opposed the archdeacon's scheme as simply impracticable. The debate was nearly confined to the case of clerical subscription; scarcely anything was said either of the case of the physicians and lawyers, or of that of students at the universities, the grievances of both of which classes of subscribers, it was well understood, had been merely thrown in as so much make-weight on the present occasion. At the same time it is by no means certain that the petition would have been more successful if it had proceeded from either of these classes alone. Any alteration even in the sort of subscription to the Articles that seems the most difficult to be defended might, perhaps, have been effectually resisted on some such ground as that taken up by Johnson when discussing the subject with Boswell:—"Sir, they talk of not making boys at the university subscribe to what they do not understand; but they ought to consider that our universities were founded to bring up members for the Church of England, and we must not supply our enemies with arms from our arsenal. No, Sir, the meaning of subscribing is, not that they fully understand all the Articles, but that they will adhere to the Church of England. Now take it in this way, and suppose that they should only subscribe their adherence to the Church of England, there would be still the same difficulty: for still the young men would be subscribing to what they do not understand. For, if you should ask them, what do you mean by the Church of England? Do you know in what it differs from the Presbyterian Church? from the Romish Church? from the Greek Church? from the Coptic Church? they could not tell you. So, Sir, it comes to the same thing."* Indeed, this was the substance or marrow of nearly everything of any force that was advanced in opposition to Sir William Meredith's motion, in the next session, for the House going into committee to take into consideration the subscription required at Oxford and Cambridge, either at matriculation or graduation. The motion, which was made on the 23rd of February, 1773, was negatived, on a division, by a majority of 159 to 67. From these numbers it should appear that, while few or none of the majority that had defeated Sir William in his former attempt thought fit to join him in this, probably conceiving that the grievance complained of was of little, if any, practical importance, yet many members declined to oppose the present at least comparatively reasonable proposition who had voted against the fantastic claim of persons seeking to retain and enjoy the emoluments of the church, and yet to be released from any obligation to adhere to its doctrines, nay, even from their actual engagements and solemn promises to that effect. Sir William Meredith renewed his motion for the relief of the latter description of persons in the next session; but after a short debate—in the course of which a speech of Burke's kept the House for a great part of the time in a roar—when the question was put, there did not appear, we are informed by the report, to be above twenty ayes, and the noes made so strong a sound that Sir William declined dividing.†

Out of the established church, as well as within it, the movement of the small section of the clergy by which this matter was first brought forward in 1772 was seen in the same light in which it was looked upon by the majority of the House of Commons. So little interest did the dissenters take in the application, that only two of their ministers thought it worth while to mix with the crowd of the petitioners who flocked to the House to hear the debate.‡ Indeed, if the petition had been listened to, there would no longer have been any pretext, reasonable or unreasonable, for dissent at all; the whole ground on which the dissenters stood, or could stand, would have been struck from under their feet. And this is what a dissenting clergy cannot be expected particularly to like any more than the clergy of an establishment. But the dissenters had a good grievance of their own connected with this same matter of subscription. The Act of Toleration passed at the Revolution had exempted their ministers and teachers from the old penal laws against non-conformity only upon this condition, among others—that they should subscribe and declare their approbation of the Thirty-nine Articles, all except the 34th (relating to the traditions of the church), the 35th (relating to the homilies), the 36th (relating to the consecration of bishops and ministers), and the first clause of the 20th (assert-

but resigned his living in the church the following year, and came to London, where he founded the chapel still existing in Essex-street, Strand, of which he continued to be the minister till his death in 1803. Two others, at least, of the clerical petitioners followed Lindsey's example—the Rev. John Disney, who became his assistant and eventually his successor at the chapel in Essex-street, and the Rev. John Jebb, who, on leaving the church, applied himself to the study of medicine, and attained considerable eminence as a practitioner in the metropolis.

* Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey.

* Boswell's Life of Johnson.

† Parl. Hist. xvii. 1327. The motion was made on the 5th of May, 1774.

‡ Belsham, Life of Lindsey.—The two dissenting ministers who attended the debate were the Rev. Edward Pickard, of Carter-lane, and the Rev. Dr. Philip Furneaux, of Clapham.

ing that the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith). At that day, and for some time after, no considerable or influential body of the English dissenters entertained any aversion to the theological tenets of the national church; and what little of doctrinal dissent did exist was not more disliked by those in power who conceded the Act of Toleration than by the great body of those who sought to participate in its benefits. But gradually a considerable change was brought about in this respect. Within the church the accommodating language of the Articles had proved in different ages, and in the same age, equally satisfactory to the zealous Calvinist and the zealous Arminian: freewill-and-universal-grace Laud, in the reign of Charles I., and his successors of the same school in that of Charles II., had stood by them, and magnified their authority, not less heartily than had their predestinarian predecessors in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. But out of the pale of the establishment the case was different: non-conformity was the daughter of puritanism, and the puritans, after separating from the church, long remained in the mass what they had been while they were still in its bosom,—staunch adherents to the theology of Geneva, whence they had originally sprung, finding their chief comfort in the belief of absolute decrees of election and reprobation. But among them too, or at least in the general body of dissenters with which they were mixed up, other views at length began to gain ground; and not only Arminianism, or some modification of the creed so called, but also sundry varieties of Arianism, Socinianism, and other peculiar systems always regarded as heretical by the generality of Christians, were now pretty extensively diffused. The diversity of opinion had, for obvious reasons, gone much farther, or at least been much more openly expressed, than among the clergy of the establishment; and, in fact, had assumed such an appearance, that a profession of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles was what no sophistry or ingenuity of interpretation could reasonably hope any longer to obtain from many classes of the dissenters. In these circumstances the subscription required by the Toleration Act from dissenting ministers and teachers had fallen entirely into disuse; the practice appears to have been dropped from about the same date at which dissenters were practically relieved from the operation of the Corporation and Test Acts by the regular, or all but regular, annual renewal of the Acts of Indemnity —that is to say, from a few years after the accession of George II. Still, as the clause in the Act of Toleration remained unrepealed, there was some risk in this neglect of it; it is said that prosecutions founded upon it were sometimes instituted, or, at least, threatened—the celebrated Dr. Doddridge is stated to have been annoyed in this way; and, at any rate, its retention upon the statute book was a stigma upon the dissenters, only the more indefensible that it was rarely or never made to serve any other purpose except to menace and irritate.

Some of the leaders and friends of the dissenters, therefore, thought they might with propriety make application to the legislature for the formal repeal of the enactment which had thus fallen into desuetude; and in this design they were rather encouraged than otherwise by the debate on the petition of the clergy of the establishment to be relieved from subscription, in the course of which some of the principal speakers against the motion had intimated that they would not be disinclined to attend to a similar proposition in regard to the subscription required from the dissenting clergy. Indeed the very arguments by which the one proposition was resisted by these speakers implied that the other ought to be granted. Accordingly, the subject was brought before the House of Commons on the 3rd of April, 1772—within two months after the rejection of the petition of Blackburne and his brethren —by Sir Henry Hoghton, in the shape of a motion for leave to bring in a bill "For the further Relief of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England." The debate that followed, though short, was very warm; the motion, we are told, giving great alarm to the high-church party, "who, seeing the former petition, and the attempt upon the church *nullum tempus* claim,* immediately succeeded by another attack upon the Thirty-nine Articles, began to imagine that some settled design was formed subversive of the established religion."† Sir Roger Newdigate, member for the University of Oxford, who had led the opposition to Sir William Meredith's recent motion, deemed himself called upon to buckle on his armour again upon this occasion; but his zeal was not now seconded by the knowledge, on the part of subsequent speakers, which had enabled him to gain his former victory: Burke, in particular, no longer fought by his side, but in the opposite ranks; even the ministers did not object to the motion, and some of them spoke in support of it; so that, when the question was put, the only noes were Sir Roger, and his brother baronet, Sir William Dolben, who, by-the-by, although now one of the members for Northamptonshire, had formerly been his colleague, and was a few years after this his successor, in the representation of the venerable high-church university. On the next discussion of the bill, which took place on the 14th, the pair of baronets were reinforced by a third, Sir William Bagot—whose father had sate for the University of Oxford—and by a few other zealous members whose names have not been preserved; but still the second reading was carried by a majority of 70 to 9; and the measure appears to have encountered no further opposition in the Commons. But when it arrived in the Upper House it was

* This refers to a motion made by Mr. Henry Seymour on the 17th of February for leave to bring in a bill "For quieting the Subjects of this Realm against the dormant Claims of the Church;" in other words, for limiting the church's right of action for the recovery of lands and tithes to a certain number of years, as had been done by various statutes in regard to actions brought by private parties, and even in regard to those brought by the crown by an act passed in 1769. Mr. Seymour's motion was negatived, but only by a majority of 141 against 117. See *ante*, p. 125.

† Ann. Regist. xv. [*97].

evident that it had got into another climate. The debate was taken, on the 19th of May, on the motion for committing it, which was negatived by a majority of 102 to 29—the proxies alone against the measure being equal in number to all the votes in favour of it. Chatham, Lyttelton, Shelburne, and the Duke of Richmond, who supported it, were answered by Earl Gower, Lord Bruce, the Earl of Radnor, and a long succession of spiritual lords—Drummond, Archbishop of York; Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; Barrington, of Llandaff; Lowth, of Oxford; and Terrick, of London—not to mention Dr. Newton, of Bristol, who had prepared a speech against the bill which he did not deliver, but which he has left behind him for the benefit of posterity. According to the report in the Parliamentary History, the orator who most distinguished himself was the Bishop of Llandaff—the same who afterwards presided so many years over the diocese of Durham. He "attacked," we are told, "the principles of some living dissenting ministers with an eloquence that astonished both his friends and opponents. He quoted a variety of passages from different publications by Dr. Priestly, which equally excited the wonder and abhorrence of his hearers. Amongst others, Lord Chatham interrupted him with the exclamations of 'Monstrous! horrible! shocking!'" But some effect was no doubt also produced by a curious fact which was stated. The Bishop of London said "that he had taken some pains to inform himself whether the bill was promoted and patronized by the dissenters in general; and that he had authority to declare, from the most respectable persons and ministers of that sect, who had waited upon him, that it was disagreeable to them, and that they did not wish it to pass: that he had been informed from the same respectable authority, that, at a meeting lately of ninety persons, when it was proposed to return thanks to the committee for soliciting the dissenters' bill which had passed the Lower House, six were against it, twelve were for it, but far the greater part were silent, and said nothing one way or other." To the same effect it is asserted by Dr. Newton, in his unspoken speech, that they were only a part of the dissenting ministers who were the promoters of the bill—that it was a measure in which they were far from being all agreed—that it was "carried on chiefly by some ministers in and about London, without the concurrence and consent of many in the country, and, indeed, without the approbation of the graver part of dissenters, the Presbyterians especially." That those who took an active and anxious part in promoting the bill were but a few individuals is likely enough; and it may also be readily believed that many of the orthodox non-conformists, as they called themselves, were opposed to it, and regarded it, with Newton, as a bill not so much for the relief of Protestant dissenters as for the encouragement of what, in their eyes, was neither Protestantism nor even Christianity—"a bill for the public preaching of Arianism, Socinianism, any schism, any heresy, that any fanatic or incendiary may advance:" But the mass of the dissenters seem to have been indifferent, or but little excited by the measure, rather than hostile to it; for there were but few genuine Presbyterians now left in England, or even persons calling themselves by that name. Most of the old Presbyterian congregations of the time of the Commonwealth had, in fact, become converted either to the novel faith of Socinianism, or, what was even more to be admired at, to the Independency which had been wont to be the chief dread and abhorrence of the sect in other days, notwithstanding, or perhaps by very reason of, their near agreement in all doctrinal and more essential points. In the following session, on the 17th of February, 1773, Sir Henry Hoghton, as has been related in the preceding chapter,* again brought forward his bill, with several amendments which somewhat extended its operation, but did not affect the principle or main purpose of the measure. The opposition this time was led by the other member for the university of Oxford, Mr. Page; but no vote was taken either upon the preliminary question, necessary in cases in which alterations affecting the established church are proposed, that the House should go into committee to consider whether leave should be given to bring in the bill, or upon the motion for leave made in the said committee on the 22nd. The party, or parties, among the dissenters, however, who were opposed to the measure were early astir; on the first day it was mentioned a member stated that a printed paper had been put into his hand at the door of the House, containing several powerful objections to the bill, which professed to proceed from a body of dissenters; and, when the bill was presented, on the 2nd of March, and read a first time, it was intimated that many persons comprised within the description of those intended to be relieved by it had come to the resolution of petitioning to be heard by counsel against its passing. On the next day accordingly a petition to that effect was presented from a great number of protestant dissenters, ministers, and others. These persons, as already explained in our first chapter, were many, probably most, of them, of the new community of the Methodists, who as yet scarcely considered themselves as separated from the established church, and at any rate were all as zealous for the Thirty-nine Articles (the Wesleyans in an Arminian, the Whitefieldians in a Calvinistic sense) as the church itself. Leave was given that the petitioners should be heard by their counsel before the second reading of the bill; but no counsel appeared at this stage—it was asserted that the time allowed them was too short for reading their briefs and preparing their speeches; and the second reading was carried on the 10th, by a majority of 87 against 34. Among the minority were probably several members who were in favour of the bill, but who thought that the second reading should be deferred for a few days to allow counsel to get ready. The principal debate took place on the 17th, on the question

* See *ante*, p. 151.

of going into committee. We have already given an abstract of the most remarkable speech delivered on this night, that of Mr. Burke, a report of at least the general course and leading arguments and illustrations of which is printed in his Works.* On the other side, Sir William Bagot declared his conviction that the measure, which he called an attempt to set aside the Articles, was agitated with a design unfavourable to Christianity of any kind. In the end the motion for going into committee was carried by a majority of 69 to 16. On the 25th more petitions were presented from dissenting ministers and congregations against the bill, and Mr. Chambers, the Vinerian professor at Oxford, was heard in opposition to it at the bar; but, when the House divided on the question that it should pass, the noes were found to be only 14 against 65. Like the measure of the preceding session, however, it received its quietus soon after it reached the other House; on the 2nd of April, after a debate, their lordships divided on the question of going into committee, when the motion was negatived by a majority of 86 to 28. Yet this was a considerable diminution from the majority of the last year. Chatham was not present on this occasion; but both Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden spoke for the first time in favour of the measure. On the other side the new speakers were the Earl of Denbigh, the Earl of Suffolk, the Duke of Grafton, and the Chancellor (Lord Apsley, afterwards Earl Bathurst).

After this the subject was allowed to sleep for some years; during which many prejudices, or antiquated notions, seem to have also gently sunk into repose, or to have died away with the men of a former generation by whom they were entertained. On the 10th of March, 1779, when Sir Henry Hoghton moved that the House should immediately resolve itself into a committee "to consider of granting further relief to protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters," Sir William Bagot and Sir Roger Newdigate were both still at their posts to oppose him; but when the question was put, after a short debate, it was carried almost unanimously, and, the House having gone into committee, a resolution was at once agreed to directing the chairman to move the House for leave to bring in the bill. When that motion was accordingly made by Mr. Frederick Montagu, on the 17th, the adjournment of the debate till that day four months was moved by Sir William Bagot, but the original motion was carried by 77 votes against 6. The bill was read a first and second time without opposition or debate; but when the House went into committee a petition was presented from the University of Oxford, praying that its benefits should at any rate be confined to persons professing Christianity; on which Lord North moved the insertion of the following declaration to be taken by all those who should be relieved by the act:—"I, *A. B.*, do solemnly declare that I am a Christian and a protestant dissenter, and that I take the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, as they are generally received in protestant countries, for the rule of my faith and practice." The proposed clause is said to have been supported by Burke, as well as Bagot; it was warmly opposed by Fox, Dunning, Wilkes, Sir William Meredith, Lord John Cavendish, and, among others, it is stated, Lord George Gordon, whose particular objection probably was that it was not sufficiently restrictive; but it was carried in the committee by a majority of 88 against 58, and afterwards in the House by 95 against 59. This mutilation of the tolerant character of the measure probably tended considerably to reconcile those who would otherwise have stood out against it. It encountered no more opposition in the Commons, and it passed the Lords without occasioning either division or debate.

The circumstances of the country at the moment had, no doubt, some share in wringing this concession from that dislike or jealousy of dissent which still continued to be the prevalent sentiment of the mass of the population, as well as of the most influential classes. "The public losses, calamities, and dangers of the times," observes Burke, or whoever else was the contemporary writer in the Annual Register, "seemed to render it now a matter of necessity, as it had at all times been of duty and wisdom, to unite the interests and affections of all orders and denominations of men in one common bond of union, and to concentrate into one mass all the strength that could yet be found in the remaining parts of the empire." But another reason is also assigned for the comparative facility with which the bill was carried. "The relief granted to the Roman Catholics in the preceding session," says the same writer, "had laid the ground fairly open for the present application to parliament for redress; and the liberal opinions known to be held, and professions made, by some of the bishops on that subject seemed to obviate the apprehensions of an opposition in that quarter where it was most to be expected and dreaded." In fact, Sir Henry Hoghton, in introducing the subject to the House of Commons on this last occasion, based his appeal principally upon the precedent of the late mitigation of the penal laws against the Catholics. He "spoke of the favour lately done to the Roman Catholics by the legislature, asserting that the measure was exceedingly wise and proper, but arguing that it was much more necessary to afford some relief to the protestant dissenters; and that, after such a step as parliament had last year taken respecting the Roman Catholics, it would be the most absurd piece of conduct, and the most violent inconsistency, if they refused to extend a similar

* See *ante*, pp. 151, 152.—The Speech, as printed in Burke's Works, is stated to be given "partly from the manuscript papers of Mr. Burke, and partly from a very imperfect short-hand note taken at the time by a member of the House of Commons." The member alluded to was probably Sir Henry Cavendish, whose reports of the debates of this parliament are now in course of publication. Valuable as his "short-hand notes" are, in the absence of all other records, we may gather from the above description that they were considered at the time by those best entitled to judge of them to preserve but "a very imperfect" memorial of what was actually spoken in the House. And this indeed is sufficiently obvious from internal evidence.

degree of toleration to sects who were quiet, inoffensive, and useful citizens, and whose religious opinions came so much nearer the doctrines of the Church of England."* Leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics was moved for in the House of Commons by Sir George Saville on the 14th of May, 1778, and the motion, after a short debate, having been unanimously agreed to, the bill was brought in and read a first time on the 18th, and appears to have passed through that House without a voice being heard against it. Thurlow, the attorney-general, indeed, is recorded to have expressed some doubt as to the expediency of repealing the penalties against the exercise of their functions by popish priests; he thought, at least, that that was a part of the measure which required some consideration; but his scruples probably soon gave way, for we hear no more of them. Even in the Upper House the bill underwent only one short discussion, on the second reading, when the only speaker who intimated any hesitation about passing it as it stood was Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, noted among the members of the right reverend bench for his opposition to the government on the subject of the American war, and the general liberality of his politics, as well as for the frequency with which he was accustomed to take part in the debates. He confessed that he was not without his apprehensions of popery, even at that time of day, if it should be allowed a complete toleration, and he wished that the bill had been brought in earlier in the session, that their lordships might have had more time both to consider it themselves, and to learn what was the feeling of the public, before passing it into a law. He did not, however, allow his doubts or dissatisfaction to carry him so far as to move for either the rejection or delay of the measure, but contented himself with trusting that anything wrong in it would be amended in committee. This was on the 25th; and the bill received the royal assent, without having undergone any alteration, on the 28th. A similar bill was passed the same year by the parliament of Ireland for the relief of the Catholics of that country.

The penalties and disabilities which were now removed were only certain of those imposed upon Roman Catholics by the famous act "for the further preventing the growth of popery," passed in 1699.† The new law repealed everything in that statute relating to the apprehending or prosecuting of popish bishops, priests, or Jesuits; it relieved papists who should undertake the education of youth from their liability to perpetual imprisonment for so doing; and it annulled the atrocious enactments which prohibited catholics from taking or holding land either by descent or purchase (which last term means in any other way than by descent, or inheritance), and authorised the next of kin, being a protestant, to dispossess his catholic relative—his father, it might be, or his elder brother—of any land or other heritable property the latter would have been entitled to enjoy if he had not been a catholic. To entitle any person to the benefits of the act, it was provided that within six months after coming of age he should take and subscribe an oath embodying, besides the usual promise of allegiance to his majesty and abjuration of the pretender, a declaration that the subscriber rejected and detested as unchristian and impious the position that it is lawful to murder or destroy heretics—the principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics—and the opinion that princes excommunicated by the pope may be deposed or murdered—and did not believe that the pope or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, has or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. This was a toleration of popery very nearly to the same extent with that granted to the dissenters about ninety years before at the Revolution; but the dissenters were still half a century ahead of the Roman Catholics in consequence of the operation of the annual acts of indemnity, which ever since the accession of George II. had practically admitted them to all the privileges of citizenship. And it is remarkable that it was just about fifty years later when, by the Relief Bill of 1829, the Roman Catholics were advanced to about the same position.

The law stood as it was fixed by the act of 1778 throughout the remainder of the present period; for, as we have seen, the Edinburgh and London riots of 1779 and 1780 frightened the embarrassed and on this subject not very zealous government of Lord North from even extending the relief which had been granted to the English and Irish Catholics to those of Scotland, as had been originally designed and indeed expressly promised. In fact, however, up to this date, a strong jealousy of popery still continued to be entertained in quarters where the more recent history of English politics would least prepare us to expect it. In the latter part of the reign of George III. this became chiefly a Tory feeling; but at the time of which we are now writing it was perhaps more prevalent among Whigs than Tories, and among the adherents of extreme than of moderate Whiggism. The Jacobitism, or Jacobite tendencies, of the Tories still rather drew them towards the professors of the ancient religion, as generally attached, if not to the family of the Stuarts, at least to the high prerogative notions with which the Stuart cause was associated, and the overthrow of which constituted the Revolution of 1688: on the contrary, the penal laws, as the offspring of the Revolution, had a natural claim upon the habitual or hereditary sympathies of the Whigs. Other influences, no doubt, and more especially the Established Churchism of the generality of the Tories, contributed somewhat to disturb the operation of these causes; many Tories hated and dreaded popery as the enemy of the Established Church; and, on the other hand, the

* Parl. History, xx. 239.

† The 11 and 12 Will. III. c. 4. For an account of this statute, and the circumstances out of which it arose, see Pictorial History of England, iv. 634.

old party faith, or sentiment, upon this head was *modified and softened down in many* Whigs by the general bearing of their principles in favour of popular rights and the removal of restrictions; but it was not till the mass of the Roman Catholics, particularly in Ireland, where alone their numbers were considerable, abandoning their old politics, joined the liberal or democratic interest, that the advocacy of what was called Catholic Emancipation came to be, in a manner, one of the party distinctions of the Whigs, by which they were separated from and opposed to the Tories. The views entertained upon this subject by even the most liberal section of the Whigs, so recently as in the early part of the reign of George III., may be understood from some passages in the Confessional. His principal inducement, indeed, the author tells us in his preface, for publishing the work was, "his observing the redoubled efforts of popery to enlarge her borders, without being at the pains, as heretofore, to cover her march, and the surprising indifference with which some public and even clamorous notices of her progress were received, where one would have thought both interest and duty were concerned to remark and restrict her passage."* And then follows a keen attack upon Archbishop Wake for the project he was alleged to have entertained of a union of the Anglican and Gallican churches. Afterwards it is lamented that "the zeal and vigilance both of pastors and people in the Church of England against popery and popish emissaries are visibly declined." "The papists," the writer goes on, "strengthened and animated by an influx of Jesuits, expelled even from popish countries for crimes and practices of the worst complexion, open public mass-houses, and affront the laws of this protestant kingdom in other respects, not without insulting some of those who endeavour to check their insolence."† That is to say, the poor papists sometimes ventured to stand up in their own defence when assailed, or attempted to be interfered with, for merely worshipping God in their own way with more than five persons present besides the family in whose house the meeting was held; for that was the definition of an illegal religious assembly according to the Conventicle Act of 1664! A statement is next quoted from a pamphlet of the day, to the effect that popish bishops actually went about openly in this country, and exercised every part of their function "without offence and without observation," as something setting all comment at defiance. Such was ultra-liberalism in the year 1765! The Roman Catholics of his day, as a body, are distinctly charged by Blackburne as the enemies of the established order of things. "Have the papists of Great Britain, in particular," he asks, "given the king and his government the security of their allegiance as protestant subjects do? Do they acknowledge no King of Great Britain but his majesty King George III.? Have not a majority of English papists of rank and fortune Jesuits in their houses as directors of their consciences? Have not their youth been sent to be educated among Jesuits? Are not the Roman Catholic priests stationed all over England chiefly of the Jesuitical order?" Then, assuming that the Jesuits held the doctrine commonly attributed to them, about the right of subjects to depose or murder kings excommunicated by the Pope, he concludes—"If these questions cannot be answered to the satisfaction of a protestant people, it behoveth every good subject to our gracious sovereign, and every friend to this country, to keep up a spirit of vigilance and attention to every motion of these dangerous inmates, whom we daily see strengthening their hands with new converts, of whom the leaders of this malignant party will not fail to avail themselves the moment they find their numbers sufficient to give them an equal chance in a struggle to wrest out of our hands our inestimable rights and liberties, civil and religious."* These passages, while they evince the strong alarm then excited by dangers which will now be almost universally regarded as having been quite visionary, at the same time throw light upon some of the grounds on account of which popery was at this date so much feared and hated by liberal politicians. Afterwards, in the body of his work, Blackburne endeavours to make out that Arminianism, which he assumes had prevailed and been making progress in the church for the preceding century and more, was the natural ally both of popery and arbitrary power. "The Calvinists," he argues, "inferred the lawfulness of resisting wicked and unrighteous princes from their theological principles of election and grace. Heylin says that Calvin called the contrary doctrine civil idolatry; and Grotius, artfully enough, improved the prejudices which magistrates would entertain against these unprincely notions to the advantage of his own party, by insinuating the infinite reverence which the principles of the Arminians obliged them to have for the civil powers. The English Arminians went still farther. By excluding election from any share in the foundation of dominion, and substituting indefeasible hereditary right *jure divino* in its place, resistance even to a Nero or a Caligula became a damnable sin. Laud, as we have seen, affirmed boldly that civil government would be useless, if some fatal opinions, opposite to those of Montague, were to prevail. And Mr. Tindal himself confesses that Laud, Neile, and Montague were for setting the king above the laws. And I know some very worthy and eminent persons, warm and fast friends to the civil and religious rights of mankind, who are of opinion to this hour, that resistance, even to wicked princes, cannot be justified upon religious principles without having recourse to the theological doctrines of the ancient Puritans and Independents." With regard, again, to the connexion between Arminianism and popery, he argues that it was the traffic in indulgences which gave the first occasion to Luther to discover the

* P. lviii. † P. lxvii. * P. lxx.

corruptions of popery, and afforded him the first grounds of his opposition to them; but indulgences were founded on the merit of good works, and that again on free-will; "the reformers universally, in a greater or less degree, pursued Luther's scheme of interpretation; they thought they had very good grounds in Scripture for excluding free-will from any share in the work of justification; and therefore, when the Arminians arose, the Puritans apprehended, with great reason, that, by opening a door to free-agency, it would be impossible to prevent purgatory, saint-worship, indulgences, &c., from breaking in along with it."*

The suppression of the Jesuits, to which allusion has been made above, was the most remarkable event in the history of the Roman Catholic church abroad during this century, or at least during so much of it as had yet elapsed. This mighty society, which may be regarded as the successor and representative of that of the Templars in a new age of the world, when the pen had succeeded to the sword as the chief power in human affairs, was destined, after a splendid career of two centuries, to undergo the same fate with its predecessor, and in a great measure from the operation of the like causes. Whatever were the pretences put forward for their destruction, and the means taken to excite the public odium against them, the great offence of the Jesuits was doubtless simply their great and growing power, which drew upon them the jealousy, fear, and hatred of the various continental governments. The society was suppressed in Portugal, its property confiscated, and its members expelled from all the Portuguese territories, in September, 1759; in 1764 it was suppressed and its property confiscated in France, where, however, small pensions were allowed to the members, and they were permitted to remain in the country; in 1767 it was abolished in Spain, with circumstances of great harshness and cruelty, the members being driven or carried by force out of the country, and put on board crowded ships, which were left to wander about the seas for months, till, after they had been refused admission at various ports, and many of the aged and infirm Jesuits had died, the survivors were at last allowed to land in Corsica; in 1768 the society was suppressed in the dominions of the King of the Two Sicilies and of the Duke of Parma; and finally on the 21st of July, 1773, Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) was prevailed upon to issue his bull for the entire abolition of the order, the effect of which was its immediate fall in the Papal States, in Sardinia, in the Austrian dominions, and throughout the whole remaining Catholic world. Prussia and Russia, however, on the continent, received and protected such of the members as sought an asylum among their protestant and schismatic subjects; and some of the fathers also, as appears from what Blackburne says, came over to this country, notwithstanding the severity of the enactments standing in the statute-book against persons of their description, trusting, doubtless, that the spirit of the times would be their sufficient safeguard from the letter of the law.

* P. 253.

Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli.) From a Print by Trotter.

The history of the Church of Scotland during the present period exhibits the operation and effect, modified by the peculiar circumstances of that establishment, of the same sort of influences which we have seen at work in the English Church. Tranquil times and a settled government had at length succeeded in bending even the spirit of presbytery, and in taming the turbulence of the General Assembly, as well as that of the Convocation. Everywhere, indeed, the elements of opposition and disorder were now fallen, or fast falling, into repose, after an activity which, both in church and state, and in both countries, had lasted with little intermission for about a century; and all things, from the pretensions of the ecclesiastical order to those of the highland clans, were accommodating themselves to a new condition of society, ceasing to oppose existing arrangements which there was no longer any hope of overturning, and, instead of contest and independent movement, making their peace as they best might with the dominant powers and principles of the time, were it even by becoming the most zealous servants and supporters of the system which had thus gotten the victory over them and reduced them to obedience. Luckily for the latter, some of the most formidable and troublesome of the interests which, after long hostility, had now been brought over to its side were not without certain natural dispositions or tendencies that fitted them, as soon as they had fairly assumed it, to take kindly enough to their new position, and soon reconciled them to their silken chains. The Jacobitism, for instance, which had clung so tenaciously to the memory of the House of Stuart, now that it had awoke from that dream, found something wonderfully well adapted to its parasitic faculty in the actual sovereignty of the House of Hanover. In the same

manner the established church, the brief matrimonial gale that had ruffled the tenderness of their attachment and the customary placidity of their holy alliance having blown over, was easily brought back to its habit and duty of leaning on the state, repaying the support it received by a thousand *little* acts of service and observance. Even the rugged nature of presbyterianism, as we have said, had yielded at last to the mollifying influences thus acting upon every established church, *and certain* to humble the haughtiest and sternest in due time "to love, fair looks, and true obedience." The great subject of quarrel between the Church of Scotland and the government in the earlier part of the present century had been the grievance of patronage as restored by the act of 1712.* It appears that for the first ten or twelve years this new and unquestionably very unpopular law was hardly carried into effect or obeyed at all, the patrons being unable or afraid to enforce their rights in the face of the almost unanimous opposition both of the people and the clergy. Whether even the form of a presentation by the lay patron was in those days generally required in the filling up of vacant livings we do not know; but, in whatever way the matter was managed, the people seem in almost all cases to have obtained the clergyman of their own choice, or at least rarely or never to have had a minister intruded upon them to whom, for any reason or for no reason at all, they chanced to take up a dislike. That this system contributed to attach the people to the church there can be no doubt; and by making the church popular it also, in a certain sense, made it powerful—powerful so long as it acted in obedience to the popular will, or, at any rate, did not venture to oppose that will, but confined itself at the most to the task of leading and guiding it. Of course, too, it tended to secure in the clergy such a style not only of preaching but of general demeanour, of mind, of manners, and of the whole man, as was most conformable to the popular notions and tastes. In a word, it made the people essentially the regulating and controlling power in the church —*not* indeed formally or ostensibly the authority in matters either of doctrine or discipline, but yet the polar force towards which all things were attracted, which gave a bias to every movement, and operated with a constant pressure in one particular direction. The necessary constitution of human affairs is such that there must be a determining force of this kind lodged somewhere; it may be in part counteracted, and prevented from operating beyond certain limits, by various contrivances; but, even if it were desirable, it is impossible so to arrange any system of polity, whether ecclesiastical or civil, as altogether to exclude the general predominance of some one interest or power. In the case of a church this predominating influence might perhaps as safely and fitly be left with the people as anywhere else; such an arrangement would have some advantages and some disadvantages; but, whether the one or the other ought to be considered as preponderating, it can scarcely be maintained that the arrangement is that contemplated in the presbyterian idea of a church, or, at all events, that the fathers and founders of Scottish presbyterianism ever recognised its expediency in the sense of some of their *soi-disant* followers in modern times. No church, in fact, has protested more distinctly and strongly than that of Scotland against the claim of the people to be the actual electors of their clergymen. In proof of this it is unnecessary to do more than to quote an act passsd by the General Assembly in 1698, in vindication of the Scotch presbyterians from a charge brought against them in a sermon recently published by an English divine, who asserted that they had corrupted the word of God, "with design to support the people's power of setting up ministers over themselves," by causing the third verse of the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles to be printed, "whom *ye* may appoint over this business," instead of "whom *we* may appoint." "Therefore," says the act, "the General Assembly unanimously declare that, as they allow no power in the people, but only in the pastors of the church, to appoint and ordain to church offices, so they disclaim the above error of the press, if any such be found in any bibles printed in this nation, and do declare that they do not own any other reading of that text to be according to the original but 'whom we may appoint,' nor do they know nor can learn that ever any in this nation did publicly use or apply that text to prove the people's power in ordaining their ministers." It is true, indeed, that the system established in 1649 gave a certain right of choice to the elders, or members of the kirk session, and that the subsequent act of 1690 placed the election to something like the same extent in the hands of the elders in conjunction with the heritors, and that under both these arrangements the general body of the congregation were called upon to express their approval or disapproval of what had been done; but this latter provision, in fact, merely had the effect of making over the matter to the final decision of the presbytery, or church court of the district, which was in no case bound to confirm or act upon the objections of the congregation, but might, if it thought fit, proceed to settle the nominee of the elders or heritors in the face of any opposition on the part of the people.* Besides, under the act of 1649 at least, the initiative too, as well as the conclusion of the affair, was left wholly with the presbytery; for both elders and congregation were restricted in their choice to such candidates as the presbytery sent down to them. If the act of 1712, therefore, which restored lay patronage, took some power in this matter from the people, it took at least quite as much from the clergy themselves. Nevertheless, as we have intimated, the latter at least, acted upon by the natural gravitation of an established church towards everything

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 648.

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 631, 632.

else that is established, were in no long time brought over to a very good understanding with the new law. The General Assembly had indeed strongly remonstrated against the act while it was under discussion in parliament, and it continued to repeat its protest in various forms year after year till 1736, when the expression of its hostility took the form of an instruction to the commission (or committee authorised to manage the affairs of the church during the recess of the assembly) to seize every fit occasion of applying to the legislature for the removal of the "grievance of patronage"—an instruction which was annually reiterated down to the year 1784. But nothing, we believe, was ever done or attempted by the commission in execution of this mandate; and, indeed, we may regard the solemn formality of its unvarying repetition for so many years as a mere cushioning of the question, and the most expressive sign that could be given by the church that its old zeal against patronage was become an exceedingly gentle emotion. It never, in fact, recovered any degree of its original fervour until in process of time it became converted into a zeal in favour of patronage. From the passing of the act of 1712 down to about the year 1725, we are told, "there were very few individuals admitted to parishes under the law of patronage at all:" many of the patrons, it is asserted, were unwilling to exercise the right conferred upon them by the act, and left the matter to be settled by a call, or invitation, given by the people to the person they wished to have for their minister, under the jurisdiction and oversight of the presbytery.* But after 1725 it began to be the general practice of the church courts, or at least of the assembly, to yield obedience to the law; and, although their submission was probably for a space somewhat reluctant, it became gradually less and less so, till, some years before the commencement of the present period, it had grown to be, with the majority of the clergy, a cordial and zealous maintenance of patronage, not only as being the undoubted law of the land and of the church, but as being a good thing in itself. This change of principle, or sentiment, had been promoted by several circumstances, besides the ordinary influences already described as of sure operation in the case of every established church in tranquil times. From the breaking out of the secession in 1733,† for one thing, an approval of, or at least an acquiescence in, patronage became the chief mark which distinguished churchmen from dissenters, and the spirit of maintaining the existing law might naturally be expected to gain ground among the clergy of the establishment in proportion to the violence with which the opposite feeling was exhibited by those who had left its pale. It appears that the moderate party, as they were called, had acquired considerable strength under the conduct of Dr. Cumming and other leaders before the middle of the century; but it was indebted for its consolidation and complete ascendency to the celebrated Dr. Robertson, the historian, who first gave proof of his eminent debating powers in a discussion on this very question of patronage, in the assembly of 1751, the first of which he was a member, and who continued throughout the following thirty years to build up and fortify the system of ecclesiastical polity to which he had thus early announced his adherence. Up to this time the decisions of the assembly, itself a fluctuating body, upon cases in which the law of patronage was attempted to be resisted had been somewhat varying or uncertain; even if the result was generally the maintenance of the supremacy of the law, still a battle had to be fought upon every case: but Robertson soon gave such steadiness to the procedure of the house, that, although it always contained a large number of members avowedly hostile to patronage, and looking upon it as an invasion of the constitution and rights of the church, even that formidable minority, either convinced of its own powerlessness or perhaps brought over to feel that, however objectionable, the law of patronage ought to be obeyed, like any other law, until it was repealed, gave up contesting the matter, and at last cases of resistance to presentations, which formerly used to make up the chief business of the assembly, ceased altogether to be heard of. For some time, indeed, settlements under presentations were not always effected without opposition on the part of the parishioners, and there were even instances in which the authority of the law was only asserted by the assistance of a military force; but at last it came to be submitted to as quietly by the people out of doors as by the assembly and the other church courts. To this state things had been brought before Dr. Robertson, still in the vigour of his faculties and at no very advanced age—he was only sixty—retired from the assembly in 1781. The eloquence of this distinguished person, and his fame in the world of letters, conspiring with the circumstances and spirit of the time, had no doubt powerfully contributed to the success which thus crowned his efforts; but he owed also much of the sway which he exercised over his party, as well as of the victorious position which he obtained and kept for them and for himself, to the eminent political sagacity and skill which he showed throughout his career as a party leader and the chief director of the affairs of the church. "Dr. Robertson's firmness," says an opponent, speaking of him in reference to this question of patronage, "was not easily shaken; but his caution and prudence never deserted him. He held it for a maxim never wantonly to offend the prejudices of the people, and rather to endeavour to manage than directly to combat them. Some of the settlements in dispute were protracted for eight or ten years together; and, though the general assemblies steadily pursued their system, and uniformly appointed the presentees to be inducted, their strongest sentences were not vindic-

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Church Patronage, Scotland, in 1834. Examination of Rev. P. M'Farlan, D.D. Quest. 328, 337.

† See Pictorial History of England, iv. 649, 650.

tive, and seldom went beyond the leading points to which they were directed."* It is a remarkable illustration of the moderation and caution of Robertson's management, that, as we have seen, the inoperative clause about the "grievance of patronage" was allowed to stand undisturbed in the annual instructions to the commission of assembly during all the time that he led the majority in that house; so unadvisable did he hold it to stir the embers of an expiring fire, or so satisfied was he that nothing could better expose the powerlessness to which his opponents were reduced than their constant repetition of this ineffective and unmeaning protest. But a few years after he had retired, and when a fit occasion of applying to the legislature for the repeal of the act of 1712 had not once presented itself in the course of nearly half a century, the instruction was (quietly, we believe, and with the consent of all parties) withdrawn.

When a witness strongly opposed to patronage was asked by the committee of the House of Commons which was appointed to inquire into this subject in 1834, if this cessation of the remonstrances of the assembly did not infer an abatement of the old feeling against patronage, he answered—"There is no doubt that patronage had been so long used, that the ministers had come to have a great favour for the system, and, although they did not dare openly to declare for it, yet I think their giving up the remonstrance against it proved that they were very much pleased with it in their hearts." He adds, however, that in this very same year, 1784, they rejected, as he thinks, a motion to dispense with the call, or invitation from the people to the minister presented to them by the patron.† The latter statement, we suppose, alludes to a declaration of the General Assembly in 1782, to the effect that the moderation (or recognition by the presbytery) of a call in settling ministers was agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of the church, and that it ought to be continued. Yet even in regard to this matter the course adopted by the church has been one rather of profession than of performance. It is said that some of the settlements in the middle of the last century were made without any kind of call whatever;‡ but it is now, we believe, understood to be necessary that, in conformity with the deliverance of 1782, at least the form of moderating a call, as it is phrased, should in all cases be gone through,—that is to say, that a paper so designated should be submitted to the presbytery before the presentee is ordained. It is always easy enough of course for the presentee or the patron to get such a paper drawn out by any writer's clerk; but sometimes there is a difficulty in procuring signatures to it after it has been drawn out; and upon the material question of the necessity of such signatures the law of the church appears to be still involved in considerable darkness. A call, professing to come from the parishioners, has been sustained as sufficient when it had no more than two names affixed to it; and even when there was not among the signatures that of one resident parishioner.* It seems very doubtful, after the admission of such extreme refinements, whether the invitation might not be held good although it had no names attached to it at all.

For a church affecting so much scorn of mere forms and ceremonies, and so rigid a simplicity and downrightness in all things, it must be confessed that these contradictions or compromises between theory and practice, between principle and policy, start out upon us now and then rather more obtrusively than might be expected in the proceedings and demeanour of the Church of Scotland. Throughout her whole history, indeed, she has displayed, along with her high pretensions, a wonderful submission to and acquiescence in arrangements practically giving them the lie and trampling them in the dust. She has never ceased to assert her independence of the state, in regard to any matter whatever that she took it into her head to regard as belonging to her spiritual jurisdiction; she has never made good her claim as to any one point on which she has been resisted by the civil power. Her great standing protest against the interference of the state in regulating the times of meeting of her supreme court is annually made at this day in the presence of a royal commissioner, whom she half recognises, half abjures, or affects not even to see or hear, but whose command, nevertheless, as to the moment both of dissolving and of reassembling, the court takes special care never to disobey. We do not know whether she has yet given up even the claim of old David Black and his brethren in the end of the sixteenth century to an exemption on the part of the clergy from being at all questioned in the civil courts for anything whatever which the church courts might choose to consider as coming properly under their own jurisdiction.† But at any rate she is at this hour engaged as hotly as ever in attempting to force upon the state the acknowledgment of certain other pretensions which have been hitherto urged in vain from as ancient a date. The late learned Dr. M'Crie, a determined enemy of patronage, nevertheless correctly enough prognosticated, when examined before the committee of the House of Commons in 1834, what would be the fate of the famous Veto Act then about to be passed by the assembly, with the view of giving the people a check upon presentations, and which, not much to the credit of the foresight of its authors and supporters, who scouted the idea of its giving rise to any conflict or confusion whatever, has kept Scotland in a ferment ever since:—"It appears to me more than questionable," said Dr. M'Crie, "whether the restriction it imposes be legal, and whether patrons may not resist its exercise; a qualified minister was a thing recog-

* Account of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland, by the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff.
† Evidence of A. Dunlop, Esq. Qu. 202.
‡ Report on Patronage; Evidence of P. M'Farlan, D.D. Qu. 344.

* Report on Patronage; Evidence of P. M'Farlan, D.D. Qu. 348.
† See Pictorial History of England, iii. 447.

nised by the canon law, and a condition from the time that the right of presentation was conferred; but no such element as the consent of the people, whether avowed or tacit, was then known; it was received, indeed, by the reformed church, *but she could never prevail on the state to recognise it;* and one principal reason why the government would not ratify the Second Book of Discipline was, because the assembly would not insert after "the consent of the congregation," the words "if the people have a lawful cause against his life and doctrine."* That is to say, the Scottish parliament of 1578, to which was presented for acceptance and confirmation the Second Book of Discipline (afterwards registered in the assembly of 1581),† insisted upon limiting the general expression, (in the 7th clause of the 3rd chapter,) implying that the consent of the congregation was in all cases requisite in the election of the pastor, so as to confine the interference of the people to the allegation of *legal* objections against the presentee's life and doctrine — in other words to the mere right of showing, if they could, that he was not a legally qualified presentee. And this point, which the state would not give up in the end of the sixteenth century, nor at any time since, the church is still attempting to wrest from it in the middle of the nineteenth!

With regard to the various Dissenting communities, there is not much to add. On the whole, the numbers of the dissenters probably continued to increase throughout this period both in England and Scotland, though principally in the former country through the spread of Methodism, which had scarcely as yet taken up an attitude of separation from, far less of hostility to, the established church.

Countess of Huntingdon. From a Painting by R. Bowen.

Wesley, the founder and head of by far the more extended of the two great sects into which the Methodists were divided, survived the termination of the present period; and so did Lady Huntingdon, who may be regarded as having been the head of the Calvinistic Methodists, at least after the death of Whitefield, which took place in 1770. In Scotland Methodism still made but little progress; but the different denominations of recent seceders from the establishment, called the Burghers, the Anti-Burghers, and the Relief body,* all continued to spread, and to extend their encroachments upon the domain of the national church. On the other hand, the minor sects, both in England and Scotland, were generally wearing out, or merging in one or other of the greater denominations; the Glassites and Sandemanians, for instance, were melting away into the general mass of the Independent connexion, which was also fast absorbing the few remaining congregations of the English Presbyterians, or at least such of them as did not go over to the Baptists on the one hand or to the Unitarians on the other. Of the religious communities of more recent origin, or at least of more recent appearance in this country, the most remarkable were the Moravians, or United Brethren, and the Swedenborgians, calling themselves The Church of the New Jerusalem. Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorff, who first in modern times gave the Moravians an establishment, on his estates in Upper Lusatia, where they founded their settlement of Hernhuth (or the Lord's flock), came to England in 1737, and made arrangements for the introduction of Moravianism both into this country and into the colonies of North America. His object was zealously aided both by John Wesley, whom the

Count Zinzendorff. From a German Print.

count first met the following year in Germany, and by several eminent clergymen and other members of

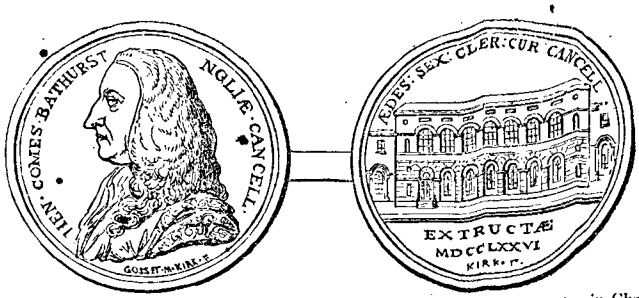
* Report on Patronage, Qu. 2637.
† See Pictorial History of England, ii. 749.

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 651.

the established church, to whom the ecclesiastical system of the Moravians was recommended by its admission of the principle of episcopacy, though not quite according to the rigour of the orthodox notion. The Moravians and the Methodists afterwards quarrelled; but, although the former always continued mainly a foreign community, they are said to have increased in this country to the number of about twelve hundred persons by the year 1742; and in 1747 they had risen to so much importance both in England and in America that an act of parliament was passed,* principally for their accommodation, extending to all foreign Protestants who had resided in the colonies for seven years, and who had conscientious scruples against the taking of an oath, the privilege formerly granted to Quakers of making their affirmation instead, and also conferring upon them the state and rights of natural-born subjects of the kingdom, in the same manner as had been done in regard to the colonial Jews in 1740.* Count Zinzendorff, who visited England again in 1749, died in 1760. Baron Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of the sect calling themselves by his name, professed to have received the first of his divine revelations in London in the year 1743, and died here in 1772. He obtained many followers in his lifetime in England as well as in other parts of Europe and in America; and his disciples still form a considerable community in this country.

* Stat. 20 Geo. II. c. 44.

* See Pictorial History of England, iv. 637.



Medal of Lord Chancellor Bathurst. The obverse represents the Six Clerks' Office in Chancery-lane. From an unpublished Medal in Mr. Hawkins's Private Collection.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

THE reign of George III. commenced with an attempt to govern by a sort of *maire du palais*—that is, by a minister chosen solely by the court. The failure of the attempt was only a further corroboration of the principle, that, since the Revolution, much of the substance of sovereignty in this country is lodged in the parliament. The king, it is true, still bore the name and much of the outward form, but with these he retained only a fractional part (it would be no easy problem to say with exactness how much) of the sovereign power. The individual who had most influence with the House of Commons, not he who had most influence with the king or queen, was the individual to whom was committed the administrative authority—in other words, was the chief or prime minister. The reigning prince had still, indeed, considerable influence in advancing a favourite, when there were no particular obstacles to that advancement arising from parliamentary unpopularity. Thus a sort of *maire du palais* influence was about as much the cause of the advancement of the Duke of Marlborough as of that of Lord Bute. But in the former case that influence was supported by extraordinary merit in the individual favoured, in the latter case it was not; which sufficiently accounts for the difference in the results.

Though the principal features of our present constitution were marked out and fixed during the preceding period of our history, there remained some points of not inconsiderable importance to be settled by succeeding generations. The Letters of Junius, whatever other merits or demerits they may possess, may at least serve to indicate what were the particular constitutional questions that towards the beginning of the reign of George III. agitated the public mind and engaged the public attention. A great, probably the greater, portion of the interest of those celebrated letters arises, it is true, from their keen personality, couched in polished language, though often consisting mainly of dark insinuation, and accompanied by a bitterness of invective often rising into ferocity, and apparently tinged throughout with the malignity of personal rancour. The people have been in all ages peculiarly fond of being admitted as it were behind the scenes of the great political drama; of being let into the secret of the private and domestic lives, and actions, and infirmities, and vices of their rulers; of seeing those whom they habitually envy or fear for a time off their vantage ground; of being permitted from one point as it were to look down upon them, at least to look at them familiarly. This, no doubt, which has obtained a degree of popularity for productions of far inferior literary merit, was one great cause of the large share of public attention bestowed upon the Letters of Junius.

Still, however, after deducting and making allowance for this, there remains enough of matter of a political or constitutional nature to show that there were then some constitutional questions of considerable importance that had still to be determined. The principal of these questions are indicated in the following passage in the Dedication to the Letters of Junius:—"Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all the

civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman; and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controlled or limited by the judges, nor, in any shape, questionable by the legislature." Here we have two questions, a general and a special one; that is, the question of the right of juries to return a verdict involving the law as well as the fact in all cases whatsoever, and the question of their right so to do in the special case of libel—particularly political libel.

I. As to the general question, that is, as to the right of the jury by the laws and customs of England to find in all cases submitted to them a verdict absolutely for the plaintiff or defendant—in other words, a verdict involving the determination of the question both of law and fact—the law on it is laid down so clearly, and at the same time so succinctly, both by Littleton and Lord Coke, that it would seem wonderful that it should have given rise to so much discussion, if we did not know how potent are political passions and animosities to darken and confound any question. The law is contained in the 368th section of Littleton, and Lord Coke's commentary thereon. In that section, Littleton's words are — "If the inquest [jury] will take upon them the knowledge of the law upon the matter, they may give their verdict generally, as is put in their charge." Upon which Lord Coke has this commentary:—"Although the jury, if they will take upon them (as *Littleton* here saith) the knowledge of the law, may give a general verdict, yet it is dangerous for them so to do, for, if they do mistake the law, they run into the danger of an attaint; therefore to find the special matter" (*i. e.* the fact without applying the law to it) "is the safest way where the case is doubtful."* Coke, indeed, had said a little before—"*Et sicut ad quæstionem juris non respondent juratores sed judices; sic ad quæstionem facti non respondent judices sed juratores.* For jurors are to try the fact, and the judges ought to judge according to the law that riseth upon the fact, for *ex facto jus oritur*."† But the effect of this passage is modified and controlled by that of the subsequent passage of the commentary which we have quoted above. Moreover, the words of the clause in the statute (13 Edw. I. c. 30, § 2) by which the jurors are not to be *compelled* "to say precisely whether it be disseisin or not, so that they do show the truth of the fact, and require aid of the justices," imply that before that statute the jurors were necessarily judges of the law as well as the fact, and were after it to be at their option judges of both or only of the fact.

It is evident then that, by the common law, the English jury possess more of the qualities of what is commonly understood by the judicial character than the private citizen, called in the language of the Roman law *judex*, and appointed by the prætor, governor of a province, or municipal magistrate, to determine the point of fact; although on a former occasion* we said, not with perfect accuracy, that the Roman *judex* corresponded to our jury; the English jury being to all intents and purposes, according to the authority of those who are considered the sages of the English law, judges armed with the authority of deciding on the question both of law and fact, subject nevertheless, like other judges, to an appeal from their sentence, (verdict, as it is called in their case,) and to somewhat heavy consequences if they shall be found to have interpreted the law erroneously. Originally, indeed, those consequences consisted of penalties so heavy that they must have deterred the jury in many, if not most cases, from giving any opinion involving the law of the case. "If the grand jury,"† says Blackstone, "found their verdict a false one, the judgment by the common law was, that the jurors should lose their *liberam legem*, and become for ever infamous; should forfeit their goods and the profits of their lands; should themselves be imprisoned, and their wives and children thrown out of doors; should have their houses razed, their trees extirpated, and their meadows ploughed; and that the plaintiff should be restored to all that he lost by reason of the unjust verdict. But, as the severity of this punishment had its usual effect, in preventing the law from being executed, therefore, by the statute 11 Henry VII. c. 24, revived by 23 Henry VIII. c. 3, and made perpetual by 13 Eliz. c. 25, an attaint is allowed to be brought after the death of the party,‡ and a more moderate punishment was inflicted upon attainted jurors; viz. perpetual infamy, and, if the cause of action were above 40*l.* value, a forfeiture of 20*l.* a-piece by the jurors, or, if under 40*l.*, then 5*l.* a-piece, to be divided between the king and the party injured; so that a man may now bring an attaint either upon the statute or at common law, at his election; and in both of them may reverse the former judgment. But the practice of setting aside verdicts upon motion, and granting *new trials*, has so superseded the use of both sorts of attaints, that I have observed very few instances of an attaint in our books later than the sixteenth century."§

The following passage, too, in a case in Moore's Reports, supports the view that the jury had a right to give a verdict involving both the law and the fact, subject, however, to revision and correction as to law when they had mistaken the law. "Et les justices dient que lou les jurors trove matter encounter ley, les justices ne pñderont notice de ceo, mes adjudgeront comme le ley voit."‖ And this course is the one that in practice would in ordinary cases be the more eligible, as being attended with less delay and expense.

* Co. Litt. 228, a. † Ibid. 226, a.

* Pict. History of England, vol. i. p. 88.

† That is, the jury of twenty-four, appointed to try an appeal from a verdict by writ of attaint.

‡ The provision in the Act is, that the attaint is not to abate by the death of the party, or of any of the jury, as long as two of the jury are alive.

§ 3 Com. 404.

‖ Lee v. Lee, Moore, 268. "And the justices said that, when the jurors find matter contrary to law, the justices will not take notice of that, but will give judgment according to law." See also 15 Vin. Abr. 523.

II. As to the special question, namely, the right of juries to include in their verdict the point of law as well as fact, in the particular case of libel. The press had become to a certain extent free in the reign of William III. The licensing act* had been suffered to expire in 1679, but was revived in 1685 for seven years. In 1692 it was continued till the end of the session of 1693. The attempts afterwards made to renew its operation were defeated. The term "liberty of the press," however, implies a qualified or relative, and not an absolute, liberty, for it is a liberty subject to the law of libel—a law which has always been, and is likely, at least to a considerable extent, always to be, indefinite. In regard to public or political discussion, a sort of tacit change is generally recognised as having taken place in the law of libel, which renders the liberty of the press to that extent tolerably complete. Before the Revolution it seems to have been the received doctrine, that a writing reflecting on the government, or upon the character or fitness of any one employed in it, was a libel. The Revolution having made no change in the law, it was laid down by Holt, in the case of Tutchin, that to possess the people with an ill opinion of the government, that is, of the ministry, is a libel. And the reason might partly be, as alleged on various occasions by the crown lawyers or from the bench, that there can be no reflection on those that are in office under the crown, but it must cast some reflection on the wearer of the crown, who employs them. But by and by it was found to be more expedient for the ministry attacked to retaliate with the same weapons with which the attack was made, until at length it became tacitly understood that the public characters and administration of statesmen are fair topics of free discussion, and even of attack within certain bounds. However, "the just limit between political and private censure has been far better drawn in these later times, licentious as we still may justly deem the press, than in an age when courts of justice had not deigned to acknowledge, as they do at present, its theoretical liberty. No writer, except of the most broken reputation, would venture at this day on the malignant calumnies of Swift."†

Before, and for some time after the Revolution, the judges permitted evidence to be given as to the truth of an alleged libel; but latterly they laid it down that falsehood, though always alleged in the indictment, was not essential to constituting it a libel; and they refused in the case of an indictment or information to allow the truth of the libel to be pleaded, or given in evidence, or even urged in mitigation of punishment, though in a civil action the truth of the fact may be given in evidence. The judges, for the most part, too, held that the sole province of the jury was to determine the fact of printing and publishing; and also whether what are called the innuendoes were properly filled up, that is, whether the libel meant that which in the indictment or declaration it was alleged to mean. Whether that meaning, when so determined, was or was not a breach of the law, was held to be a question of law, which the court alone was competent to decide. And certainly this doctrine, in theory at least, does seem quite consonant to the reason which prescribes that there shall be judge and jury; the jury to ascertain the facts—the judge to apply the law to them when ascertained. In practice, however, it was found to be attended with consequences which set not only the majority of the public but also some lawyers of name in opposition to it. And it is easy to see that, though the doctrine may be applied without difficulty to those two grand primary rights which the law confers upon every man, viz. his *person* and *property*, its application to the case of the right next in importance, his *reputation*, may, from the less tangible nature of the subject-matter, be attended with extraordinary difficulties. This state of the law of libel, which continued till the 32 Geo. III., gave rise to much agitation and dissatisfaction, particularly about the time of the trials of Woodfall for the publication of Junius's Letters, and Wilkes for the publication of No. 45 of the *North Briton*, under Lord Mansfield. When the information against Woodfall came on for trial, Lord Mansfield, in his summing up, directed the jury "that the printing and sense of the paper were alone what the jury had to consider of." The jury found the defendant "guilty of printing and publishing only." Lord Mansfield, in delivering the opinion of the court, which was that a *venire de novo** ought to issue, thus justified the direction which he had given to the jury:—"That the law," said he, "as to the subject-matter of the verdict, is as I have stated, has been so often unanimously agreed by the whole court upon every report I have made of a trial for a libel, that it would be improper to make it a question now in this place. Amongst those that concurred, the bar will recollect the dead and the living not now here. And we all again declare our opinion that the direction is right and according to law."†

When the information against Miller, one of those who had republished the libel, was tried, Lord Mansfield directed the jury in the following manner:—"I have the satisfaction to know, that if I should be mistaken in the direction I am about to give as to your duty on the present occasion, it will not be final and conclusive; but it is under the full conviction of my own mind that I am warranted by the uniform practice of past ages, and by the law of the land, that I inform you that the question for your determination is, whether the defendant printed and published a paper of such tenor and meaning as is charged by the informa-

* See Pict. Hist. of England, iii. 386, &c.

† Hallam, Const. Hist., iii. 229.

* "This is the old common-law mode of proceeding to a second trial, and differs materially from the granting a new trial, inasmuch as the *venire de novo* is awarded for some defect appearing upon the face of the record, while a new trial is granted for matter entirely extrinsic. A *venire de novo* is not awarded for every defect appearing upon the face of the record, but for a defective finding in the verdict only." 2 *Archbold's Practice*, 1138.

† State Trials, vol. xx. p. 920.

tion. If the tenor had been wrong, the prosecution would at once have fallen to the ground; but that is not objected to, nor is any meaning suggested by the defendant different to that supplied by the filling up the blanks in the information. If you find the defendant not guilty, you find that he did not print or publish as set forth: if you find him guilty, you find that he did print and publish a paper of the tenor and meaning set forth in the indictment. Your verdict finally establishes that fact; but you do not by that verdict find whether that production was legal or illegal; for, should the defendant be found guilty, he may arrest the judgment, by insisting there is nothing illegal in this paper, and may carry this matter before the highest court of judicature in the kingdom." Towards the end of his charge to the jury, Lord Mansfield added a sentence which seems to justify Junius's accusation that he had "grossly contradicted himself." His Lordship said, "If you choose to determine the point of law, you should be very sure, for your conscience' sake, that your determination is law; but if the law was in every case to be determined by juries, we should be in a miserable condition, as nothing can be more uncertain, from the different opinions of mankind."

In the course of the same year, two informations having been filed against Wilkes, for the publication of No. 45 of the *North Briton* and of another libel, and the cases standing for trial, an application was made to Lord Mansfield, at chambers, for leave to amend the records in a formal point. Leave was given to amend, but Mr. Wilkes, not appearing at the proper time, was outlawed. He afterwards appeared, and endeavoured to reverse the outlawry, and Lord Mansfield was keenly attacked for allowing the amendments to be made. His lordship, in delivering his judgment on the writ of error brought by Mr. Wilkes, after examining the authorities, thus continued, in a strain which may be cited as a good specimen of his judicial eloquence, at once calm, clear, grave, and dignified:—"But here let me pause:—it is fit to take some notice of the various terrors hung out; the numerous crowds which have attended, and now attend, in and about the hall, out of all reach of hearing what passes in court, and the tumults which, in other places, have shamefully insulted all order and government. Audacious addresses in print dictate to us, from those they call the people, the judgment to be given now, and afterwards upon the conviction. Reasons of policy are urged, from danger to the kingdom by commotions and general confusion.

"Give me leave to take the opportunity of this great and respectable audience to let the whole world know all such attempts are vain. Unless we have been able to find an error which will bear us out to reverse the outlawry, it must be affirmed. The constitution does not allow reasons of state to influence our judgments: God forbid it should! We must not regard political consequences, how formidable soever they might be: if rebellion was the certain consequence, we are bound to say, '*Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.*' The constitution trusts the king with reasons of state and policy; he may stop prosecutions; he may pardon offences; it is his to judge whether the law or the criminal should yield. *We* have no election. None of us encouraged or approved the commission of either of the crimes of which the defendant is convicted: none of us had any hand in his being prosecuted. As to myself, I took no part (in another place) in the addresses for that prosecution. We did not advise or assist the defendant to fly from justice: it was his own act; and he must take the consequences. None of us have been consulted, or had anything to do with the present prosecution. It is not in our power to stop it; it was not in our power to bring it on. We cannot pardon. We are to say what we take the law to be: if we do not speak our real opinions, we prevaricate with God and our own consciences.

"I pass over many anonymous letters I have received. Those in print are public, and some of them have been brought judicially before the court. Whoever the writers are, they take the wrong way. I will do my duty unawed. What am I to fear? That *mendax infamia* from the press, which daily coins false facts and false motives? The lies of calumny carry no terror to me. I trust that my temper of mind, and the colour and conduct of my life, have given me a suit of armour against these arrows. If, during this king's reign, I have ever supported his government and assisted his measures, I have done it without any other reward than the consciousness of doing what I thought right. If I have ever opposed, I have done it upon the points themselves, without mixing in party or faction, and without any collateral views. I honour the king and respect the people; but many things acquired by the favour of either are, in my account, objects not worth ambition. I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means. I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong upon this occasion, to gain the huzzas of thousands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press: I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow. I can say with a great magistrate, upon an occasion and under circumstances not unlike, 'Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, haud infamiam, putarem.'

"The threats go further than abuse: personal violence is denounced. I do not believe it: it is not the genius of the worst men of this country in the worst of times. But I have set my mind at rest. The last end that can happen to any man never comes too soon if he falls in support of the law and liberty of his country (for liberty is syno-

nymous to law and government). Such a shock, too, might be productive of public good: it might awake the better part of the kingdom out of that lethargy which seems to have benumbed them; and bring the mad part back to their senses, as men intoxicated are sometimes stunned into sobriety.

"Once for all, let it be understood that no endeavours of this kind will influence any man who at present sits here. If they have any effect, it would be contrary to their intent: leaning against their impression might give a bias the other way. But I hope, and I know, that I have fortitude enough to resist even that weakness. No libels, no threats, nothing that has happened, nothing that can happen, will weigh a feather against allowing the defendant, upon this and every other question, not only the whole advantage he is entitled to from substantial law and justice, but every benefit from the most critical nicety of form which any other defendant could claim under the like objection. The only effect I feel is an anxiety to be able to explain the grounds upon which we proceed, so as to satisfy all mankind that a flaw of form, given way to in this case, could not have been got over in any other."*

Wilkes, having been imprisoned under the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, petitioned the House of Commons for relief, alleging, among other grounds, the alteration of the record by the order of Lord Mansfield: and in the debates on the proceedings connected with Mr. Wilkes, the conduct of Lord Mansfield in matters of libel was much censured.

In the course of the debate on Lord Chatham's motion of the 5th of December, 1770, declaring the capacity to be chosen a member of parliament an inherent right of the subject, Lord Chatham said, "My Lords, if I conceive the noble lord on the woolsack right, or have been rightly informed by the public prints, from which, I candidly confess, I originally derived my information on this subject, the doctrine of the King's Bench is, that a libel, or not a libel, is a question of law to be decided only by the court, and the sole power of the jury is to determine upon the fact of printing and publishing. This, my Lords, I understand to be the noble lord's opinion; but this I never understood to be the law of England: on the contrary, I always understood that the jury were competent judges of the law as well as of the fact, and indeed, if they are not, I can see no essential benefit arising from their institution to the community."† Lord Camden followed Lord Chatham, and spoke of the administration of justice in terms of severe reprehension. On the 10th of December Lord Mansfield informed the House of Lords that he had left with the clerk of the House a copy of the judgment of the Court of King's Bench in the case of *the King against Woodfall*, and that their lordships might read it and take copies of it, if they pleased. Lord Camden having asked whether Lord Mansfield meant to have the paper entered in the journals, the latter replied, "No, only to leave it with the clerk." On the following day Lord Camden said, "My lords, I consider the paper delivered in by the noble lord on the woolsack as a challenge directed personally to me, and I accept of it. He has thrown down the glove, and I take it up. In direct contradiction to him I maintain that his doctrine is not the law of England. I am ready to enter into the debate whenever the noble lord will fix a day for it. I desire and insist that it may be an early one." He then delivered in six questions, founded on the paper deposited by Lord Mansfield with the clerk, and desired to have his lordship's answers. Lord Mansfield replied that this method of proposing questions to him was taking him by surprise; that it was unfair; and that he would not answer interrogatories. Lord Camden then pressed for a day to be appointed for the noble lord to give in his answers, and said, he was ready to meet him at any time upon his ground of law. Lord Mansfield* was at last brought to say that the matter should be discussed, and that he should hereafter give his opinion. But he declined fixing a day for doing so.†

One more case of trial for libel we shall notice —a case remarkable for the eloquent speech of Erskine, which is considered to have prepared the way for the introduction of Mr. Fox's libel bill. In the year 1784 the Dean of St. Asaph was indicted for publishing the "Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer," written by Sir William Jones. The case ultimately came on for trial at the summer assizes for Shrewsbury, in the year 1784. Mr. Erskine rested his client's defence upon two principles: first, that the jury had the right of pronouncing whether the tract was a libel or not; 2ndly, that the publication of the tract by the defendant, without any criminal intent, but on the contrary with a sincere desire to benefit the country, could not be construed into a libellous publication. The jury returned the verdict, "Guilty of publishing only." Upon which a somewhat warm discussion ensued between the judge who presided at the trial, Mr. Justice Buller, and Mr. Erskine, as to the mode in which the verdict should be taken.

"*Mr. Justice Buller.*—You say he is guilty of publishing the pamphlet, and that the meaning of the innuendoes is as stated in the indictment?

"*A Juror.*—Certainly.

"*Mr. Erskine.*—Is the word *only* to stand as part of your verdict?

"*A Juror.*—Certainly.

"*Mr. Erskine.*—Then I insist it shall be recorded.

"*Mr. Justice Buller.*—Then the verdict must be misunderstood. Let me understand the jury.

"*Mr. Erskine.*—The jury do understand their verdict.

* 4 Burrows's Reports, 2561; from which the report in Howell's State Trials, vol. xix. pp. 1075 *et seq.*, is wholly taken.

† Par. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 1306.

* "Lord Mansfield shuffled a good deal" are the words used by the compilers of the Parliamentary History.

† Parliamentary History, vol. xvi. pp. 1312—1322.

"*Mr. Justice Buller.*—Sir, I will not be interrupted.

"*Mr. Erskine.*—I stand here as an advocate for a brother-citizen, and I desire that the word *only* may be recorded.

"*Mr. Justice Buller.*—Sit down, sir! Remember your duty, or I shall be obliged to proceed in another manner.

"*Mr. Erskine.*—Your lordship may proceed in what manner you think fit. I know my duty as well as your lordship knows yours. I shall not alter my conduct."

The verdict of the jury ultimately was, that the dean was guilty of publishing, but whether it was a libel or not they did not find. In the following term Mr. Erskine obtained a rule for a new trial, on the ground of a misdirection of the judge, who had told the jury that the matter for them to decide was, whether the defendant was guilty of the *fact* or not. In the course of the same term the rule came on to be argued, and was supported by Mr. Erskine in a speech which Mr. Fox regarded with such admiration, that he repeatedly declared he thought it the finest argument in the English language. It was addressed, however, not to a jury, but to judges whose minds were made up on the question. The court answered it by a reference to their own practice, and that of their immediate predecessors. "Such a judicial practice," said Lord Mansfield, "on the precise point, from the Revolution down to the present day, as, I think, is not to be shaken by arguments of general theory or popular declamation."

In the course of his speech Mr. Erskine paid the following extremely elegant and well-turned compliment to the chief justice:—"I am one of those," said he, "who could almost lull myself by these reflections from the apprehension of *immediate* mischief, even from the law of libel laid down by your lordship, if you were always to continue to administer it yourself. I should feel a protection in the gentleness of your character; in the love of justice, which its own intrinsic excellence forces upon a mind enlightened by science and enlarged by liberal education; and in that dignity of disposition which grows with the growth of an illustrious reputation, and becomes a sort of pledge to the public for security. But such a security is a shadow which passeth away. You cannot, my lord, be immortal, and how can you answer for your successor? If you maintain the doctrines which I seek to overturn, you render yourself responsible for all the abuses that may follow from them to our latest posterity." The question was finally settled by Mr. Fox's libel bill in 1792 (32 Geo. III. c. 60), which declares the right of the jury to find a general verdict upon the whole matter.

We shall conclude these remarks on the law of libel with the following brief but comprehensive account of its present state from an able and carefully written article in the 35th volume of the "Quarterly Review:"—"Our law, as finally established by the statute of the 32 Geo. III., has thus left this important question, in the last resort, to the arbitrament of twelve jurors, whose mode of selection, since the improvement of Mr. Peel's jury bill, is such as to place their independence beyond question. But though *libel* in England (and as yet no other country can boast of such a definition) may thus be stated to be *that, and only that, which twelve impartial citizens declare on oath to be libel*, yet it is not to be supposed that all principles of law on the subject are superseded, and that juries can conscientiously decide upon the matter according to chance or caprice. The law does all it can by laying down the broad characteristics of the offence; and it leaves the application of these general rules to particular facts for a jury, guided, but not governed, by the skilful directions of a judge."*

There is another question, mixed up too with the politics of the time, of sufficient importance to demand some attention from us. By those who attacked Lord Mansfield it was made one of the charges against him that he wished to abolish the distinctions subsisting in English jurisprudence between law and equity. In order to understand the merits of this question, and the justice or injustice of these charges, it will be necessary to enter into a somewhat detailed examination of the subject.

It is a popular mistake, which the account given of the matter by many writers of eminence (Dr. Johnson, for example) helps to perpetuate, that in England a court of equity means a court in which "the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of his own conscience."† The subject of uses and trusts‡ will afford us an illustration which may help to show the incorrectness of these notions. A great part of the landed property of this kingdom was before the statute of Henry VIII., known as the Statute of Uses,§ settled by way of use, that is, while one person was the legal owner of it, another was the real or substantial owner. Now, as it would have been nothing else than downright robbery to allow the persons to whom the strict law would have given that property, who were in fact nothing more than the bare trustees of it, to appropriate it, the Court of Chancery stepped in and prevented this, and, compelling such persons to perform their trust conscientiously, consequently decreed the property to belong to those who were its real owners. And this was equity, as contradistinguished from law, in England. After the statute, which made for the future those real owners (in technical language *cestuis que use*) the legal as well as real or beneficial owners, the main business of the Court of Chancery seemed, for a time, to be at an end.‖ However in time nearly

* Quarterly Review, vol. xxxv., p. 571.
† Junius's Letter to Lord Mansfield: Junius's Letters, Letter 41.
‡ See Pict. Hist. of England, ii. p. 755.
§ 27 Hen. VIII., c. 10.
‖ Pict. Hist. of England, ii. p. 756.

the old state of things returned, and a large portion of the landed, or, as it is called in English law, the real property of the kingdom, is at this day held in trust, and consequently is subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of chancery or equity, and not of the courts of law. There are also many cases constantly arising which the old machinery of the courts of law furnishes no means of settling satisfactorily, but for settling which the courts of equity have provided a machinery, somewhat cumbrous and costly indeed; still, where the subject-matter is sufficiently large and important to supply the oil necessary to set the machine going, effective to its end. It is a mistake to suppose that this complicated machinery is worked according to the caprice or the "unsettled notions of equity" of the judge. On the contrary, it is guided by fixed and settled rules no less than the proceedings of the courts of law. Therefore when Junius says of Lord Mansfield, "Instead of those certain, positive rules, by which the judgment of a court of law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice," such a remark is to be considered not as applicable to equity as distinguished from law, though it may in some degree be true as applied to the practice of Lord Mansfield as a judge, which, as it involves some considerations of importance relating both to constitutional rights and private property, may here deserve some examination. But first, in order to make more intelligible to the reader the leading distinctions between the courts of law and equity in this country, we shall quote the following observations from Lord Redesdale's valuable Treatise on the Pleadings in Suits in the Court of Chancery:—

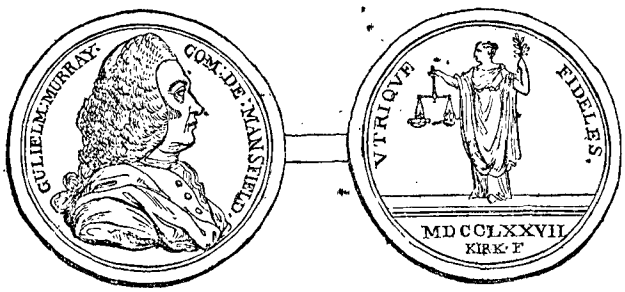
"The wisdom of legislators in framing positive laws to answer all the purposes of justice has ever been found unequal to the subject; and therefore, in all countries, those to whom the administration of the laws has been intrusted have been compelled to have recourse to natural principles, to assist them in the interpretation and application of positive law, and to supply its defects; and this resort to natural principles has been termed judging according to equity. Hence a distinction has arisen in jurisprudence between positive law and equity; but the administration of both has in most countries been left, at least in their superior courts, to the same tribunal. In prescribing forms of proceeding in courts of justice human foresight has also been defective; and therefore it has been commonly submitted to the discretion of the courts themselves, to vary or add to established forms, as the occasion and the appearance of new cases have required.

"In England a policy somewhat different has prevailed. The courts established for the ordinary administration of justice, usually styled courts of common law, have, as in other countries, recourse to principles of equity in the interpretation and application of the positive law: but they are bound to established forms of proceeding; are in some degree limited in the objects of their jurisdiction; have been embarrassed by a rigid adherence to rules of decision, originally framed, and in general retained, for wise purposes, yet, in their application, sometimes incompatible with the principles of natural and universal justice, or not equal to the full application of those principles; and the modes of proceeding in those courts, though admirably calculated for the ordinary purposes of justice, are not in all cases adapted to the full investigation and decision of all the intricate and complicated subjects of litigation, which are the result of increase of commerce, of riches, and of luxury, and the consequent variety in the necessities, the ingenuity, and the craft of mankind. Their simplicity, clearness, and precision are highly advantageous in the ordinary administration of justice; and to alter them materially would probably produce infinite mischief: but some change would have been unavoidable if the courts of common law had been the only courts of judicature.

"Early therefore in the history of our jurisprudence the administration of justice by the ordinary courts appears to have been incomplete, and to supply the defect the courts of equity have exerted their jurisdiction: assuming the power of enforcing the principles upon which the ordinary courts also decide when the powers of those courts, or their modes of proceeding, are insufficient for the purpose; of preventing those principles, when enforced by the ordinary courts, from becoming (contrary to the purpose of their original establishment) instruments of injustice; and of deciding on principles of universal justice, where the interference of a court of judicature is necessary to prevent a wrong, and the positive law, as in the case of trusts, is silent. The courts of equity also administer to the ends of justice by removing impediments to the fair decision of a question in other courts; by providing for the safety of property in dispute pending a litigation; by preserving property in danger of being dissipated or destroyed by those to whose care it is by law intrusted, or by persons having immediate but partial interests; by restraining the assertion of doubtful rights in a manner productive of irreparable damage; by preventing injury to a third person from the doubtful title of others; and by putting a bound to vexatious and oppressive litigation, and preventing unnecessary multiplicity of suits; and, without pronouncing any judgment on the subject, by compelling a discovery, or procuring evidence, which may enable other courts to give their judgment; and by preserving testimony when in danger of being lost before the matter to which it relates can be made the subject of judicial investigation."*

The following judgment, delivered by Lord Mansfield, is an example of the manner in which

* A Treatise on the Pleadings in Suits in the Court of Chancery, by English Bill. By John Mitford, Esq. (now Lord Redesdale). 4th edition. London, 1827, pp. 2 et seq.



LORD MANSFIELD. From an unpublished Medal in Mr. Hawkins's Private Collection.

he was thought to seek to abolish the distinctions between law and equity:—"An ejectment is a fictitious remedy to try the title to the possession of lands; it is of infinite consequence that it should be adapted to attain the ends of justice, and not entangled in the nets of form. Great difficulties have arisen as to the legal form of passing land from the modes of conveyancing in England since the statute of uses. Trusts are a mode of conveyance peculiar to this country. In all other countries the person entitled has the right and possession in himself. But in England, estates are vested in trustees, on whose death it becomes difficult to find out their representatives; and the owner cannot get a complete title. If it were necessary to take assignments of satisfied terms, terrible inconveniences would ensue from the representatives of the trustees not being to be found. Sir E. Northey's clerk was trustee of near half of the great estates in the kingdom; on his death it was not known who was his heir or representative. So that where a trust term is a mere matter of form, and the deeds mere muniments of another's estate, it shall not be set up against the real owner. It is therefore settled that a satisfied trust shall be taken to be a trust for the benefit of the heir-at-law. A trust shall never be set up against him for whom the trust was intended. It is a mere form of conveyance. And it is admitted, that, where the term is in trust for the benefit of the lessor of the plaintiff, the defendant shall not set it up in ejectment as a bar to his recovery."*

These doctrines, however, did not long survive the retirement of their author from his office of lord chief justice of the Court of King's Bench. Lord Mansfield resigned in June 1788. In November of the same year his successor, Lord Kenyon, thus delivered himself in the case of Doe *v.* Staple:—

"But is it possible for a court of law to enter into the discussion of such nice points of equity? We have no such authority. Sitting in this court we must look at the record, and see whether a legal title is conveyed to the party claiming under these instruments: now there is no colour for saying that these give any legal title. Without deciding or presuming to think what a court of equity would do in this case, it is enough for me to say that we are to decide a legal question, and cannot enter into such an entangled equity: and on that ground only I am of opinion that the plaintiff is entitled to a verdict. . . . . The jurisdiction of this court in ejectments is confined to legal titles, taking care that they do not intrude on the rules of law, nor discuss equitable titles. In real actions there is no doubt but that the party must state a legal title on the record; then it would be absurd that, respecting the manor of Dale on a special verdict *in formedon*, the decision must necessarily be given according to the strict legal title; and that, respecting the manor of Sale, on a special verdict in ejectment, there must be a contrary judgment."*

And, though in the above judgment Lord Kenyon expressed his approbation of what was said by Lord Mansfield in the case of Lade *v.* Holford and another,† in regard to presuming a surrender of the term, he carefully distinguished that case from those the facts of which precluded any such presumption.

But this sinking *pro tanto* of the distinction between law and equity was only one of the forms in which Lord Mansfield's zeal for what he called "substantial justice" displayed itself, and sought to break away from old established rules of law. The decision (afterwards reversed in the exchequer chamber) of the Court of King's Bench, when Lord Mansfield presided there, in the case of Perrin *v.* Blake,‡ is a remarkable instance of this. It would be foreign to our purpose here to enter into the technical reasoning of this case, which it requires some degree at least of legal education fully to comprehend; but we shall quote a few of Mr. Fearne's observations, which will open the point to which we wish to direct the attention of the reader, viz. the probable effect of *breaking through established forms under the colour of getting at the substance*. Mr. Fearne, in his elaborate and acute examination of the arguments used in support of the determination of the Court of King's Bench, in the case of Perrin *v.* Blake, in his 'Essay on Contingent Remainders,' after fully discussing

* Doe d. Bristow *v.* Pegge. 1 Term Reports, 758, note.

* 2 Term Reports, 684.
† 3 Burr. 1416.—2 Black., Rep. 428.
‡ 4 Burr. 2579; 1 Black. Rep. 672; Dougl. 329, note.

the cases anterior to that of Perrin *v.* Blake, thus continues:—

"It is natural to suppose that the reader's curiosity must have been awakened to learn upon what principles it was possible to get rid of so strong a system of authorities as the foregoing. He might be led to the reflection that, however well old cases did for old times, still those cases and those times kept equal pace, and both grew antiquated together; that, whilst in other sciences every age produces its own improvements, it would be singular to treat the science of the law as the only stationary branch of human knowledge. He might, perhaps, recollect the laudable ambition inculcated in the lines,—

——— proavos et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voco.

"Such reflections would prepare him to be told that, in the case of Perrin *v.* Blake, the Court of King's Bench held, that precedents in general are rather apt to confound; that every case has its peculiar circumstances, and therefore ought to stand upon its own bottom; that wherever an old maxim, the policy of which had ceased, could justly be departed from, it ought to be done; and that the remnants of ancient strictness were things to be discountenanced." *

At first sight certainly it would seem that the intention of the party should be held paramount to every other consideration, and that in such cases that intention might be ascertained from the words of the written instrument; but this is a matter beset with difficulties which Mr. Fearne thus states in his usual lucid and admirable style:—

"So long as certain technical expressions shall be allowed their fixed legal import and operation, it will be in any man's power to secure the limitation of his property from litigation and arbitrary construction, by applying to those whose business it is to be acquainted with the force and import of such expressions. Where any considerable property is concerned, a man's own interest in securing the effect of his intention will lead him to such a step. Where the property is so inconsiderable as not to be thought worth the trouble or expense of such assistance, the disposition of that property, and of course the testator's intention with respect to it, is less material and momentous. Some cases, it is true, may happen, wherein such application may accidentally be impracticable; but is every testator to be denied this power of effectuating his intention, because accident may put it out of the reach of some few, and some others may want inducement to use it?

"If no technical expressions are to be exempt from the operation of an occasional discretionary construction, where is the testator who can make his own will? The most careful and guarded endeavours which a man shall exert for that end will only amount to leaving some precarious instructions behind him, the force and effect of which must depend on the discretion or disposition of those in whom the power of construction shall be reposed for the time being: it is their discernment or constructive talents must in fact make the will of every testator whose property shall be worth the experiment."

After discussing the stress laid by the Court of King's Bench upon arguments of convenience and policy, and the argument that, in a commercial country, every clog should be removed which tends to obstruct the circulation of property, and answering these arguments, Mr. Fearne thus proceeds:—

"Another plausible ground advanced in support of the judgment of the Court of King's Bench in the case of Perrin *v.* Blake still remains to be examined. It was there laid down as a principle, that the intention of the testator should be the sole rule of construction in all cases of devises; and that such intention, when explained, should control the legal import of any term of art. That a principle of this nature, under certain limits and restrictions, does and ought to prevail, I believe no one conversant in our laws will attempt to deny; but that such a principle has never yet been admitted, in the latitude there laid down, seems to be proved beyond controversy, by all the several cases I have before cited. And that no such unlimited principle ought ever to prevail may, I think, be clearly demonstrated from the infinite uncertainty, inconvenience, and vexation which it must necessarily produce. Certain established maxims, as to the legal import and effect of technical expressions, will render the decision of titles to property as little dependent as the nature of things will admit upon the occasional opinion, humour, ingenuity, or caprice of the judge; and are, therefore, the most proper and sure grounds for titles to rest and depend upon. Titles so founded may be easily and clearly ascertained; and under them a permanent peaceful enjoyment may be expected. Construction depending on and guided by certain fixed known rules will not be liable to those various temporary influences which must necessarily have a share in directing the discretionary decision of any court upon earth. No inducements can arise, no room can be left, to dispute or litigate titles built on such a stable foundation. Whereas, on the other hand, the implied intention of a testator is at best uncertain; frequently very doubtful. Favour, affection, caprice, nay, different habits of thinking and modes of expression in different men, will occasion different constructions of the same will. Very often, I'll venture to say, a testator himself would be at a loss to fix or expound his own intention, when the reason, humanity, or ingenuity of a judge might conceive it clear as day-light. Whoever has been conversant in settling the wills of testators must often have experienced the truth of this position; and, if a testator himself is at loss to ascertain or expound his own intention, we are certainly not to wonder that other men should differ widely in their constructions of it. What reliance can be had on a title raised on so precarious a ground? What security of enjoyment can be

* Fearne's Cont. Rem., p. 164; 8th edit.

expected under it? Setting aside all those grounds for differences in the construction of the same will which may arise from different degrees of understanding, apprehension, or discernment in different men, it is certain that different ambitions, interests, party principles, and private connexions will ever lead men to differ and dispute about the construction of a will, as well as about any other act in which those motives are concerned. It is evident, therefore, no sort of reliance can be had upon titles depending on discretionary construction, until they have received the sanction of a court of justice. A suit commenced in one court, in cases which depend upon such construction, generally produces an appeal to a superior court. Thus are vexatious suits continually encouraged and multiplied; innocent people perpetually harassed; and estates spent ten times over, in endeavouring to ascertain the titles to them."

The following passage, with which we conclude our extracts, will be found peculiarly valuable as embodying in clear language the principles which at present govern the construction of wills:—

"Is there anything impolitic, anything harsh, in deciding that the intention of the testator should never be so far indulged as to control all established rules of construction? Whenever the construction upon the apparent intent of the testator is not contrary to the construction upon certain established legal maxims respecting the import of terms made use of by him, so far let the apparent intent be the guide in the construction, but not one jot further. And wherever the terms of art made use of do not fall within the allowed extent of any established legal *maxim* respecting their import and operation, there let the intent be the sole guide of construction; because there a more certain or better rule of construction is not sacrificed to it. These are distinctions which have long since prevailed in our courts of justice, and which appear to be founded in good reason and permanent useful policy. Surely it is better that the intentions of twenty testators, every week, should fail of effect, than those rules should be departed from, upon which the general security of *titles* and quiet enjoyment of property so essentially depend."*

We have dwelt the longer on the character of Lord Mansfield as a judge, because that character had much influence for good or evil, his mind being of sufficient power to impress deeply its peculiar qualities upon the jurisprudence of his country. Particular chancery judges, as we have seen or shall see, have left behind them strong and lasting traces in the English system of equity; but in scarcely any other instance besides that of Lord Mansfield is the influence of a single judge in the courts of common law to be traced by any marked improvement in the principles of law, or the practice of the courts. But some important branches of modern law owe much of their character, and one or two may be almost said to owe their existence, to the genius of Lord Mansfield. The law of insurance has been frequently mentioned as an instance of this. When his lordship was raised to the bench the contract of insurance was little known, and a few unimportant *nisi prius* decisions were all the precedents that existed on the subject. Yet this branch of law grew up under his administration into a system well adapted to all the exigencies of modern society.

The allusion above to the effects produced on the English equity jurisprudence by certain individual judges leads us here to name Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, perhaps the greatest judge that ever presided in the Court of Chancery. For soundness of judgment, vigour of mind, and depth, extent, and accuracy of legal learning, he has seldom, if ever, been equalled, certainly never excelled. The length of time during which this great magistrate presided in the Court of Chancery enabled him to leave deep and lasting traces of his powerful and sagacious mind on the equity jurisprudence of his country. More may be learned from one or two of his more elaborate judgments, not only of that very difficult subject, the English law of real property, but of correct and luminous reasoning, than from all the treatises and commentaries on the subject that have ever been penned. Independently of the very useful knowledge to be thereby acquired, we know of no pieces of composition, ancient or modern, that, to a mind capable of close attention and sustained thinking, could be recommended as better models of close reasoning, couched in clear, apt, simple, and masculine language. Some of his judgments which have been fortunately published from his own MS. notes,* from the admirable skill with which his wonderful stores of abstruse legal learning are marshalled in ratiocinative array, and from the clearness, aptness, and precision of the diction, carry the mind along with the force almost of a mathematical demonstration, and will ever remain among the master-works of human thought.

The subject of literary property is now one of considerable importance. The state of the laws relating to it, therefore, demands some attention. Blackstone† says that this species of property (if it subsists by the common law), being grounded on labour and invention, is more properly reducible to the head of occupancy than any other; since the right of occupancy itself is supposed by Mr. Locke and many others to be founded on the personal labour of the occupant. By the statute 8 Anne, c. 19, it was enacted, that after the 10th of April, 1710, the authors of books already printed, who had not transferred their rights, and the booksellers and others who had purchased such rights,

* Fearne's Cont. Rem., p. 172.

* We would mention, in particular, his judgment in the case of Garth *v.* Cotton, which is published from his lordship's own MS. notes in Dickens's Reports, p. 183 (and, though much more briefly, in the 3rd volume of Atkyns's Reports, p. 751); and his judgment in Willoughby *v.* Willoughby, also published from his own MS. notes in 1 Term Reports, 765. His judgment in the case of Casburne *v.* Scarfe has also been published from his own MS. notes in the 2nd volume of Jacob and Walker's Reports, p. 194. [Appendix, No. 2.]

† 2 Com. 405.

should have the sole right of printing and reprinting them for the term of twenty-one years; and that the authors of books not printed, and their assigns, should have the sole right of printing and reprinting them for fourteen years. And it was further provided by the same act, that after the expiration of the said term of fourteen years the sole right of printing or disposing of copies should return to the authors thereof, if then living, for another term of fourteen years. By the 54 Geo. III. c. 156, the term of copyright in the author and his assignee or assigns is extended to twenty-eight years absolutely, and for the life of the author if he survives that period; and any one infringing this right is liable to a special action on the case, with double costs, and forfeiture of the pirated edition to the owners of the copyright, and a penalty of 3*d.* a sheet, to be paid one half to the king, and the other to any informer who shall sue for it.

The general question of literary property, as founded upon the principles of the common law, and independently of these statutes, has been much discussed, and does not yet appear to be at rest.

In the case of Tonson *v.* Collins (with respect to the copyright of the *Spectator*)* the inclination of the Court of King's Bench was in favour of the right; but, having received information that, although the argument was conducted *bonâ fide* by the counsel, it was a collusive proceeding between the parties for the purpose of obtaining a judgment which might be set up as a precedent against third persons, they refused to pronounce any decision. The following passage from the argument of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Thurlow, one of the counsel for the defendant, raises an analogy between books and mechanical inventions which has been again recently brought forward, and certainly forms the argument against a perpetual copyright most difficult to be explained away. "It will be difficult to confine this merely to books, and not to extend it to other inventions." A learned author (Bishop Warburton) has endeavoured at it, and brangled it, and made sad stuff of it: he attempts a distinction between the labours of the head and of the hand; but in some machines the labour of the head is greater than that of the hand. Sir Isaac Newton had no greater property in his Principia than Lord Orrery had in his machine. If the labour of the head gives the right, the property is just the same; and it is possible that the invention of the mousetrap cost its author the same labour of the head that the orrery did its noble contriver; so that this ground of property depends entirely upon the difference of heads."

The question was again brought before the court in 1769 in the case of Millar *v.* Taylor (with respect to Thomson's Seasons).† On this occasion there was a difference of opinion in the court; Lord Mansfield and Justices Aston and Willes being in favour of the right, and Sir Joseph Yates against it. Judgment was of course given, according to the opinion of the majority of the judges, that an exclusive and permanent copyright in authors subsisted by the common law. But a few years afterwards, (1774,) in the case of Donaldson *v.* Beckett, before the House of Lords, it was determined that an author has no property in his copyright, otherwise than according to the terms of the statute of Queen Anne. The majority of the judges were of opinion that there was such a right at common law, seven being of that opinion, and four of the opposite opinion; but there was an equal majority of opinions that that right was restrained, impeached, or taken away by the statute. Notwithstanding this decision, there are some subjects in respect to which the right of a perpetual copyright is still supported, as resulting from the prerogative of the crown: these are bibles, prayer-books, and statutes.

In cases of an invasion of copyright, the remedy is by action for the penalties upon the statute, by action on the case for damages, or by injunction in equity. The proceeding by injunction, being the most ready remedy, has carried the greater number of cases on the subject into the courts of equity. The court requires a clear title in the plaintiff. This is requisite to prevent injustice to the defendant, whose loss does not, from the nature of it, admit of reparation, if the injunction should, upon further investigation, be found to have been granted without sufficient grounds. Hence the work must be of such a nature that damages might be recovered in a court of common law for pirating it; that is, it must be a work neither of an immoral, scandalous, nor libellous character. It is immaterial whether the work was in print or manuscript, and whether the author did or did not intend to make a profit by its publication.

The Court of Chancery also exercises an authority with respect to publications from the manuscripts of persons deceased.

In regard to the publication of letters, the case of Pope *v.* Curll, 2 Atk. 341, is an authority. In that case Lord Hardwicke supported an injunction by Pope against the defendant's vending a book entitled 'Letters from Swift, Pope, and others.' His lordship said: "The first question is, whether letters are within the grounds and intention of the statute made in the 8th year of Queen Anne, c. 19. I think it would be extremely mischievous to make a distinction between a book of letters, which comes out into the world either by the permission of the writer or the receiver of them, and any other learned work. The same objection would hold against sermons, which the author may never intend should be published, but are collected from loose papers, and brought out after his death. Another objection has been made by the defendant's counsel, that, where a man writes a letter, it is in the nature of a gift to the receiver; but I am of opinion that it is only a special property in the receiver; possibly the property of the papers may belong to him, but this does not give a licence to any person whatsoever to publish them to the

* 1 Bl. Rep. 301. † 4 Bur. 230.

world; for at most the receiver has only a joint property with the writer."

The Court of Chancery interposed by injunction in the case of Mr. Webb, cited by Ambler, 695, who had his *Precedents of Conveyancing* stolen out of his chambers and printed, and in the case of Mr. Forrester (Ambler, ib.) who had his notes copied by a clerk of the gentleman to whom he had lent them. In Macklin *v.* Richardson, (Ambler, ib.) the defendant had employed a short-hand writer to take down the farce of *Love à la Mode* on its performance at the theatre, and inserted one act in a magazine, giving notice that the second act would be published in the magazine of the following month. Upon an application to Lord Camden for an injunction, he directed the case to stand over until that of Millar and Taylor, which was then depending, should be determined. After the determination of that, the injunction was made perpetual by the Lords Commissioners Smythe and Bathurst. In Coleman *v.* Wathen, 5 T. R. 245, it was determined that an action at law cannot be maintained for representing on the stage the production of another person, as not being a publishing within the statute. This is now altered by the late act (3 Will. IV. c. 15), by which the author of any dramatic piece is to have as his property the sole liberty of representing it or causing it to be represented at any place of dramatic entertainment.

The statutes of copyright are considered to apply only to British printing and publication. If an author prints and publishes abroad, and does not use due diligence to become the first printer and publisher here also, any other person procuring the work from abroad may print and publish it here with impunity.*

We have already mentioned the clause of the statute 12 and 13 W. III. c. 2, which enacted that the commissions of the judges should be made, not as formerly, *durante bene placito*, but *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established. At the commencement of the reign of George III. a further improvement was made in regard to this matter. By the statute 1 George III. c. 23, it was enacted that the commissions of the judges for the time being should continue in full force during their good behaviour, notwithstanding the demise of the crown (which was formerly held immediately to vacate their seats),† and their salaries were secured to them during the continuance of their commissions.

In 1718, upon a question referred to all the judges by King George I., they all agreed that the care and approbation of the marriages of all the king's grandchildren, when grown up, belonged to the king, their grandfather. And subsequently the judges concurred in opinion, that this care and approbation extend also to the presumptive heir of the crown; though to what other branches of the royal family the same extended they did not find precisely determined. There are examples of this interference on the part of the crown reaching to third and fourth cousins, and even to the blood royal in general; but the most frequent instances do not extend beyond nephews and nieces.* But in the 12th year of the reign of George III. it was enacted † that no descendant of the body of King George II., male or female (other than the issue of princesses married into foreign families), should be capable of contracting matrimony without the previous consent of the king, signified under the great seal, and declared in council (which consent, to preserve the memory thereof, is directed to be set out in the licence and register of marriage, and to be entered in the books of the privy council); and that any marriage contracted without such consent should be void. But by the second section of the act it was provided that, in case any such descendant, being above the age of twenty-five years, should persist in his or her resolution to contract a marriage disapproved of by the king, such descendant, after twelve months' notice given to the king's privy-council, may contract and solemnize such marriage without the consent of the crown, unless both Houses of Parliament shall, before the expiration of the said twelve months, expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. And it was ordered by the third section that all persons solemnizing, assisting, or being present at any such prohibited marriage should incur the penalties of the statute of *premunire*.

The crown being by prerogative exempt from the ordinary effects of the lapse of time, and from the operation of all statutes in which it is not expressly named, was not prevented by any lapse of time from pursuing its claims, till the 9th year of the reign of George III., when an act was passed rendering a continual neglect for sixty years a bar to its claims. By this statute (the 9 Geo. III. c. 16) the crown is disabled to sue any person for any manors, lands, tenements, rents, tithes, or hereditaments (other than liberties or franchises), where the right shall not first accrue within sixty years next before the commencing such suit; and the subject is secured in the free and quiet enjoyment thereof, as well against the crown as against all persons claiming any estate or interest therein by force or colour of any letters-patent or grants, upon suggestion of concealment, wrongfully detaining, &c., for which judgment hath not, or shall not be given for the crown within sixty years before the commencing such suit.

In the constitution of Ireland some changes were brought about in the present period, so important as almost to deserve the name of a revolution.

The parliament of that kingdom can be traced back to within a few years of the date at which we have the earliest distinct evidence of the existence of the English House of Commons; that is to say, whereas the first English parliament for which the writs summoning representatives of counties and

* Clementi *v.* Walker, 2 B. and C. 861.
† 1 Blackst. Com. 268.

* 1 Blackst. Com. 225. † 12 Geo. III. c. 11.

boroughs are extant met in 1265, county representatives appear in the Irish parliament as early as 1295, and representatives of boroughs in 1341. From a few years after the Revolution of 1688 the Irish House of Commons consisted of 300 members, of whom 64 were knights of the shire, 234 were representatives of cities, boroughs, and non-corporate towns, and 2 sat for the university.

The powers and method of proceeding of the Irish parliament in later times were regulated by a set of statutes enacted by itself in the 10th year of Henry VII. (A. D. 1495), commonly called Poyning's Laws, from the then lord-deputy, Sir Edward Poyning. By one of these it was provided, to quote the summary given by Blackstone, "1. That, before any parliament be summoned or holden, the chief governor and council of Ireland shall certify to the king, under the great seal of Ireland, the considerations and causes thereof, and the articles of the acts proposed to be passed therein. 2. That, after the king, in his council of England, shall have considered, approved, or altered the said acts, or any of them, and certified them back under the great seal of England, and shall have given licence to summon and hold a parliament, then the same shall be summoned and held; and therein the said acts so certified, and no other, shall be proposed, received, or rejected." Afterwards, by another Irish act, passed in 1556 (the 3 and 4 Ph. and M. c. 4), it was provided that articles of proposed acts might be certified to England, in the usual forms, even after the summons and during the session of parliament. "By this means, however," continues Blackstone, "there was nothing left to the parliament in Ireland but a bare negative, or power of rejecting, not of proposing or altering any law. But the usage now is, that bills are often framed in either House, under the denomination of 'heads for a bill or bills;' and in that shape they are offered to the consideration of the lord-lieutenant and privy council; who, upon such parliamentary intimation, or otherwise upon the application of private persons, receive and transmit such heads, or reject them without any transmission to England."*

The "heads for a bill," however, which either House of the Irish parliament had thus the power of framing, really did not differ, except in an immaterial point of form, from the bill itself as it would have been brought into the English parliament; the only distinction was that each paragraph, instead of the words "Be it enacted," began with the words, "We pray that it may be enacted;" and therefore any proposed measure might be discussed, at least once, in the Irish parliament as freely as in the English. But this practice had only been introduced since the Revolution. Before that date the only initiative that the parliament was allowed to take was to address the lord-lieutenant and council with a general proposition for a bill to effect some specified object; the framing of the bill was left entirely to the council.

But this was by no means the whole extent of the dependence or subjection in which Ireland was kept to the parliament of England. Another of Poyning's laws declared, that all statutes "lately" made in England should be deemed also good and effectual in Ireland; and it was generally held that this enactment established in Ireland the authority of all preceding English statutes whatsoever. Then, it was always maintained by English lawyers, at least from the time of Coke, that the parliament of England had full power to legislate for Ireland of its own authority, and that any English statute in which Ireland was either particularly named, or included under general words, was as binding upon that country as if it had been framed by its own parliament. "This came into discussion," observes Mr. Hallam, "about the eventful period of 1641. The Irish in general protested against the legislative authority of England, as a novel theory which could not be maintained; and two treatises on the subject, one ascribed to Lord Chancellor Bolton, or, more probably, to an eminent lawyer, Patrick Darcy, for the independence of Ireland; another, in answer to it, by Sergeant Mayart, may be read in the "Hibernica" of Harris. Very few instances occurred before the Revolution wherein the English parliament thought fit to include Ireland in its enactments, and none perhaps wherein they were carried into effect. But after the Revolution several laws of great importance were passed in England to bind the other kingdom, and acquiesced in, without express opposition by its parliament."* The subject, however, was again brought into discussion in 1697, by the publication of a treatise by Mr. William Molyneux, of Dublin, entitled "The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," in which the author asserted the absolute legislative independence of his country. This publication, which was dedicated to King William, was soon after taken up by the English House of Commons, which, on the 22nd of June, 1698, unanimously resolved, upon the report of a committee appointed to inquire into the matter, "that the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland has, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm." It was further resolved that occasion and encouragement to the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book had been taken from the late conduct of the Irish parliament in sending over to this country a bill, entitled "an Act for the better Security of his Majesty's Person and Government," "whereby an act of parliament made in England was pretended to be re-enacted, alterations therein made, and divers things enacted, also

* 1 Com. 102.

* Constitutional History, ii. 767.

pretending to oblige [bind] the courts of justice and the great seal of England by the authority of an Irish parliament." The Commons followed up these resolutions by going up in a body to the king with an address, in which they stated that they conceived themselves bound to represent to his majesty the dangerous attempts that had of late been made by some of his subjects in Ireland to shake off their subjection to, and dependence on, this kingdom; and, after detailing the facts respecting Molyneux's book and the late bill transmitted from the Irish parliament, besought him that he would be graciously pleased "to give effectual orders to prevent anything of the like nature for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what is past, by punishing and discountenancing those that have been guilty thereof." "And," the address concluded, "we beseech your majesty to take all necessary care that the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded, but strictly observed; and that your majesty would be pleased to discourage all things which may, in any degree, tend to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England." William answered that he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed, as the Commons desired; but it does not appear that any punishment was inflicted upon Molyneux, who was one of the most distinguished of the Irish men of science, as well as patriots, of that day.

Blackstone treats the right of the English parliament to legislate for Ireland as following "from the very nature and constitution of a dependent state; dependence being very little else but an obligation to conform to the will or law of that superior person or state upon which the inferior depends." "The original and true ground of this superiority in the present case," he adds, "is what we usually call, though somewhat improperly, the right of conquest; a right allowed by the law of nations, if not by that of nature; but which in reason and civil policy can mean nothing more than that, in order to put an end to hostilities, a compact is either expressly or tacitly made between the conqueror and the conquered, that, if they will acknowledge the victor for their master, he will treat them for the future as subjects, and not as enemies."* The philosophy of this passage is somewhat muddy; but, as far as it is intelligible, it seems distinctly to assert that the relation of Ireland to England always had been, and still was, that of a subject dependency; and this no doubt was the view almost universally entertained in England in Blackstone's day.

The doctrine of the subjection of Ireland, indeed, had some years before this been carried out to a still farther point than we have yet stated. In the year 1719, a judgment of the court of exchequer in Ireland having been reversed by the House of Lords there, which had been accustomed to entertain appeals in equity from the Restoration, and writs of error upon judgments in the courts of common law from a still earlier date, the question was carried to the House of Lords of Great Britain; and their lordships, disregarding the decision upon the appeal in Ireland, affirmed the original judgment of the court of exchequer. Upon this the Irish House of Lords resolved that no appeal lay from the court of exchequer in Ireland to the parliament of Great Britain; and directed the barons of that court, who had obeyed the order of the British House of Lords, to be taken into the custody of the black rod, for having acted in manifest derogation of the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof. But these proceedings were immediately met by a resolution of the House of Lords in England, "That the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain;" and by an address from their lordships to the king, praying his majesty to confer on the barons some marks of his royal favour, as a recompense for the ill-usage they had received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for doing their duty. Neither the Irish nor the English lords had been quite unanimous in these measures of mutual defiance; in Ireland the lord chancellor, with two other temporal peers, and five bishops, dissented from the resolutions there passed; and in England, Tindal tells us, the Duke of Leeds, in a protest which he entered upon the Journals, stated no fewer than fifteen reasons in support of the claims of the Irish House of Peers. But all this logic probably produced very little effect either upon the majority to which his grace stood opposed, or upon the public at large. A short bill was immediately introduced, under the title of "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," by which it was declared, 1. That the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the British parliament had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland. 2. That the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree are utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.* When this bill was sent down to the Commons, and had been read a second time, the motion for committing it was opposed, among other members, by Pitt, who is reported to have said that it seemed calculated for no other purpose than to increase the power of

* 1 Com. 103.

* Stat. 6 Geo. I. c. 5.

the British House of Peers, which, in his opinion, was already too great; a Mr. Hungerford also endeavoured to show that Ireland had always been independent of England in regard to her courts of judicature, and he was supported in this line of argument by Lord Molesworth, Lord Tyrconnel, and a few other members; but in the end 140 votes were given for the bill, and only 83 against it.

In this state of prostration the Irish parliament remained down to very nearly the close of the present period. Yet it is remarkable that upon one point it still maintained some pretensions to independence—that privilege, namely, of holding the strings of the public purse, which, more than anything else, has proved throughout the history of representative government the great security of public liberty and the root of the strength and power of popular legislative assemblies. The question of the right of the privy council to frame money bills had been matter of dispute in almost every session of parliament between the government and the Irish House of Commons ever since the practice of presenting heads of bills had been introduced; the House claiming to withdraw such bills altogether from the operation of Poyning's law, the government insisting that they should occasionally originate in the privy council, without any draught under the name of "heads" having been submitted by the House, were it only for the sake of form, and the preservation of the rights of the crown. In most instances the House seems in the end to have been worsted, or to have submitted, in these contests; but two or three occasions have been discovered, and are recorded with no small exultation, by the microscopic investigators of the antiquities of Irish patriotism, on which it made a valorous stand for what are called the national liberties. In 1690 the Commons rejected a money bill which had not originated in their House; and in 1709 they refused to pass another, expressly on the ground that, after having been transmitted in the usual form to England, it had been returned thence with alterations. But the most memorable struggle about this matter took place in 1769, when a money bill which had been framed in the privy council was rejected by the Commons in a vote in which they distinctly assigned as their reason its not having originated in their House. They immediately, however, passed, according to the usual forms, a much more liberal bill of the same kind, granting the required supplies for two years, instead of for only three months, which had been the term named in the rejected bill. But this did not prevent the lord-lieutenant, Viscount Townshend, from proroguing the parliament as soon as he had got the money, and entering his protest upon the Journals of the House of Lords against what he characterised in his speech as a proceeding contrary both to law and usage, and an encroachment upon the just rights of his majesty and the crown of Great Britain. A motion was soon afterwards made in the British House of Commons for an address to his majesty, requesting a copy of the instructions given to the lord-lieutenant "relative to the late sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament, at a time when affairs of the greatest national importance to that kingdom were depending in the said parliament;" but it was negatived, after a short debate, by a majority of 178 to 66.

Meanwhile, however, the constitution of the Irish parliament had been improved in one respect, by the limitation of the representative authority conferred by the people to a term of eight years, instead of being extended, as heretofore, over the whole reign, whatever might be its length, unless abridged by a dissolution. Heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in Ireland were agreed to by the Irish House of Commons in 1761, and transmitted to England; but the cabinet there took upon itself the odium of quashing a proposition which it was shrewdly suspected its authors were at the time very well pleased to hear no more of. The question, however, continued to be agitated; and, when another bill sent over to England in 1766 had met with the same fate as the preceding, the electors of Dublin called upon their representatives to refuse their assent to any money bill for a longer period than three months, till a law should pass for septennial parliaments. When the House, nevertheless, addressed his majesty, imploring him to assent in this matter to "the universal prayers" of the people of Ireland, the royal reply was still unsatisfactory. But in 1768, on a third bill coming over limiting the duration of parliaments in Ireland to eight years, it was approved of, and returned to Dublin, where it was immediately passed into a law. As the parliament in Ireland was accustomed to meet only every second winter, this octennial bill allowed only four sessions at the most to every parliament.

But the hour was at hand which was to bring with it another sort of parliamentary reform than this—when Ireland, after six centuries of dependence, was suddenly to start up into a nation. The pressure of the increased taxation occasioned by the American war, and the further embarrassment and distress arising from an embargo laid upon the principal articles of her produce in 1776, with the view of depriving the French West Indies of their usual supplies of Irish provisions, co-operating with some other circumstances in the economical condition of the country, prepared the inflammable mass of popular indignation against England upon which the splendid eloquence of Grattan fell like fire from heaven. The Catholic Relief Act of 1778 had made the Irish for the first time in their history one people; all sects, all ranks, all races—the nobleman and the merchant, the Catholic and the Protestant, the churchman and the dissenter, he who boasted of his pure native lineage and he who was as proud of the Saxon or Norman blood that flowed in his veins,—rushed together to the vindication of the liberties of their common country; and the beginning of the year 1780 beheld them embodied to the number of sixty thousand Volunteers. The weak and perplexed

English administration of the day did not dare to refuse the arms they demanded to repel the threatened invasion of the French; Grattan exclaimed, "I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked—he shall not be in iron;" and the Irish House of Commons voted their memorable resolution, "That the king's most excellent majesty and the Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland." From that moment the country was virtually free. The Rockingham administration succeeded that of Lord North in April, 1782; and one of their first acts was to bring in a bill repealing the statute of the 6 Geo. I., which was forthwith passed into a law, with the unanimous assent of both Houses. This repealing statute (the 22 Geo. III. c. 53), and another act which was passed in the following session (the 23 Geo. III. c. 28), declaratory of the exclusive right of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters both of legislation and judicature, were held to place the parliament of Ireland in the same position in all respects in reference to that country as that in which the British parliament stood in reference to England and Scotland.

We may just remark, however, that possibly this arrangement, by which two independent legislatures were established under the same crown, may have had some share in producing that state of things which was thought to make the entire extinction of the Irish parliament expedient within twenty years after. But there was a terrible alarm among the Irish of a union between the two countries, it seems, more than twenty years before the emancipation of their parliament. The chronicle of occurrences in the Annual Register for December 1759 has the following paragraph:—"Numbers of persons in Ireland having taken it into their heads that a union was intended between England and Ireland, that they were to have no more parliaments, were to be subject to the same taxes, &c., a mob of some thousands assembled in Dublin, broke into the House of Lords, insulted them, would have burned the journals if they could have found them, and seated an old woman on the throne. Not content with this, they obliged all the members of both Houses that they met in the streets to take an oath that they would never consent to such a union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Many coaches of obnoxious persons were cut or broke, their horses killed, &c. One gentleman, in particular, narrowly escaped being hanged, a gallows being erected for that purpose. The horse and foot were drawn out on this occasion, but could not disperse them till night; and the day after addresses to the lord-lieutenant were agreed to, and a committee of inquiry appointed." And next year, it is recorded, on the 16th of June, "came on, in the Court of King's Bench, Dublin, the trial of several persons for obstructing and insulting many members of the Irish House of Commons on College Green, December 3, 1759; but, it not appearing to the jury that their identity was proved, they were acquitted." But, it is added, "the court obliged them to give security for their good behaviour for seven years;"—so that it was but an Irish sort of acquittal after all.*

During this period some works were produced on English law, of a more classical if not a more scientific character than had hitherto appeared. In the year 1765 Blackstone published the first volume of his celebrated *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. In 1753 Mr. Blackstone had given the course of private lectures at Oxford, of which the Analysis of the Law of England, published three years afterwards, presents the outline and principal divisions. In this Analysis, Blackstone had closely followed Sir Matthew Hale's Analysis of the Law, and from him he has copied the grand blunder of the division into "*Rights of Persons and Rights of Things*," into which Sir Matthew would appear to have fallen by a mistranslation of the leading divisions in the Roman law, "Jus Personarum and Jus Rerum," viz., "The Law of Persons and the Law of Things." When Mr. Blackstone was elected the first Vinerian professor, in preparing the course of lectures which it became his duty to deliver, he retained the arrangement of his former lectures, as given in the Analysis, which he regarded as an outline to be filled up and completed. The importance of this work, as a substitute for the volumes that had before this time been usually placed in the hands of the law student at the commencement of his studies, may be gathered from the following reply which Lord Mansfield is said to have made on being requested to point out the books proper for the perusal of a student. "Till of late," replied his lordship, "I could never, with any satisfaction to myself, answer that question; but, since the publication of Mr. Blackstone's Commentaries, I can never be at a loss. *There* your son will find analytical reasoning diffused in a pleasing and perspicuous style. *There* he may imbibe imperceptibly the first principles on which our excellent laws are founded; and *there* he may become acquainted with an uncouth, crabbed author, *Coke upon Littleton*, who has disappointed and disheartened many a tyro, but who cannot fail to please in a modern dress."†

One of the most remarkable criticisms that appeared on Blackstone's work was that contained in Bentham's "Fragment on Government," published in 1776. Bentham, as might be supposed, is very severe upon the "antipathy to reformation" which pervades the Commentaries, as well as on the attempt to support every part of the system of English law on unintelligible or irrational grounds; but he pays a high compliment to the

* The advantages of a union between Great Britain and Ireland are urged at great length in a work entitled "Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved, &c.; by Malachy Postlethwayt, Esq., Author of the Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce; 2 vols. 8vo. Lon. 1757."—Vol. i., Diss. 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th.

† Holliday's Life of Mansfield, p. 89.

style of the Commentaries. "Correct, elegant, unembarrassed, ornamented;" he says, "the *style* is such as could scarce fail to recommend a work still more vicious in point of *matter* to the multitude of readers. He it is, in short, who, first of all institutional writers, has taught jurisprudence to speak the language of the scholar and the gentleman; put a polish upon that rugged science; cleansed her from the dust and cobwebs of the office; and, if he has not enriched her with that precision which is drawn only from the sterling treasury of the sciences, has decked her out, however, to advantage, from the toilet of classic erudition; enlivened her with metaphors and allusions; and sent her abroad in some measure to instruct, and in still greater measure to entertain, the most miscellaneous and even the most fastidious societies. The merit to which, as much perhaps as to any, the work stands indebted for its reputation, is the enchanting harmony of its numbers; a kind of merit that of itself is sufficient to give a certain degree of celebrity to a work devoid of every other: so much is man governed by the ear."

Fox, in a letter addressed to Mr. Trotter, characterised Blackstone's English style as "the very best among our modern writers; always easy and intelligible, far more correct than Hume, and less studied and made up than Robertson."*

But, the philosophical merit or demerit of the Commentaries altogether apart, and viewing Blackstone simply in the character in which he ought to be viewed, viz. as an expositor of the English law as it is, he is not always to be relied on as a safe guide. Many parts of his work might be pointed out, particularly in that department of the English law which is the most complicated and difficult, the law relating to real property, where he has not stated the law correctly. We have even heard it affirmed by experienced members of the profession that his work on the whole has been productive of more evil than good, by making a science which from its very nature is of necessity abstruse and difficult appear popular and easy, which can only be done by skimming its surface, in other words taking a superficial and inaccurate view of it. The result, it has been said, has been to make many smatterers, or, to use the term of the old lawyers, tipplers in the law—to make many men fancy they understand a science of which they have not learned even the alphabet. This opinion, however, may not without apparent reason be viewed by some as what Bentham would have called an "interest-begotten prejudice"—one of Bacon's *idola specus*. Upon the whole, however, what he has accomplished is wonderful, if the vast quantity, as well as the extremely recondite, abstruse, inflexible, and consequently unmanageable nature, of the materials he had to work upon be fully considered. The difficulty of producing from such materials a result that would be at all intelligible to ordinary minds, at least to ordinary readers, (meaning thereby no disparagement to the minds themselves, but only meaning their previous want of preparation,) can only be duly appreciated by those who may have attempted the task. Perhaps, what Blackstone himself suggests* with regard to the composition of a complete history of England, namely, that it should be the work of many hands to render it at all worthy of its name, may be applied with equal truth to such a work as his Commentaries on the Laws of England.

The history of the Revenue during the first quarter of a century of the reign of George III. exhibits a continuation of the same progressive increase of expenditure that had been going on ever since the Revolution, but at a rate which soon became accelerated beyond all former example.

The civil list, which continued to the end of this reign to comprise the same heads of expense that it had done since the Revolution, that is to say, the entire cost of the supreme government, with the exception only of the military and naval services and a few offices of recent creation or endowment, was fixed at the commencement of the present period at the same amount which had been enjoyed by George II., namely, 800,000*l.* per annum, charged upon and made payable out of the aggregate fund.†. Besides this sum, however, his majesty, like his predecessors, retained the revenues of the duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, of the county palatine of Chester, of the principality of Wales, and also of Ireland and Scotland, as well as, of course, that of Hanover, which last alone was supposed to amount to about 100,000*l.* There was also a considerable sum annually yielded by the four-and-a-half per cent. duty upon exports from Barbadoes, first granted by an act of the assembly of that island to Charles II. in 1663, and ever since retained by the crown. It was calculated that the entire royal income, derived from these and a few other sources, did not in ordinary years fall much short of 1,400,000*l.*; and that windfalls now and then raised it to a considerably higher amount. The estimate has been regarded as exaggerated; but it cannot be very much beyond the truth, if taken as a statement merely of the revenue, from all sources, annually received by the royal exchequer. How much of it was re-absorbed by fixed annual claims which the crown had to meet, and how little consequently remained to be pocketed by the crown, are other questions.

Even within the present period, too, considerable additions were at different times made to the civil-list revenue by special votes of parliament. In 1769 the debts of the civil list were paid by a grant of 513,511*l.*; and again in 1777 by a grant of 620,000*l.* In 1777, also, the royal income was permanently augmented by the sum of

* Trotter's Memoirs of Fox, p. 512.

* Law Tracts, p. 352, 4to. Oxford, 1771. "Since men," he says, "of great abilities have failed in point of accuracy through the extensiveness of the plan which they have pursued, we may conclude that the compiling and digesting of a general and complete History of England is a burthen too heavy to be undertaken by any single man, however supereminently qualified."

† See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 684.

100,000*l.* per annum. At the same time 120,000*l.* was voted for the marriage portions of the Princesses Augusta and Matilda; and ten years before annuities of 8000*l.* each had been granted to the king's three brothers, the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland. Yet a new debt of 295,817*l.* had again accumulated by the 5th of April, 1782.

Some diminution of expenditure, on the other hand, was effected by Mr. Burke's plan of economical reform, even mutilated as the original scheme was when it was at last carried into effect in 1782. The offices abolished by the bill as it was then enacted, with the amount which it was calculated would be saved in the case of each, were as follows:—third secretary of state, 7,500*l.*; board of trade, 12,600*l.*; lords of police in Scotland, 6,600*l.*; principal officers of the board of works, 7,462*l.*; principal officers of the great wardrobe, 3,506*l.*; principal officers of the jewel office, 2,000*l.*; treasurer of the chamber, 3,000*l.*; cofferer of the household, 3,000*l.*; six clerks of the board of green cloth, 8,000*l.*; paymaster of pensions, 2,700*l.*; masters of the terriers and fox-hounds, and of the stag-hounds, 3,000*l.*; making in all 59,368*l.* The saving actually effected, however, is said not to have amounted to quite 50,000*l.* a-year; and even from that inconsiderable sum was to be deducted above 18,000*l.* of compensation allowances to the holders of certain of the suppressed offices.* By this act, also, the annual amount of pensions on the civil list was restricted to 95,000*l.*

The purposes to which the civil list revenue was at this time applied will be seen from the following abstract of the disbursements for the year 1785:—

Pensions and allowances to the royal family	£192,000
Salaries of the lord-chancellor, the judges, and the speaker of the House of Commons	32,955
Ambassadors at foreign courts	75,543
Approved bills of tradesmen, artificers, and labourers, for articles supplied and work done for his majesty's service	138,641
Menial servants of the household	89,799
Pensions, and compensations for suppressed offices	125,757
Other salaries	82,187
Salaries of treasury board	13,822
Occasional payments	147,764
Total	£898,468

The entire revenue derived from taxation in the year 1761 was 8,800,000*l.*; from which it gradually rose till it reached the sum of 9,350,000*l.* in 1766. It did not greatly exceed this amount throughout the next nine years of peace; having in 1774 been only 10,285,673*l.*, and in 1775 no more than 10,038,061*l.* The land-tax, however, had in 1767 been reduced from 4*s.* to 3*s.* in the pound. On the other hand, a few new taxes had been imposed. In 1761 a new excise duty of 3*s.* the barrel had been laid on beer and ale; in 1763 certain additional customs duties were laid on foreign wine, vinegar, cider, and perry imported, and also on the export of home-made cider and perry, which were raised still higher in 1766; a new duty was laid upon foreign linen and some other articles in 1767; in 1774 the excise had been placed under stricter regulations; and some other alterations had been made at different times for the protection of the revenue, or of particular interests. Among the new taxes need not be reckoned those laid upon American imports and exports in 1764, and the other attempts made in the three following years to raise a revenue from the colonies, which proved wholly unproductive.

The chief additional taxes that were imposed after the commencement of the war with America were the following:—In 1776 the land-tax was again raised to 4*s.* in the pound. The same year the duties were augmented on wheeled carriages, indentures, bonds, newspapers, parchment, playing cards, and dice. In 1778 additional duties were laid on French and other foreign wines. In 1779 a new rate of five per cent. on the former duties was added to all articles, with some few exceptions, subject either to customs or excise. In 1780 the duties on foreign wines and vinegar were again raised. In 1781 the customs and excise duties generally were again raised five per cent.; and, finally, in 1782, a third augmentation was imposed to the same amount. The increase of revenue thus obtained was from 10,265,405*l.* in 1776, to 12,593,299*l.* in 1782.

The money for carrying on both the Seven Years' War and the American war was principally raised by loans and lotteries. In 1761 the sums borrowed amounted to 12,500,000*l.*; in 1762 to 12,000,000*l.*; in 1763 to 6,983,553*l.* In the course of the next five years of peace only 7,400,000*l.* was borrowed in all, and from 1768 to 1776 there were no loans. But 2,000,000*l.* was borrowed in 1776; 5,000,000*l.* in 1777; 6,000,000*l.* in 1778; 7,000,000*l.* in 1779; 12,000,000*l.* in 1780; 12,000,000*l.* in 1781; 13,500,000*l.* in 1782; and 12,000,000*l.* in 1783. Even after the restoration of peace, the loans raised in 1784 amounted to 12,879,341*l.*; and in 1785 to 10,990,651*l.* To these sums are to be added, as forming part of the national income for this period, 110,000*l.* received for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of England in 1764; 3,200,000*l.*, received at various times from the East India Company; and about 5,000,000*l.* of increase upon the unfunded debt. The entire revenue raised by taxes and loans together in the course of the twenty-five years was about 404 millions sterling, or on an average about 16 millions annually.

The following table exhibits the amount of the naval and military charges for each of the ten years of war during the period:—

	Navy.	Army.
1761	£5,672,602	£8,344,030
1762	5,688,012	7,657,205
1776	3,092,967	3,500,366

* Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue, ii. 85. Sinclair enumerates the Mint among the suppressed establishments, setting down the saving thereby effected at 13,000*l.* a-year; but there is nothing about the Mint in the act (the 22nd Geo. III. c. 82).

	Navy.	Army.
1777 . .	£4,053,666	£3,797,632
1778 . .	4,779,151	4,833,666
1779 . .	4,106,374	6,013,082
1780 . .	6,777,632	6,589,080
1781 . .	8,603,884	7,723,912
1782 . .	7,095,228	7,645,237
1783 . .	6,197,832	5,577,474

But these figures are far from furnishing the entire cost of the two wars; a considerable portion of the burden of both the one and the other of which was left to press upon the national finances for years after the restoration of peace. And the contest with America especially involved the country in a long train of expenses not coming under the heads of either the military or the naval service. It has been calculated, from a comparison of the average charges of the peace establishment for the four years ending in 1770, with the sums actually expended and the amount of debt incurred from the beginning of the Seven Years' War to the end of the American war, that the entire cost of the former was full 110 millions, and that of the latter not much less than 140 millions sterling.*

* Sinclair's Hist. of the Revenue, ii. 110, 114.

A part of this burden was borne by the payers of taxes at the time when these wars were carried on; but, as usual, they left considerably the greater share of it to their posterity. This sufficiently appears from the history of the national debt during the present period. Between the years 1765 and 1776 the capital of the debt was reduced by very nearly 12,000,000*l.*; but from 1776 to 1786 inclusive, the additional amount of debt funded was 115,267,993*l.*, bearing an interest (including terminable annuities) of 5,012,564*l.* And it appears that, whereas immediately before the commencement of the Seven Years' War, in 1755, the entire principal of the debt was 74,322,153*l.*, and the interest 2,610,575*l.*, at the peace of Paris, in 1763, the principal had come to be 128,583,635*l.*, and the interest 4,471,771*l.*; and at the peace of Versailles, in 1783, the principal had swollen to 244,118,635*l.*, and the interest to 9,302,328*l.** Thus, of the 250,000,000*l.*, the estimated cost of the two wars, about 80,000,000*l.* would seem to have been paid at the time, and about 170,000,000*l.* turned over to futurity.

* Hamilton's Inquiry into the National Debt, 3rd edit. pp. 89–97.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

UR modern system both of manufactures and trade, in most of its leading branches, may be regarded as taking its rise from the commencing portion of the reign of George III. Indeed, in our national history generally, in our political as well as in our social system, what precedes that reign is, for the most part, for us of the present hour a yesterday which has run its course. Yet, in the progress of our industry as well as of our politics, the quarter of a century we are about to review was but the dawn of the busy day in the full light of which we now live and move.

The war with France and Austria, commonly called the Seven Years' War, lasted for little more than two years after the accession of George III., on the 25th of October, 1760; the preliminaries of peace having been signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November, 1762. And, notwithstanding the accession of Spain to the family confederacy against England ten or twelve months before the termination of hostilities, the course of success in our military operations both by sea and land, in the midst of which the late king died, was kept up with little abatement to the end of the contest. Nor had the war at any time, except very slightly during the first year or two, checked the progress of our foreign trade; at least, the annual value of our exports had continued to increase every year from 1757 to the end of the reign of George II.; and so also had the tonnage of the ships cleared outwards, although that item had not even by the end of the year 1760 quite recovered the amount at which it stood ten years before.* The increase both of exports and of shipping went on for the first year after the accession of George III.; the estimated official value of the exports from the whole of Britain for 1760 having been 15,781,175*l.* (including 1,086,205*l.* from Scotland), and for 1761, 16,038,913*l.* (including 1,165,722*l.* from Scotland); and the tonnage of ships cleared outwards, which in 1760 had been 647,478 tons (including 107,237 foreign), having in 1761 become 704,755 (including 122,735 foreign). But in 1762 the war with Spain seems to have had a depressing effect in some small degree; the value of the exports having fallen that year to 14,543,336*l.* (including 998,165*l.* from Scotland); and the tonnage of ships cleared outwards to 668,370 tons (including 124,926 foreign).* But this slight falling off was soon recovered from.

To obtain a general view of our foreign trade at the commencement of the reign of George III. we may turn to the official account of the exports and imports for the year 1761. In that year, as we have seen, the estimated official value of our exports to all parts of the world was 16,038,913*l.*; that of our imports was 10,292,541*l.* In these sums are included exports to Ireland to the value of 1,642,396*l.*, and imports thence to that of 955,796*l.*; exports to Guernsey and the other Channel Islands, 54,558*l.*, and imports thence, 91,560*l.*; an inconsiderable trade between Scotland and the Isle of Man; an export of British and Irish linens on bounty to various countries, to the amount of 154,550*l.*; and prize goods exported, 195,164*l.*; imported, 248,702*l.* The European countries with which the greatest trade was at this time carried on were Holland, the value of our exports to which was 2,682,165*l.*, and that of our imports thence, 524,109*l.*; Germany, to which we exported to the value of 2,331,998*l.*, importing thence to that of 716,746*l.*; Portugal, to which our exports amounted to 1,266,171*l.*, and our imports thence to 250,167*l.*; and Italy, to which we sent goods to the value of 203,635*l.*, receiving back others to that of 761,916*l.*; besides sending to the value of 389,577*l.* to the Mediterranean or the Straits, and bringing back thence to the value of 103,628*l.* There was also a small trade, principally export, with Madeira and the Canaries. To Flanders we exported at this time to the amount of 425,130*l.*, but the value of our imports from that country was only 30,546*l.* To Russia, on the contrary, our exports amounted only to 47,718*l.*; but we imported thence to the value of 843,185*l.* There was also a small trade carried on from Scotland with Poland and Prussia, principally import; and from England there was a trade with the East Country, under which name we are probably to

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 719.

* We take these figures from the "Chronological Account of Commerce," inserted opposite to p. 315 of Chalmers's "Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain," edition of 1812. They include, it will be observed, the clearances and exports from Scotland as well as from England. The statement in the Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 719, refers to England only.

consider both Prussia and Poland to be comprehended, consisting of exports thither to the value of 202,254*l.*, and imports thence to that of 133,536*l.* Our exports to Denmark and Norway were 155,240*l.*, our imports from those countries 103,663*l.*; our exports to Sweden 26,126*l.*, our imports thence 298,750*l.* With Turkey we carried on an export trade to the amount of 54,282*l.*, and one of imports to that of 163,366*l.* With France our commercial intercourse was of course at this date still more limited than usual; the value of our exports to that country is set down in the account at 177,393*l.* (of which 102,951*l.* consisted of exports from Scotland), that of our imports thence at only 480*l.* There was a small trade with some other places—with Greenland, with Iceland, with Venice, to which last our exports amounted to 26,367*l.*, and our imports thence to 15,229*l.*; and a sum of 54,576*l.* is set down under the head of exports to Belle-isle, being, we suppose, the cost of the warlike stores expended in the capture of that island.* The value of our exports to the East Indies is estimated at 845,797*l.*; that of our imports thence at 840,987*l.* And to Africa we sent 327,007*l.* worth of goods, bringing back produce to the value of 12,201*l.* But even already by far our largest trade was that which we carried on with our own possessions and colonies across the Atlantic. The total official value of our exports to North America and the West Indies in 1761 was 3,330,371*l.*; and that of our imports thence, 3,726,261*l.* Of the exports to the value of 304,527*l.*, of the imports to that of 379,662*l.* (about a tenth part in either case), is set down to the share of Scotland: the English exports and imports are distributed as follows:—to Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, exports 349,524*l.*; imports thence, 50,689*l.* (the exports to Quebec alone being 226,292*l.*, while the imports thence are only 14,015*l.*): to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, exports, 827,863*l.*; imports thence, 134,043*l.*: to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Georgia, exports, 824,218*l.*; imports thence, 713,850*l.*: to Jamaica, exports, 441,618*l.*; imports thence, 932,197*l.*: to Guadaloupe, exports, 131,942*l.*; imports thence, 482,179*l.*: to St. Christopher's, exports, 134,069*l.*; imports thence, 294,850*l.*: to Barbadoes, exports, 215,479*l.*; imports thence, 253,900*l.*: to Antigua, exports, 108,244*l.*; imports thence, 280,869*l.*: and to the remaining West India islands—Bermuda, Montserrat, Nevis, New Providence, St. Croix, St. Thomas, Tortola, Monte Christi, and St. Eustathius—exports, 56,803*l.*; imports thence, 203,319*l.* (the excess of imports being chiefly from Montserrat, Nevis, and Tortola). On the whole, therefore, it appears that at this time North America (including the West India islands), Ireland, the East Indies, Italy, Germany, Russia, Holland, and Spain, were, in that order, the countries from which our largest imports were drawn; and that our chief export trade was to America, Holland, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Russia, the East Indies, Flanders, and Africa.

The considerations, now familiar to all thinkers on such subjects, which show how purely imaginary and absurd was the notion, long generally entertained, that any particular foreign trade was profitable or the reverse simply according to whether the money-value of the exports exceeded or fell short of that of the imports, need not be here adverted to.* But, without reference to this question, it may be right to explain that the official statement of the value of exports and imports is, for various reasons, far from affording a perfectly clear or complete view of the actual condition of our foreign commerce. In the first place, the prices according to which what are called the official values are calculated are those originally fixed when the office of inspector-general of imports and exports was instituted, in 1697; so that the sums of money in the table do not really indicate either the value or the quality, but only the quantity, of the goods brought into and sent out of the country. For instance, Irish linens are all rated at only 8*d.* a-yard, which is believed to have been little more than half their actual average price at the beginning of the reign of George III. Money, again, is not entered at all, neither cash nor bills of exchange.† Of course the account takes *no cognizance* of goods imported or exported clandestinely, or without the payment of the duty. On the other hand, it includes among the exports all articles sent abroad for the use of the army in any part of the world, and also all cargoes which were lost at sea or captured. Further, the exports in some cases are not sent directly to the country for which they are finally destined, nor do the returns always find their way back to the country of which the article imported was the produce. "Thus," observes Macpherson, writing about the beginning of the present century, "the wines of Madeira are sent to the British settlements in the East and West Indies; and, even if intended for Britain, are often carried by the circuitous route of those distant regions before they are brought home. The bulk of the cargoes from Africa consists of the miserable natives, who are sold in the West Indies; and the proceeds are generally remitted to Great Britain in bills of exchange, which do not appear at all in the Custom-house books. And in like manner most of the cargoes carried from Newfoundland and the adjacent countries consist of fish, which never come to Great Britain, but are sold in Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, and their proceeds also brought home in bills of exchange."‡ It was not

* See ante, p. 9.

* See this question discussed in Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iii, pp. 531, 532, and 854-864.

† Till the year 1765, however, gold and silver carried abroad used to be entered in the Custom-house books under the head of exports, as foreign gold and bullion. This item is omitted in the extract of the account for the year 1761, given in the text, as it has been in the original accounts since 1764, and as the money imported always was.

‡ Annals of Commerce, iii. 343. See also the above observations on the official tables of exports and imports illustrated, pp. 340-344.

till the year 1798 that an account began to be taken at the Custom-house of the real value of cargoes, founded on the declarations of the owners.

The trade with Ireland, it will be observed, was reckoned a foreign trade at the time of which we are now speaking, as indeed it continued to be down to our own day. The general trade of Ireland, notwithstanding many restrictions, designed for the benefit of the English producer and manufacturer, had been steadily increasing ever since the Revolution, and was three or four times as great at the accession of George III. as it had been at the commencement of the century. For the ten years ending with 1710, the average annual value of the imports of Ireland was 513,657*l.*, of the exports 553,023*l.*; for the next ten years, ending with 1720, the average of the imports was 852,905*l.*, of the exports 1,126,670*l.*; from 1720 to 1730 the annual imports were 856,936*l.*, the exports 1,019,809*l.*; from 1730 to 1740, the imports were at the rate of 885,044*l.*, the exports at that of 1,190,253*l.*; from 1740 to 1750 the imports were 1,123,373*l.*, the exports 1,485,110*l.*; and from 1750 to 1760 the imports averaged 1,594,164*l.*, the exports 2,002,354*l.* Of this trade very nearly two-thirds consisted of that carried on with Britain; the annual average of the imports from England and Scotland alone in the last decennary period having been 1,015,306*l.*, and that of the exports thither 1,274,569*l.*; leaving only 578,858*l.* for the imports from, and 727,784*l.* for the exports to, all other parts of the world. It appears from this statement that the export trade of Ireland, on the whole, considerably exceeded her import trade. The reverse was the case, however, in her trade with Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and the East Country. The import of claret from France also often exceeded the export of beef and pork to that country; and there was sometimes in like manner an excess of imports from Holland and Flanders.*

Of the conquests made by this country in the latter years of the war, Canada, which was retained at the peace, was one the possession of which immediately gave some extension to our trade. Soon after the acquisition of this vast region, large orders for furs began to be forwarded to England from Flanders, and even from Russia. In 1762 also, we are told, the produce of the newly captured island of Martinique imported into Great Britain exceeded that of any one of our other West India islands, with the exception only of Jamaica and Guadaloupe, the latter also a recent conquest from France; "and the returns of its commerce were more extensive than those of our trade with Denmark and Norway, with Sweden, or with Spain."† But both Martinique and Guadaloupe were restored to France at the peace. Grenada and its dependencies, however, were retained; and St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago were also ceded in full sovereignty to Great Britain. Of these last acquisitions, Dominica in particular soon became a possession of great value. In the East, Manilla and the other Philippine Islands were taken from Spain in the latter part of the year 1762; but they were given back at the peace, which was concluded before their capture had been heard of in Europe. The Havannah was also restored, after a considerable trade had been carried on with it during the short time it was in our hands.

Among our continental possessions in the New World, South Carolina continued to maintain the rate of progress in the cultivation and export of rice, indigo, and other produce, by which it had been distinguished for the preceding twenty or thirty years.* The export of rice from this province, from November, 1760, to September, 1761, was 100,000 barrels, and that of indigo 399,366 lbs.; besides 236,850 staves, 29,600 hoops, 522,167 shingles, and 466,186 feet of other timber, boards, &c.; and some small quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, oranges, pork, Indian corn, deerskins, tanned leather, and other produce. Even the recently founded colony of Georgia† sent home to the mother country, in the year 1762, 7460 barrels of rice, 9633 lbs. of indigo, 359,002 pieces of staves and heading, 10,500 hoops, 688,045 shingles, and 417,449 pieces of pine timber. Yet Macpherson remarks that the whole goods then exported in a year from Georgia to Great Britain were not equal in value to the quantity of cotton which at the end of the century sometimes arrived from that country in one consignment to a single London merchant.‡

Another American region with which we now carried on a small trade was the Mosquito shore, on the east coast of the isthmus between the two continents. "From the year 1759 to 1762," it is stated, "the Mosquito shore was inhabited by 203 white people (the detachment of 30 soldiers included), with 189 free mestees§ and mulattoes, about 3000 Mosquito Indians, and 914 negro slaves; in all 4306 souls, besides the friendly Indians on the back part of the country. The imports of British commodities, on an average amounting to 18,500*l.* a-year, and the exports to 30,792*l.*, employed 1150 tons of shipping and 115 seamen."‖ The exports from this coast, besides great quantities of turtle-shell, were mahogany, sarsaparilla, silk-grass, honey, bees'-wax, deer and leopard skins, hammocks of cotton and silk-grass, and cotton cloths called cavallys for covering beds and tables, which the Indians fabricated of considerable fineness of texture, and dyed with stripes and figures of various colours. This was a new kind of industry among the honest

* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland. 3rd edit., 1792.

† Macpherson, Annals, iii. 353.

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 721, 722.

† Id., p. 722.

‡ Annals, iii. 364.

§ A mestee is, strictly, the issue of a mulatto and a white who is three quarters white and one quarter negro. The term, however, is used for any person of mixed breed, whether the produce of a white and an Indian or of a white and a negro.

‖ Report of Mr. Jones to the Governor of Jamaica, quoted by Macpherson, Annals, iii. 354.

Mosquito Indians, who in Dampier's time, eighty years before, were without manufactures of any kind, employing themselves only in catching turtle and cultivating a few yams and potatoes.*

The lottery of the whale-fishery, notwithstanding the little success with which the trade had been prosecuted for many years,† still continued to attract adventurers; but in 1762 sixteen English ships brought home only nine fish, and fourteen from Scotland no more than five. Of the English whalers, seven belonged to London, four to Newcastle, two to Hull, two to Liverpool, and one to Exeter; of the Scotch, Dunbar owned three, Dundee, Borrowstowness, and Anstruther each two, and Leith and Aberdeen one each. This same year one hundred and fifty-four Dutch ships caught only forty-three fish. Efforts, however, began about this time to be made with some success by British enterprise to secure a greater share of the fishery on our own northern coasts, which the Dutch had for a long time nearly monopolised. In 1761 the Dutch had one hundred and fifty-two vessels employed in their herring-fishery on the coasts of Scotland and Shetland, besides one hundred and twenty-two in that on the coast of Iceland; while the Scots had only seventeen vessels, measuring seven hundred and forty-five tons, and carrying one hundred and seventy-four men. Yet this was the greatest outfit that had been made from Great Britain for many years. Next year, however, it is stated that the success of the British herring-fishery on the coast of Shetland exceeded that of the Dutch, and the British yaggers reached the first markets at Hamburg and Bremen, though the Dutch vessels, as usual, still greatly exceeded ours in number.‡ An association for the prosecution of this branch of trade had been lately incorporated under the name of the Society of the Free British Fishery, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in 1750, and several subsequent acts explaining and extending its provisions, by which also certain bounties had been granted upon the shipping employed in the trade. The subject had excited a great deal of interest ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was first brought forward in the House of Commons on the 8th of February, 1749, when a committee was appointed, upon whose report it was soon after resolved by the House that the carrying on the British herring and cod fisheries would be of eminent advantage to the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and was an object highly worthy the consideration of parliament, and deserving proper encouragement. A bill was brought in pursuant to this resolution, which was read twice, but was lost by the prorogation of parliament before the day on which it was ordered to be committed. The affair, however, was resumed the following session,§ having in the mean time been eagerly discussed out of doors in numberless pamphlets, as well as in all the magazines and newspapers. "Some facts," says Tindal, "were now laid before the parliament which exasperated the public more than ever against the Dutch. For the corporation of Southwold and the inhabitants of Lowestoff, both in Suffolk, and both places subsisting by the fishing-trade, informed the House by petition that the Dutch had, for about eight years past, fished so near the shore that their nets swept upon the ground, and thereby prevented the petitioners from fishing, as a hundred Dutch fishing-vessels at a time have been anchoring in their bay in two or three fathoms water; and that, when the petitioners complained of their foul fishing, they threatened to run over and sink their boats, or tear their nets. The petitioners from Lowestoff had the same complaints, but against the French as well as the Dutch." The minister, Mr. Pelham, although professing himself a friend to the object in regard to which the national expectation had been wrought to so high a pitch, apprehensive of the effect the petitions might have in exasperating the public feeling against the Dutch, endeavoured to ward off the discussion of the subject on the plea that it ought first to have been submitted to his majesty in council; but notwithstanding his opposition the petitions were referred to a committee, on whose report, presented by their chairman, General Oglethorpe, the bill, establishing the system of bounties, was ordered to be brought in, which was eventually passed into a law. "It is incredible," continues Tindal, "with what ardour the news of this bill passing was received by the public. It had been patronized and promoted by men of the greatest property and popularity in the kingdom; and Admiral Vernon, who at this time professed himself to be an enemy to the Dutch, made a voyage to Holland on purpose to make himself master of the manner of their carrying on the fisheries and curing their fish. The bill was no sooner passed than there was a general meeting of the persons named in the act of parliament for encouraging the British white-herring fishery, pursuant to an order of the lords of the treasury, the king being then abroad. At this meeting the Prince of Wales was chosen governor, Slingsby Bethel, Esq., president, and Stephen Theodore Jannsen, Esq., vice-president, both of them aldermen of London. Thirty gentlemen, most of them members of parliament, at the same time were chosen as the council, and were approved of by the lords of the regency, to whom their names were presented in terms of the act of parliament. The charter for establishing them into a society being passed, the Prince of Wales was presented with it at Fishmongers' Hall, to which he went in great state, and [it was] accepted of by him as their governor." By a subsequent act, passed in 1757, the bounty on the shipping employed by the company was increased from 30*s.* to 50*s.* per ton. It is

* See Dampier's interesting description in his First Voyage, pp. 6 *et seq.*

† See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 697, and 714, 715.

‡ Macpherson, Annals, iii. 357.

§ But Anderson (iii. 275) and Macpherson (iii. 275) are mistaken in their assertion that the consideration of this subject was recommended in the king's speech on opening the session in November, 1749.

admitted, however, by Anderson, that the success of the measure had not answered "the expectations of the worthy promoters of it;" and he contents himself with expressing a hope that further trials may prove more fortunate. But the opinion, in fact, soon began to be entertained that the system of an incorporated society was after all not the best for carrying on such a business as this. "It is, indeed," says Anderson, "extremely difficult to beat another nation out of a trade they have so long prospered in, even with the above great encouragement from the public, and more especially so frugal a people as the Dutch, who can content themselves with smaller gains than other nations, *and carry on the fishery every one on his own private bottom.*" Another bill was passed in 1762, "For the better supplying the cities of London and Westminster with fresh Fish," founded upon a plan for bringing fish from the coast to the metropolis by land-carriage, which had been suggested by Mr. Tull, the son of the founder of the horse-hoeing system of husbandry, and for carrying which into effect a sum of 2000*l.* was advanced by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. But this scheme also proved unsuccessful, Anderson tells us, "from the powerful, wealthy, and interested combination of the fishmongers to oppose it." Macpherson seems to state that even in his day the Dutch annually received from this country "the enormous sum of 100,000*l.* for the single article of turbot, and also large sums for other species of fish." "The Norwegians," he adds, "also carry off large sums for lobsters and crabs."*

The most important commercial consequence of the peace of 1763 was the complete expulsion of the French and Spaniards from North America, through the cession of Canada by the former, and of Florida by the latter. "Though many islands," Macpherson also remarks, "taken from the enemy in the West Indies were restored, yet Great Britain retained at the peace a number of newly acquired islands; perhaps more than the population and capital of the mother country were capable to people and cultivate immediately without some inconvenience. The arrangements in Asia were very favourable to our East India Company. And in Africa we obtained the exclusive trade in gum Senegal, an article of great use in many manufactures. Nor was the increased demand which the settlement of the new tropical territories would occasion for negro slaves neglected by the advocates for the terms of the peace in enumerating the advantages resulting from it."†

Soon after the peace a report was made to the king by the board of trade on the commercial advantages to be expected from our new territorial acquisitions, in which it was observed that, since the coasts of the river and gulf of St. Lawrence, and of the islands in the latter, from which we had been excluded by the treaty of Utrecht, had fallen into our hands, the capture of whales, sea-cows, seals, &c., had already come to be carried on by British subjects to a greater extent than it ever had been by the French. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, however, which France retained, although they could never be made the seat of any considerable fishery openly carried on, might become the nests of a very injurious contraband trade, if not vigilantly watched. The extensive trade with the Esquimaux for oil and furs, hitherto enjoyed by the French, would now, it was further remarked, fall to be monopolized by us in consequence of the annexation of Labrador to the government of Newfoundland. The command of the great lakes communicating with the St. Lawrence had hitherto, it was asserted, been assumed by the French in violation of the express stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht; and the effect had been to shut us out from all share in the fur-trade, with the exception of that carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company, and some trade in skins in the provinces of New York and Carolina. But now the subjects of Great Britain, being relieved from the interruptions of the French and the French Indians, would, it was predicted, carry on this trade to an extent hitherto unknown, and so as to create a large demand for our home manufactures. Another advantage to be looked for from the possession of these northern regions would be found in the prodigious stores of wood they contained, suitable as well for masts to the royal navy as for boards, staves, &c., so necessary in our sugar colonies. Florida, again, was represented as capable of producing indigo, silk, and many other tropical productions; and from the newly acquired islands in the West Indies was anticipated a great increase of coffee, sugar, cotton, and other tropical produce, of which, it was remarked, our old islands scarcely afforded a sufficiency for our increased and increasing consumption.* Macpherson states that the part of this report which respected the fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence was confirmed by the success of the New England whale-fishers, "who in the year 1761 employed in it ten vessels of about one hundred tons, in 1762 fifteen, and in 1763 above eighty vessels; whereupon the increase of the quantity of whalebone imported from New England to Britain reduced the price of that article from 500*l.* to 350*l.* a ton."

A view of the leading particulars of the greatest branch of our trade, that carried on with our colonies on the North American Continent, immediately after the termination of the Seven Years' War, may be obtained from the Act for granting duties in the colonies, passed in 1764, the first of the series of unfortunate attempts to raise a revenue by American taxation. The following were the imports to the colonies which were taxed by this act, and the duties directed to be levied upon them:—White or clayed sugar, the produce of foreign colonies, 22*s.* per cwt. over and above all former duties; indigo of foreign growth, 6*d.* per lb.; coffee, not from Great Britain, 59*s.* 9*d.*

* Annals, iii. 348. † Id., p. 368.

* See abstract of the Report in Macpherson, iii. 372.

per cwt.; wine from Madeira, or any other island whence wine might lawfully be imported, 7*l.* per tun; wine of Portugal or Spain, or any other wine except French, imported from Great Britain, 10*s.* per tun; silk, or stuff mixed with silk, made in Persia, China, or India, imported from Britain, 2*s.* per lb.; calico made in Persia, China, or India, imported from Britain, 2*s.* 6*d.* per piece; cambric, foreign made, and French lawn, imported from Britain, 3*s.* per piece. It is to be observed that the commodities thus taxed when imported from Britain were not permitted to be introduced into the colonies at all from any other part of the world. That restriction was a principal part of the system of the navigation laws. At the same time the duty of 6*d.* the gallon upon the importation of molasses and syrups, the produce of foreign colonies, which is stated to have been generally eluded, was reduced to 3*d.* The only new export duties laid on by the Act were a duty of 7*s.* per cwt. on coffee, and another of ½*d.* per lb. on pimento, the produce of British islands, when shipped for any other place than Great Britain. And the importation of any description of sugar into Ireland from the colonies was strictly prohibited: that country was only allowed to receive its supplies direct from Great Britain. The immediate effects of this measure upon the American trade are very well summed up by Macpherson in the following passage:—"The old northern colonies in America, it is well known, have very few articles fit for the British market; and yet they every year took off large quantities of merchandise from Great Britain, for which they made payments with tolerable regularity. Though they could not, like the Spanish colonists, dig the money out of their own soil, they found means to make a great part of their remittances in gold and silver dug out of the Spanish mines. This they effected by being general carriers, and by a circuitous commerce, carried on in small vessels, chiefly with the foreign West India settlements, to which they carried lumber of all sorts,* fish of an inferior quality, beef, pork, butter, horses, poultry, and other live stock, an inferior kind of tobacco, corn, flour, bread, cider, and even apples, cabbages, onions, &c.; and also vessels built at a small expense, the materials being almost all within themselves; for which they received in return mostly silver and gold, some of which remained as current coin among themselves; but the greatest part was remitted home to Britain, and, together with bills of exchange generally remitted to London for the proceeds of their best fish sold in the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, served to pay for the goods they received from the mother country. This trade united all the advantages which the wisest and most philanthropic philosopher, or the most enlightened legislator, could wish to derive from commerce. It gave bread to the industrious in North America, by carrying off their lumber, which must otherwise rot on their hands, and their fish, great part of which without it would be absolutely unsaleable, together with their spare produce and stock of every kind; it furnished the West India planters with those articles without which the operations of their plantations must be at a stand; and it produced a fund for employing a great number of industrious manufacturers in Great Britain; thus taking off the superfluities, providing for the necessities, and promoting the happiness of all concerned. This trade, however, was almost entirely ruined by the rigorous execution of the new orders against smuggling, and the collection of the duties in hard silver, which soon drained the country of any little real money circulating in it. And, as if government had intended to prevent the colonists from having even the shadow of money, another act was passed, in a few days after that for the new duties, declaring that no paper bills to be henceforth issued should be made a legal tender in payment, and enjoining those in circulation to be sunk (that is, paid off in hard money) at the limited time."* An end was also now put to a commercial intercourse which, though forbidden by the laws of both countries, had long been carried on with mutual advantage between our West India islands, Jamaica especially, and the Spanish colonies of the neighbouring continent, from which small coasting-vessels were wont, along with cargoes consisting of mules and other cattle, cochineal, indigo, and medicinal drugs, to bring over gold and silver, both coined and uncoined, to a considerable amount, purchasing therewith linens, calicoes, and numerous other articles of British manufacture. This trade "is sufficiently known," says the historian of the West Indies, "to have been formerly an intercourse of vast extent, and highly advantageous to Great Britain, having been supposed to give employment, about the beginning of the present (the eighteenth) century, to 4000 tons of English shipping, and to create an annual vent of British goods to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* in value. From the wretched policy of the court of Spain towards its American subjects, by endeavouring to compel them to trust solely to the mother country for almost every article of necessary consumption, at the very time that she was incapable of supplying a fiftieth part of their wants, it is not surprising that they had recourse, under all hazards, to those nations of Europe which were able and willing to answer their demands. It was in vain that the vessels employed in this traffic by the English and others were condemned to confiscation, and the mariners to perpetual confinement and slavery; the Spanish Americans supplied the loss by vessels of their own, furnished with seamen so well acquainted with the several creeks and bays as enabled them to prosecute the contraband with facility and advantage. These vessels received every possible encouragement in our islands; contrary, it must be acknowledged, to the strict letter of our acts of navigation;

* "Boards and timber for building, cypress-wood, shingles, staves, heading and hoops for casks, masts and other spars, and ship-timber pass in America under the general name of *lumber*."—*Macpherson*, iii. 163, *note*.

* Annals, iii. 393.

but the British government, aware that the Spaniards had little to import, besides bullion, but horned cattle, mules, and horses (so necessary to the agriculture of the sugar colonies), connived at the encouragement that was given them. The trade, however, has been for many years on the decline. Since the year 1748 a wiser and more liberal policy towards its American dominions seems to have actuated the court of Madrid, and the contraband traffic has gradually lessened in proportion as the rigour of the ancient regulations has been relaxed. Nevertheless the intercourse with this island (Jamaica) in Spanish vessels was still very considerable so late as the year 1764. About this period directions were issued by the English ministry to enforce the laws of navigation with the utmost strictness; and custom-house commissions were given to the captains of our men of war, with orders to seize all foreign vessels, without distinction, that should be found in the ports of our West India islands,—a measure which, in truth, was converting our navy into *guarda costas* for the King of Spain. In consequence of these proceedings, the Spaniards, as might have been expected, were deterred from coming near us, and the exports from Great Britain to Jamaica alone in the year 1765 fell short of the year 1763 168,000*l.* sterling." * The Rockingham ministry, which came into power in July, 1765, endeavoured to remedy the mistake of their predecessors by sending out orders to Jamaica and the other islands that Spanish vessels should be admitted as usual;† but the effects which had already been produced by the suspension of the trade, and the public discussion of the subject in parliament, had by this time so far enlightened the prejudices of the Spanish court as to induce that government, with the view of counteracting our policy, to permit the exportation of goods of all kinds from its continental colonies to its own islands of Trinidad, Porto-Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, on the payment of very moderate duties. Edwards is of opinion, however, that the superior quality or greater cheapness of British manufactures would still in no long time have brought us back a considerable portion of our former trade, had it not been for another act passed in 1766, by which the ports of Jamaica and Dominica were opened to all foreign vessels whatsoever of a certain description. He admits that this new measure was well intended; but its effects, according to his account, were very deplorable. "By an unfortunate oversight," he says, "the collectors at the several British free-ports were instructed to keep regular accounts of the entry of all foreign vessels, and of the bullion which they imported, together with the names of the commanders. These accounts having been transmitted to the commissioners of the customs in England, copies of them were by some means procured by the court of Spain, and the absolute destruction of many of the poor people who had been concerned in transporting bullion into our islands was the consequence. This intelligence I received soon afterwards (having at that time the direction of the custom-house in Jamaica) from a very respectable Spanish merchant, who produced to me a letter from Carthagena containing a recital of the fact, accompanied with many shocking circumstances of unrelenting severity in the Spanish government. Information of this being transmitted to the British ministry, the former instructions were revoked, but the remedy came too late; for what else could be expected than that the Spaniards would naturally shun all intercourse with a people whom neither the safety of their friends nor their own evident interest was sufficient to engage to confidence and secrecy?"*

But meanwhile on the continent of North America the new duties, and the measures taken to restrict or put an end to the trade that had been so long carried on with the French and Spanish settlements, had begun to produce consequences that had been little anticipated. It was found, in fact, that the extinction of the French and Spanish trade threatened also the destruction or serious curtailment of the trade hitherto carried on with England by the colonies, which, deprived of the accustomed market for the disposal of their produce, were no longer in a condition either to purchase British manufactures to the same extent as formerly, or even to discharge their debts to their correspondents in this country. In such circumstances the superiority of the English wool and the English cloth to anything that had as yet been produced in America was of no avail; the Americans were forced back upon their own resources—were compelled to content themselves in the mean time with the comparatively coarse produce of their own sheep and their own looms, and were set in spite of themselves upon establishing native manufactures. Associations were entered into in the different provinces for dispensing with English broadcloth for mourning and other purposes; and the spirit thus generated speedily extended itself to other objects than that originally contemplated, raising in the minds of the colonists the new feeling that they were Americans rather than Britons, or at least that, if they were not Britons, they were still Americans. Things were in this state when a new and still more irritating stimulus was given to the commencing inflammation of the public mind by the famous Stamp Act, one of the last measures of the Grenville administration, which received the royal assent on the 22nd of March, 1765, and was to come into operation on the 1st of November thereafter. The preceding act imposing port duties had in that only done the same thing that had been repeatedly done before by the British parliament, and always quietly submitted to by the colonists, who had never affected to dispute their subjection, like the rest of the empire, to the navigation laws, and to whatever commercial regulations were deemed expedient by the imperial legislature for the maintenance of that system; the only novelty in the act of 1764 was

* Edwards, History of British West Indies (edit. of 1793), i. 238.

† Macpherson is mistaken (Annals, iii. 404) in placing these orders under the year 1764.

* Hist. of West Indies, i. 240.

that the export and import duties thereby imposed were declared to be for the raising of a revenue. "This act," to quote the narrative given by Burke, "had for the first time the title of 'granting duties in the colonies and plantations of America;' and for the first time it was inserted in the preamble 'that it was *just* and *necessary* that a revenue should be raised there.' Then came the technical words of 'giving and granting;' and thus a complete American revenue act was made in all the forms, and with a full avowal of the right, equity, policy, and even necessity of taxing the colonies without any formal consent of theirs."* But the vague alarm excited by the mere novelty of expression in the port duties act was sharpened into a determined resolution of resistance by the stamp act, which was altogether new, not only in its form or language, but in the nature of the actual taxes which it directed to be levied. It imposed stamp-duties upon all kinds of legal or commercial writings or contracts, pamphlets, newspapers, advertisements, almanacs, cards, dice, &c., throughout the colonies and plantations in America, placing the collection of them under the management of the Commissioners of Stamps in Great Britain. But it proved as utterly inoperative for its purpose as if it had been a law to stamp the waves or fetter the winds. The news of the universal ferment into which it threw the colonies—"the sound of that mighty tempest," as Burke describes it—reached England in the end of October, immediately after the arrangement by Lord Rockingham and his colleagues, as above mentioned, of the business of the Spanish trade. By the 1st of November, of all the stamped paper sent out by the government to America, one small parcel, which the magistrates of New York had consented to take charge of on the express condition that it should not be made use of, was the only portion that remained in the country: the rest had all been seized by the people and committed to the flames. Then was seen the universal obstruction that may be wrought by a law which it is yet impossible to execute. From that day the legal transaction of commercial affairs became impracticable throughout the colonies; all business was necessarily at a stand; the rivers and wharfs were deserted and silent; vessels of all kinds lay crowding the harbours with their colours hoisted half-mast high; the very courts of justice were shut up; all was stagnation and gloom. But before this a new general agreement had been entered into by the merchants to import no more goods from Great Britain, to countermand all orders for goods not shipped before the 1st of January, 1766, and not to receive on commission any goods consigned from Great Britain after that day. A society had also been established at New York for encouraging native manufactures; and the making of linen, of cloth from the wool both of the sheep and the beaver, of spades, hoes, and scythes, and other iron articles, of spirits, of paper-hangings, &c., was begun to be prosecuted with great ardour and activity. And these efforts of the mercantile and manufacturing community were warmly supported by the people at large; the productions of American industry were bought with avidity; it became the fashion among all classes to appear dressed in the cloth of the country; and it is related that the general zeal for promoting the native woollen manufacture even gave rise to a resolution against eating lamb, or buying meat from any butcher who should kill lambs.*

In this way the edge of the Stamp Act was soon made to press with more severity upon England than upon America. The colonists had to wear coarse clothes, to dispense with some articles of elegance or luxury, and to pay a higher price than formerly for a few agricultural implements of inferior manufacture; but the stoppage of intercourse with the mother country, even if it somewhat deranged the industry of a portion of the people, did not affect their subsistence, nor deprive them of any of the necessaries of life. The merchants, again, were actually relieved by the universal suspension of the usual remittances to England. But upon our crowded population, and more artificial system of society, the sudden loss of the greatest branch of our foreign commerce produced a cramp which was soon felt in every part of the kingdom. "The merchants connected with America," we are *told*, "found themselves unable to fulfil their engagements by the stoppage of the payment of several millions due to them from their American correspondents; the whole system of their business was deranged, and general distress was diffused throughout the wide-spreading circle of their connexions; the manufacturers suffered by the want of general payments from the merchants, and moreover found their materials and made-up goods in a great measure become a dead stock upon their hands, in consequence of which great numbers of their workmen and other dependents were reduced to idleness and want of bread at a time when, to heighten the distress, provisions were extravagantly dear. Petitions were presented from London, Liverpool, Bristol, Lancaster, Hull, Glasgow, and, in a word, from all the trading and manufacturing towns, wherein were displayed in the strongest colours the advantages derived from the trade with America, in the vast and increasing consumption of British manufactures, and also of foreign goods shipped for America, which were paid for with British or American goods; the valuable nature of the returns received from America, being mostly either the materials of our manufactures or of a profitable re-exportation; besides which we annually received large balances in bullion, or bills of exchange, which were in fact the profits made by the colonists in their trade with other countries, poured into the general mass of British wealth: and it was observed that many thousands of manufacturers, labourers, and seamen, employed in the various operations of that extensive commerce, must now be thrown destitute, or driven into the service of

* Speech on American Taxation, 1774.

* Macpherson, iii. 421.

other nations."* These representations may not have been free from over-statement or high colouring in some particulars; but there can be no doubt either as to the existence of the general inconvenience and distress which they set forth, or as to its being mainly attributable to the interruption of the usual trade with the colonies. But, although much evidence upon that head was brought forward in the course of an inquiry which occupied the House of Commons during the greater part of the month of February, 1766, what made the most forcible impression upon the public mind, and chiefly weighed with the government to take the course it did, was probably the disturbed and threatening aspect of things on the other side of the Atlantic. The act repealing the stamp-duties, thus extorted by the menace of a rebellion in America, received the royal assent on the 18th of March, within a few days of a year after their imposition. And whether or no that concession might, according to Burke's sanguine anticipation, have given, if it had been so permitted, a lasting peace to the empire, it is not to be denied that the effect of the repeal in the colonies, even accompanied as it was by the declaratory act, was for the moment the complete restoration of tranquillity and good humour. "I am bold to say," exclaimed Burke, referring to this epoch, in his famous speech of 1774, "that so sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm is without parallel in history."

How soon this calm, nevertheless, was again interrupted, and changed into a more violent and alarming storm than ever, has been already told. By one party at the time the change which was so soon brought about is attributed wholly to the mismanagement of the Chatham ministry, which succeeded that of Lord Rockingham in July, 1766, and more especially to Charles Townshend's new American taxation act passed in 1767, imposing duties upon the import into the colonies of tea, glass, painters' colours, pasteboard, and paper-hangings, expressly on the ground of its being expedient that a revenue should be raised in his majesty's dominions in America. By Townshend and his friends, on the other hand, it was alleged that the colonies had drawn upon themselves this new interference by their own conduct—that by various proceedings in their provincial assemblies they had set the late declaratory act and the authority of the imperial legislature at defiance—and that, unless that act was to remain not only a nonentity but a mockery, it had become absolutely necessary that the supremacy of the mother country should be asserted by something more than words. It was found, however, utterly impracticable to collect the new duties; and the act of 1767 was repealed in 1770, in regard to all the duties except that on tea. But even that reservation could not be maintained; no tax was ever actually levied on tea in America, any more than upon glass, or red or white lead, or pasteboard; and at last in 1775 all trade with the colonies was prohibited, immediately before the breaking out of the war which terminated in the acknowledgment of their independence.

We shall now endeavour to collect into one view the principal facts illustrative of the history of our trade with America during this period of interference and fluctuating policy on the part of the mother-country. It is remarkable that it should have been, on the whole, so little affected by the variety of new and contradictory laws it was subjected to from 1764 down to its suppression, and by the heats and inflammations growing out of these vexatious proceedings, which, in the end, produced results of so mighty a character. In fact, if we are to judge by the official accounts of exports and imports, it went on increasing almost without interruption the whole time. Thus, in 1763 the value of the imports into Great Britain from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, was 1,460,144*l.*; in 1764, 1,460,836*l.*; in 1765, 1,576,267*l.*; in 1766, 1,424,212*l.*; in 1768, 1,570,657*l.*; in 1769, 1,533,255*l.*; and in 1774, 1,900,753*l.* The value of the exports from England to the same provinces was, in 1763, 1,912,491*l.*; in 1764, 2,497,804*l.*; in 1765, 2,149,735*l.*; in 1766, 2,020,715*l.*; in 1768, 2,422,888*l.*; in 1769, 1,634,652*l.*; and in 1774, 2,902,619*l.** The only considerable diminution sustained by the trade, it would appear from this statement, was in 1769, when, as we may suppose, the non-importation and non-exportation system, re-adopted in retaliation for the new taxation act of 1767, had come into full operation. But even the depression thus produced had been much more than recovered from before the commencement of the war; the sum total of the exports and imports together in 1774 exhibiting an increase of full twenty per cent. upon their united value in 1768. The tables from which we have extracted these figures also afford us some information as to the general character of the trade carried on with the mother-country by each of the several colonies. The only provinces from which the imports to Great Britain usually at this time exceeded the exports thence were Virginia and Maryland, and North and South Carolina. But the rule was not uniform even in regard to these colonies. Thus, to confine ourselves to Virginia and Maryland (included under one head in the English tables), it appears that, in the trade with England only, the value of our imports from these provinces in 1763 was 642,294*l.*, of our exports thither 555,391*l.*; that in 1764 our imports were 559,408*l.*, our exports 515,192*l.*; in 1765 our imports 505,671*l.*, our exports 383,224*l.*; in 1766 our imports 461,693*l.*, our exports 372,548*l.*; in 1768 our imports 406,048*l.*, our exports 475,954*l.*; in 1769 our imports 361,892*l.*, our exports 488,362*l.*; and in 1774

* Macpherson, iii p. 443.

* In 1763, 1764, 1765, and 1774, there are included in these sums the imports to Scotland from Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Quebec, and Nova Scotia, and the exports from Scotland to those countries, which the official accounts do not for these years enable us to separate. But the sums total are very slightly raised by that addition.

our imports 612,030*l.*, our exports 528,738*l.* But these two provinces enjoyed besides the chief trade with Scotland, the imports to which country, from Virginia especially, and the exports thither, in some years probably equalled those to and from England. Thus in 1766 Virginia sent produce to Scotland to the value of 255,480*l.*, receiving back goods to that of 109,390*l.*; in 1768 the value of the imports to Scotland from that colony was 273,364*l.*, of the exports from Scotland to Virginia, 152,795*l.*; in 1769 the imports to Scotland from Virginia amounted to 299,715*l.*, and those from Maryland to 98,353*l.*, making together 398,068*l.*, or 36,176*l.* more than those to England from the same two provinces; the exports from Scotland that year were, to Maryland 51,511*l.*, to Virginia 175,069*l.* To the northern provinces of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, the exports from Great Britain always greatly exceeded in value the produce we imported thence. Thus, in 1763 the English imports from New England amounted to 74,815*l.*, the exports thither to 258,854*l.*; in 1764 the imports were 88,157*l.*, the exports 459,765*l.*; in 1765 the imports 145,819*l.*, the exports 451,299*l.*; in 1766 the imports 141,733*l.*, the exports 409,642*l.*; in 1768 the imports 148,375*l.*, the exports 419,797*l.*; in 1769 the imports 129,353*l.*, the exports 207,993*l.*; in 1774 the imports 112,248*l.*, the exports 562,476*l.* The trade with Georgia and Florida was very trifling, but was a growing trade as well as that of the other colonies: the value of the imports into England from Georgia having increased from 14,469*l.* in 1763 to 67,647*l.* in 1774; that of the exports from England thither from 44,908*l.* in 1763 to 57,518*l.* in 1774. We imported nothing from Florida in 1763, and only to the value of 294*l.* in 1764; and the value of our exports thither in 1763 was only 9946*l.*: in 1774 our imports from Florida amounted to 22,335*l.*, our exports thither to 52,149*l.*

The principal foreign trade carried on by the New Englanders before the American revolution consisted in the export of cod, salmon, mackerel, sturgeon, and other fish, which they obtained partly from their own seas and rivers, and from the coasts of Newfoundland and the fishing-grounds in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, partly in exchange from the Newfoundland fishermen for rum of their own manufacture, and other articles of American and West Indian produce. For some years before the breaking out of the war the provinces of Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Newfoundland used to receive from the colonies now forming the United States, and chiefly from New England, between 550,000 and 650,000 gallons of rum annually, all manufactured in these colonies, with the exception of a small quantity, not a tenth part of the whole, which had been brought from the West India islands. Of the fish, the principal part and those of the best quality were sent to the Catholic countries of the south of Europe, whence the proceeds were generally remitted to Great Britain in bills of exchange to pay for the goods we exported to America. A small quantity of the best fish was also brought to this country. The inferior sorts were disposed of in the West Indies, where they were eaten with the plantains and yams that formed the principal food of the negroes. The New Englanders were also largely engaged in the whale fishery in the seas between their own coasts and Labrador, especially since the encouragement that branch of trade had received from a reduction of the duties on their oil and whale-fins by an act passed in 1764; the effect of which was, that the number of vessels employed by them in whaling had increased from 80 or 90 to 160 before the year 1775. They were besides extensive ship-builders, not only supplying themselves with the vessels they required for their own commerce, but building great numbers for sale, which, however, were in general more in request for the moderation of the price than for the excellence either of the materials or the workmanship. Then, as has just been mentioned, they manufactured large quantities of rum from molasses, which they procured chiefly from the French West India islands; and, although this New England spirit was very inferior to that made in the West Indies, it was still very gladly taken by the Indians in exchange for their furs and peltry. "They also," continues Macpherson, from whom we extract and abridge these details, "found a great vent for it among their own fishermen and others engaged in the Newfoundland fishery; and they carried considerable quantities of it to Africa, where they exchanged it for slaves, or sold it to the resident European slave-merchants for gold-dust, ivory, woods, wax, and gums. The candles made of spermaceti furnished by their whale-fishery formed also an article of export to the amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds weight in a year, besides what were consumed upon the continent. Their exports to Great Britain consisted chiefly of fish-oil, whalebone (or fins), masts, and other spars, to which were added several raw materials for manufactures collected in their circuitous trading voyages, and a balance paid in foreign gold and silver coins. In short, their earnest application to fisheries and the carrying trade, together with their unremitting attention to the most minute article which could be made to yield a profit, obtained them the appellation of *the Dutchmen of America.*"* From the middle provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, we received iron, hemp, flax-seed, lumber, Indian skins and furs, and some raw materials for our manufactures, which were the produce of other provinces or of foreign countries; but there was also, as we have seen, a considerable balance on the trade of each year which was paid in bullion. The other principal foreign markets of these provinces, besides Great Britain and Ireland, were the West India islands, the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands, and Spain and Portugal. Their exports are enumerated as

* Annals of Commerce, iii. 568.

having been "corn of all kinds, flour, and bread, in great quantities; salted provisions of all sorts; live stock, including horses, horned cattle, hogs, and sheep, and all kinds of poultry in great numbers; flax and hemp; boards, scantlings, staves, shingles, and wooden houses framed and ready to set up; iron in pigs and bars; and vessels, superior in workmanship to those of New England."* The most valuable export from British America was the tobacco of Maryland and Virginia; but for many years before the revolt of the colonies the quantity of tobacco raised in those provinces, of which it was long the principal produce, had been diminishing, owing to the soil being exhausted by it, and much of the land having been consequently turned to the growing of wheat and other grain. The tobacco could only be legally exported to Great Britain; but corn, flour, lumber, &c., were sent from Maryland and Virginia, as from the other provinces, to the West Indies and elsewhere. We also obtained some tobacco from North Carolina; and that province likewise furnished annually for exportation about 80,000 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine, of which the greatest part came to Britain. To the West Indies it sent chiefly salt pork, Indian corn, peas, &c. "But the foreign trade of this province," it is observed, "was very trifling in proportion to its great extent, and even to the quantity of its productions, and was mostly in the hands of the merchants of the adjacent provinces of Virginia and South Carolina, and of the New Englanders."† The culture of tobacco had also been for some time carried on in South Carolina and Georgia; and considerable quantities of lumber were exported from those provinces; but their staple articles of produce were rice and indigo; the former grown on the marshy grounds near the coast, the latter on the dry soil of the inland country. Besides these commodities the merchants of Charlestown also exported part of the produce of North Carolina, and some skins obtained by trade with the neighbouring Indians.‡

In the year 1769 the number of vessels built in the North American colonies was 389, of which 113 are described as square-rigged vessels, the remaining 276 as sloops and schooners. They measured in all 20,001 tons. Of the whole number the colony of Massachusetts Bay furnished 40 square-rigged vessels, and 97 others, weighing 8013 tons; New Hampshire 16 square-rigged vessels, and 29 others, weighing 2452 tons; Connecticut 7 square-rigged vessels, and 43 others, weighing 1542 tons; Pennsylvania 14 square-rigged vessels, and 8 others, weighing 1469 tons; and Rhode Island 8 square-rigged vessels, and 31 others, weighing 1428 tons. Maryland and Virginia stood next in order; then New York, South Carolina, North Carolina, New Jersey, and Georgia. In 1770 the quantity of shipping built was 20,610 tons; in 1771, 24,068 tons, or 419 vessels of all sorts. In 1769 the entire tonnage of the shipping entered inwards in all the colonies was 332,146 tons; of which to the amount of 90,710 was from Great Britain and Ireland; of 34,151 from the southern parts of Europe and Africa; of 94,916 from the British and foreign West Indies;* and 112,369 from the continent of America, the Bahama Isles, &c. Of the shipping from the British islands, 20,652 tons fell to the share of Virginia, 15,486 to Maryland, 15,281 to South Carolina, 14,340 to Massachusetts Bay, 9309 to Pennsylvania, 6415 to North Carolina, 5224 to New York, 2523 to Georgia; the quantities entered at the ports of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were trifling, and to New Jersey there came none at all. From the south of Europe and Africa the chief imports were to Pennsylvania; from the West Indies to Massachusetts Bay; and the latter colony had also by far the largest share of the trade with the rest of the American continent. In 1770 the total shipping entered inwards throughout the colonies was nearly of the same amount as in the preceding year, being 331,942 tons; of which, however, only 82,934 tons came from the British islands. The chief increase was from the West Indies, from which there now arrived to the amount of 106,713 tons. The amount of the shipping entered outwards in 1769 was 339,302 tons; namely, 99,121 tons to Great Britain, 42,601 to the southern parts of Europe and Africa, 96,382 to the West Indies, and 101,198 to the continent of America, the Bahama Isles, &c. Of the export trade to the British islands, Virginia had the greatest share; then Maryland, then South Carolina, then Massachusetts Bay. Of that to the southern parts of Europe the largest portion belonged to Pennsylvania; of that to the West Indies to Massachusetts Bay, which also possessed a much larger share than any other colony of that to the other parts of the American continent. It is noted, however, that the entries given in both accounts of the shipping employed in the West India and continental trades are much swelled by the frequent repetition of voyages in the course of the same year. Of the total shipping entered outwards in 1769, 63,666 tons sailed from Massachusetts Bay, 52,008 from Virginia, 42,986 from Pennsylvania, 33,855 from South Carolina, 30,996 from Maryland, 26,859 from New York, 23,113 from North Carolina, 19,744 from New Hampshire, 17,966 from Connecticut, 17,775 from Rhode Island, 9241 from Georgia, and 1093 from New Jersey. For the next year, 1770, the total shipping entered outwards from all the colonies was 351,664 tons; of which 98,025 proceeded to Great Britain and Ireland, 37,237 to the South of Europe and Africa, 108,150 to the West Indies, and 107,552 to other ports on the American continent. The measurements of course in all these statements are from the registers of the vessels, and about 50 per cent. may be added for the real tonnage.

* Annals of Commerce. † Id., p. 569. ‡ Id.

* In the table given by Macpherson, iii. 570, copied, he tells us, from the accounts in the Custom-house, the trade with the south of Europe for this year is evidently given to the West Indies, and *vice versâ*.

The official value of the imports of all the provinces in the year 1769 from all parts of the world was 2,623,412*l.*; namely, from Great Britain 1,604,975*l.*; from the south of Europe 76,684*l.*; from the West Indies 789,754*l.*; from Africa 151,998*l.* Of the distribution of the British imports among the several provinces we have already given an account.* The imports from the south of Europe to Massachusetts Bay are estimated at 21,908*l.*; those to New York at 14,927*l.*; those to Pennsylvania at 14,249*l.* Of the imports from the West Indies, the share of Pennsylvania is set down at 180,591*l.*; that of Massachusetts Bay at 155,387*l.* Of those from Africa—principally negroes, we presume—South Carolina received to the value of 124,180*l.*, or about five-sixths of the whole. The official value of the exports from all the colonies to all parts of the world that same year was 2,852,441*l.*; namely, to Great Britain 1,531,516*l.*; to the south of Europe 552,736*l.*; to the West Indies 747,910*l.*; to Africa 20,278*l.* Of the whole, the sum of 991,401*l.* is assigned as the value of the exports from Maryland and Virginia, principally to Great Britain; 569,584*l.* as the value of those from the Carolinas, also for the greater part to this country; 550,089*l.* as that of those from the New England provinces, principally to the West Indies; 410,756*l.* as that of those from Pennsylvania, nearly all to the south of Europe and to the West Indies; 231,906*l.* as that of those from New York, chiefly to Great Britain; 96,169*l.* as that of those from Georgia, also mostly to Great Britain; and 2531*l.* as that of those from New Jersey, all to the West Indies. The exports to Africa were nearly all from Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island.

A list of the articles exported in the year 1770 from all the British continental colonies, including the islands of Newfoundland, Bahama, and Bermuda, informs us that the principal exports to Great Britain in that year were, 1173 tons of pot-ashes, 737 of pearlashes, 5747 of pig-iron, 2102 of bar-iron, 584,593 lbs. of indigo, 5202 tons of whale-oil, 112,971 lbs. of whale-fins, 74,073 barrels of rice, 78,115 of common tar, 15,125 of turpentine, 3043 tons of masts, yards, &c., 6,013,519 feet of pine, oak, and cedar boards, 4,921,020 staves and headings, furs to the value of 91,485*l.*, 799,652 lbs. of deer-skins, and tobacco to the value of 904,981*l.* The other principal exports were, to Ireland 305,083 bushels of flax-seed; to the south of Europe 431,386 quintals of dried fish, 588,561 bushels of wheat, 18,501 tons of bread and flour, and 36,296 barrels of rice; to the West Indies 351,625 lbs. of spermaceti candles, 206,081 quintals of dried fish, 29,582 barrels of pickled fish, 402,958 bushels of Indian corn, 49,337 of peas and beans, 23,449 tons of bread and flour, 2870 tons of beef and pork, 167,313 lbs. of butter, 4033 barrels of rice, 8548 lbs. of loaf-sugar, 85,035 lbs. of soap, onions to the value of 6378*l.*, 35,922,168 feet of pine, oak, and cedar boards, 11,116,141 staves and headings, 3,817,899 hoops, 62,099 shook hogsheads, 3184 heads of cattle, 6692 horses, 12,797 sheep and hogs, and 183,893 lbs. of tallow and lard: to Africa the only considerable export was 292,966 gallons of New England rum, of which spirit also, as we have already seen, a much larger quantity was sent from the New England colonies to the Indians of Nova Scotia and Canada.*

We now return to notice the most significant facts illustrative of the history of the other great branches of our commerce during the interval from the peace of 1763 to the commencement of the American revolution.

By one of the articles of the treaty of peace the French had liberty to fish, under certain regulations, on a part of the coast of Newfoundland, and also to dry their fish there. Disputes immediately arose between the two nations, and instructions were sent out early in 1764 to Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Palliser, the governor of the island, directing him to observe the strictest impartiality with regard to the share each was entitled to of the curing-grounds, and especially to take care that no injury should be done to the persons or properties of the French fishers; but the two rival interests were for a time more effectually reconciled by the opposition they soon after encountered in common from a third party, the stationary inhabitants of the island, who carried on the fishery in bye-boats, and who claimed a right of property in all the parts of the beach most convenient for drying the fish, to the exclusion of both the French and the English. An extensive system of smuggling was also carried on, especially with the French settlements on the neighbouring islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which, during the part of the year when the British ships of war were absent, there were no means of repressing; and it was further supposed that many of the vessels resorting to the fishery under British colours were, contrary to law, in part at least the property of Spaniards and other foreigners. It was not to be denied, however, that the trade of the island flourished more than it had ever done before in the midst of all these irregularities. The stationary fishermen, as they were called, could both go earlier to, and remain later upon, the fishing-grounds than the ships could, and had also greater facilities in other respects for carrying on the business on the most economic principle; so that, it is stated, the quantity of fish cured and carried to market was, within two or three years after the peace of Paris, as great as it had been in the most flourishing times of the fishery, while the exports to the island from Great Britain were five times as great as they had ever been before, besides that the supplies sent thither from our colonies on the American continent were supposed to

* See ante, p. 555. The statement there given, which makes the total imports from Great Britain to America in this year to have amounted to 1,634,652*l.*, includes the imports to Florida, which are not comprehended in the account before us.

* These details are abstracted from tables given by Macpherson, *Annals*, iii. 570—573.

be twice the amount of those sent from this country. In these circumstances the board of trade, in 1765, advised that rights of property in their settlements should be given to the occupants of all parts of the island, excepting only the portion of the coast where the late treaty of peace entitled French as well as English subjects to fish, and where, it was asserted, a ship-fishery only would be of most advantage for all concerned.* This concession proceeded, we suppose, from the Rockingham ministry. The next year, however, we find an opposite policy recommended, probably by the new board of trade under their successors. The lords of trade, it is stated, now represented "that a state of inheritance, unrestrained by any form or constitutions of civil government, had operated to the total subversion of that policy upon which the fisheries dependent upon that island were originally established, and defeated the great national advantages of the statute of 10 and 11 Will. III., principally by setting up exclusive claims to all the places on the shore which are useful for curing the fish; and such claims of property, if they are permitted, are alone sufficient to banish from the coast the ship-fishing, which Commodore Palliser conceives to be the only species of the fishery attended with the great national advantage of breeding a hardy race of seamen, capable of manning the navy in cases of emergency."† In the season of 1765, according to a statement drawn up by Palliser, there had arrived at Newfoundland 177 British fishing ships, of the total burthen of 17,268 tons, and carrying 2521 men and 5397 passengers, who cured 136,840 quintals of cod, valued at from 10*s.* to 17*s.* per quintal, and made 584¼ tons of train-oil, valued at from 15*l.* to 18*l.* per ton; 116 British sack (or trading) ships, of the burthen of 14,353 tons, carrying 1252 men, who did not engage in the fishing, but brought salt, or only ballast, and purchased their fish; and 104 British American vessels, measuring 6927 tons, and carrying 666 men. There had been made by the bye-boat men 85,096 quintals of cod, and 481¾ tons of train-oil; and by the inhabitants of the country 310,576 quintals of cod, and 1317¼ tons of oil. Palliser, who, as we have seen, was a zealous advocate for having the fishery carried on altogether by ships from Great Britain, and the settlers on the island and others who fished only in boats wholly driven out of it, gave a very bad account of the latter. The number of inhabitants settled upon Newfoundland at this time he reckoned to be 15,484, "most of whom," he stated, "were Roman Catholics, and many of them deserters from the ships, who, not being able to follow any employment during the seven months in which there is no fishing, and being under no control of civil government, used to spend that time in idleness, and subsist chiefly by robbery, the whole of the land cultivated by them being only 1262 acres." It appears, however, from his own statement as just given, that about three-fourths of the entire trade was at present actually in the hands of this class of persons. The total exports from Newfoundland in 1765 were 493,654 quintals of cod; 1172 tierces of salmon, worth from 40*s.* to 45*s.* each; seal-oil made the preceding year, and whale-bone obtained from the Indians, to the value of 5109*l.*; and furs taken by the inhabitants to that of 980*l.* Since the peace the government of Newfoundland also comprehended the coast of Labrador from the river St. John to Hudson's Straits, together with Anticosti, Madelaine, and the other islands on that coast; and Palliser states that the Labrador fishery employed 117 ships and schooners from the provinces of Quebec and New England, carrying 1563 men, who between the 14th of May and the 10th of July killed 104 whales, each of the average value of 478*l.*, and yielding on an average 140 barrels of oil and 2000 lbs. of bone; while the winter seal-fishery on the same coast employed 107 men, who made 500 tons of oil, besides procuring a considerable quantity of furs from the Esquimaux. The annual value of the seal, cod, salmon, and furs obtained from that part of the coast is estimated at 100,000*l.*; the trade being wholly in the hands of the British Americans, and the greatest part of its produce being disposed of to the French. The French fishery carried on upon the coast of Newfoundland employed at this time 117 ships, measuring 18,495 tons, and carrying 7862 men, who made 292,790 quintals of cod and 2929 hogsheads of oil. And, in addition, it was estimated that in the French fishery on the banks were employed 130 ships, of the burthen of 16,000 tons, and carrying 3900 men, who made 130,000 quintals of cod and 2600 hogsheads of oil; in that at St. Pierre, 20 ships, weighing 2600 tons, and carrying 1200 men, who made 24,000 quintals of cod and 480 hogsheads of oil; while belonging to St. Pierre and Miquelon, and employed on the banks and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, were 50 ships, of the burthen of 2500 tons, and carrying 750 men, who made 30,000 quintals of cod, and 600 hogsheads of oil. There were also belonging to those islands 120 boats, carrying 600 men, who made 12,000 quintals of cod and 240 hogsheads of oil. The fishery was protected by two French frigates, whose crews amounted to 400 men; and the trade attracted 20 vessels from the French West Indies, weighing in all 1200 tons, and carrying 240 men.

In 1767 the entire number of British vessels employed in the fishery had increased to 258, measuring 23,419 tons, and carrying 3946 seamen, besides 7070 passengers: of these vessels 27 fished on the coast of Labrador. This season there were brought to the country, in 115 American vessels, cargoes of rum, molasses, bread, flour, &c., the proceeds of which, including the price of some of the vessels that were also purchased, are calculated to have amounted to 100,000*l.*, which was paid mostly, not in fish, but in bills of exchange. About 300 vessels, measuring on an average about

* Macpherson, Annals, iii. p. 423. † Id. p. 438.

60 tons, and carrying 13 men each, were besides employed by the Americans in the whale fishery about the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and about 300 more, averaging 60 tons in burthen, and carrying 10 men each, in the cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland and Labrador. The next year, 1768, the number of British vessels engaged in the fishery, and the quantities of fish cured, and of oil manufactured, were still greater; and the increase continued to be progressive for the three following years, in the last of which, 1771, the British fishing vessels were 369 in number, weighing 21,954 tons, and carrying 11,976 men. After this there was a slight decline in the trade; but still in 1774, the last year of which we have any account before the breaking out of the war, the number of British vessels employed in the fishery was 254, carrying 7836 men, and said to weigh 22,182 tons—an amount of tonnage, however, which seems suspiciously high, considering the diminished number both of the ships and of their crews. Yet the British trading vessels which resorted to Newfoundland this season are stated to have been no fewer than 149, measuring 15,179 tons, which was a larger amount of shipping of this description than had been attracted thither in any preceding year. The American vessels that arrived this year were also more numerous than they ever had been before, being 175; and there were employed in the fishery 518 bye-boats, and no fewer than 1446 boats belonging to persons resident on the island. The quantities of fish taken this season were, by the British vessels 237,640 quintals, by the bye-boats 145,800, and by the boats of the inhabitants 312,426; 2962 tons of oil were manufactured; and there were besides exported 3501 tierces of salmon, which was much more than an average quantity, and 18,670*l.* worth of skins and teeth of sea-cows, and oil of sea-cows and seals. We may see from this account that Palliser had not been able to carry his plan of putting down the boat-fishing into effect. The French fishery appears to have reached its zenith in 1770, in which year it employed 12,855 men in 437 vessels, measuring 45,541 tons, and 1470 boats, and produced 435,340 quintals of fish, and 3511 hogsheads of oil. But even in 1774, although the ships were reduced to 273, and their entire burthen to 31,530 tons, the boats were 1614 in number, and there were in all 15,137 men employed in the fishery, which still yielded 368,215 quintals of cod and 3377 hogsheads of oil.

The state of our trade with most of the other countries of Europe towards the commencement of the present period may be collected from a set of reports which were obtained from our foreign consuls in the year 1765. We will abstract the most important particulars therein stated, adding under each head any material facts that may be necessary to bring down the account to the close of the interval of peace.

The country of our commerce with which the most minute account is given is Holland. The number of vessels from Great Britain, Ireland, and British America that arrived in the ports of Rotterdam, Dort, and Schiedam, was, in the year 1761, 1372; in 1762, 893; in 1763, 847; and in 1764, 881; all British property, except 46, which belonged to Dutch owners. Not many years before this time from 800 to 1000 vessels annually used to come from England to Holland with corn: now only a small quantity of malt was brought from Yarmouth, Wells (in Norfolk), and Burnham. Yet, in 1764, 200 cargoes arrived at Rotterdam, and 30 at Schiedam. The Dutch now obtained their supplies of corn from the East Country, and particularly from Poland, where the price was much lower than in England. Woollen goods to the value of above 350,000*l.* a-year (of which a third was supposed to find its way to Germany) were brought to Rotterdam from Norfolk, Yorkshire, and London; besides, from 50,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* worth of woollen stockings from Aberdeen, and 10,000*l.* worth of coarse woollen serges from the county of Ayr.* Owing to the decrease of turf in Holland, the importation of English coal was increasing; in 1764, 17,140 chaldrons were brought chiefly from Newcastle, all in English ships, besides four or five cargoes from Milford, and about 5000*l.* worth from the Frith of Forth. From 8000 to 10,000 hogsheads of tobacco were annually received from Glasgow, about as many from Whitehaven, Liverpool, and Bristol, and about 5000 from London. From Cowes there were brought every year from 12,000 to 15,000 barrels of rice. About 1000 tons of lead, worth 14*l.* or 15*l.* a ton, were brought from Newcastle, Stockton, Hull, and Chester; and from 1500 to 2000 tons from the Frith of Forth. The importation of pickled salmon from Scotland had declined, but it still amounted to from 2000 to 3000 barrels a-year, worth 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* The importation of red herrings had also fallen, owing to the scarcity and higher price of the fish, from 12,000 or 14,000 barrels to 3000 or 4000. From Ireland, in 1764, were brought 26,612 casks of butter, weighing on an average 150 lbs., and of the value of 38*s.* each; 474 hogsheads of tallow, weighing 1300 lbs. each; 445 casks of lard, of 150 lbs. each, besides some feathers, kelp, pork, hides, and ox-bones. From 10,000 to 14,000 barrels of Irish beef used to be imported annually in time of war; but, as the article in time of peace was only enterable for exportation, the quantity was now reduced to 3000 or 4000 barrels. The use of English hardware was daily increasing; and so was the consumption of our felt and straw hats, woollen and silk stockings, and silk stuffs. Birmingham and Sheffield wares of all kinds were much in demand. English printed linens and calicoes were the common summer dress in Holland, and were to be seen in every shop. Staffordshire earthenware, of the improved manufacture recently intro-

* Macpherson doubts whether the serges as well as the stockings did not come from Aberdeenshire.—*Annals*, iii. 428.

duced, of which an account will be given in a subsequent page, was coming into request both in Holland and in the neighbouring countries, and the quantity of it imported was rapidly on the increase. Bottles used to be imported in large quantities; but the demand had lately been reduced by the extension of the home manufacture of glass. Horses were frequently brought from London. Sugar, ginger, cotton, and other articles of our West India produce, were occasionally imported, and sometimes in large quantities. Finally, from 1000 to 1500 tons of Honduras logwood used to be annually brought from New York, Boston, and Rhode Island; and from 500 to 1000 tons of other dyeing woods from our possessions on the coast of Guinea. The principal exports from Holland to Great Britain and Ireland were the following:—about 2400 casks of madder, of the value of about 25*l.* per cask; about 1,200,000 stones of flax (6 lbs. each), averaging 2*s.* 6*d.* per stone; fully 17,000 hogsheads of flax-seed, at about 50*s.* per hogshead; some mill-stones, tarras, clinkers, and rushes for matting chairs; a very large quantity of spice; some fine Juliers thread, Dutch tapes, sail-cloth, and linen, the demand for which articles was daily increasing; gold and silver, mostly for the service of the East India Company; and a great quantity of gin, although the smuggling trade in that spirit and in brandy, which formerly used to be very extensive, was now almost at an end.

At Hamburg there arrived 160 British ships in 1760; 220 in 1761; 240 in 1762; and 209 in 1763. In 1764 the number of British vessels was 267, while that of the Hamburghers was 157 (56 of them from British ports), and that of all others 386 (including 36 from British ports). In 1765 the British vessels were 252, the Hamburghers 142 (including 41 from British ports), and those of all other nations 377 (of which 33 were from British ports). According to the account of the members of the British factory at Hamburg, ever since the trade was laid open at the Revolution of 1688 it had been declining and getting into the hands of foreigners; and, although during the late war the place, as a neutral emporium, had flourished by the consignments from England, and still more by those from America and the West Indies, insomuch that France used then to be supplied with sugar from Hamburg, yet now from 50,000 to 60,000 hogsheads of French sugars were annually carried thither, and the English sugars were already driven out of the trade. But, according to the consul's report, the decrease in the number of arrivals of British ships in 1765 was chiefly owing to the Hamburg sugar-refiners having overstocked themselves with sugars in the preceding year; the French imports of that article being also lower this year than the last, although the import of wines from Bordeaux was higher. In 1768 the value of the imports to Hamburg from Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies is stated to have been 1,169,170*l.*; and of those from France 993,318*l.* The number of vessels that arrived from the British dominions in that year was 254.* In 1769 the value of the British imports was 949,074*l.*; that of the French 1,208,461*l*; but of the vessels that arrived in the port, 195 were British, and not one French. In 1700 the British imports amounted to 1,020,251*l.*; the French to 945,467*l.*; of the arrivals, 182 were of British ships, and again not one of French. It is stated, too, that, although the number of vessels was somewhat less than the preceding year, they were of greater burthen; there being amongst those of largest size, and containing the most valuable cargoes, five more from Liverpool, and ten more from Glasgow, than in 1769.† In 1775 the British imports were estimated at 1,030,316*l.*; the French at 1,270,627*l.*; and of 268 arrivals, 262 were of British ships, and 242 in all from British ports.‡ In 1776 the value of the British imports was 974,442*l.*; that of the French 1,099,559*l.*; and the British ships were 184, the French 10. To Bremen this year the British imports amounted to 178,476*l.*; the French to 307,580*l.* Macpherson observes, however, that, although the French trade thus continued to have the ascendency in these two cities, the latter of which belonged in sovereignty to the king of Great Britain, yet, with respect to Hamburg, the freights, if not included in the estimate of cargoes, must have turned the scale greatly in favour of this country.

With Flanders our trade is stated to have, on the whole, made great progress during the quarter of a century previous to the year 1765; although the high duties imposed by the Austrian government had of late considerably diminished the importation of British woollens, earthenware, paper-hangings, and printed linens and cottons. Our woollens had also been prohibited to be carried through the country, as formerly, to France and Germany. Our trade with Denmark is described as having been almost annihilated at the commencement of the reign of George III.

Our most important trade to the south of Europe used to be with Portugal, bound as the two countries were to one another by the stipulations of the famous Methuen treaty.§ But great complaints are made in 1765, by the British consul and merchants at Lisbon, of the obstructions and oppressions under which their commerce then laboured. The import into Portugal of British woollens, it is affirmed, had fallen off to about half of what it was ten years before, in consequence partly of the competition of the French and Dutch manufacturers, partly of new duties (which, however, one would suppose, must have borne as hard upon the French and Dutch as upon the British trade). The importation of fine hats from England had been reduced to about a tenth of its for-

* Macpherson, iii. 485. The account would make the number of vessels that were British property to be only 80; but there is evidently a misprint where it is stated that of the 254 vessels from the British dominions only 20 were British. The 20 should probably be 200 or 220.

† Macpherson, iii. 507.

‡ Id., 582.

§ See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 706.

mer amount, the Portuguese now obtaining part of their beavers from France, and manufacturing most of the rest at home. Even the importation of cod-fish from Newcastle had decreased from 80,000 to 60,000 quintals, which were annually brought in about thirty vessels. The decrease is ascribed "partly to the advanced price of fish at Newfoundland and New England, partly to additional duties imposed at Lisbon, and partly to the acts of the Lisbon Company of Fishmongers." The rise of a home manufacture, and large importations from France and Italy, had also greatly reduced the demand for English silks, after it had reached a considerable height; and as many silk stockings were now brought from France as from this country. The use of British printed linens, which was formerly general among the Portuguese, had of late been almost put an end to by some arbitrary proceedings of their custom-house officers. Portugal being dependent for half its consumption of corn upon other countries, some was still imported from Great Britain and the British colonies in America, as well as from the Mediterranean, Holland, Dantzic, Spain, and France; but the importers complained loudly of being prohibited from carrying it elsewhere, if the market should happen to be glutted when they arrived in a Portuguese harbour. The late parliamentary restrictions on the commerce of the American colonies had greatly diminished a very profitable trade which they had been accustomed to carry on with Portugal. In short, the importation of butter, beef, and pork from Ireland was now almost the only branch of our trade, according to this representation, that continued to be carried on to the same extent as formerly, these being commodities which could not be obtained from any other country. "About twenty years before this time," continues the account, "there used to arrive in Lisbon six or seven hundred English vessels annually, they being then in a great measure the carriers of the trade of Lisbon in the Mediterranean. But, the Dutch, Danish, and Swedish vessels being generally larger than the English, and the port-dues (of late monstrously advanced) being so contrived as to fall heaviest on the smallest vessels, the English carrying-trade was so much discouraged by these circumstances and other oppressive measures, that scarcely four hundred vessels in a year now entered the port." Other complaints follow of the injuries sustained from monopolies and arbitrary customs and modes of procedure; and in conclusion it is asserted that "the infringement of privileges due by treaty, the increase of duties, the decrease of the consumption of British goods by means of sumptuary laws, and the uncertainty (or rather partiality) and delay which all must encounter who attempt to recover their property by law in Portugal, altogether constituted such an accumulation of hardships, as rendered it impossible for the British merchants to continue their trade in Portugal unless they could obtain redress of their grievances." A good many of the matters thus complained of, it will probably be thought, belonged to that extensive class of human evils which laws do not make and cannot cure; but the British merchants in Portugal did not for some time cease to press their claims, and to represent themselves as a very ill-used body of persons. In 1767 we find them again complaining in still stronger terms than before of injurious monopolies, regulations in violation of the faith of treaties, and treatment of a generally arbitrary and oppressive character. "Notwithstanding the preference stipulated for the English woollen manufactures by the treaty of 1703," we are informed, "the consumption of them was prohibited by new sumptuary laws; but the British merchants had the mortification to see those laws dispensed with in favour of French cloths without any difficulty. The court of Portugal, as if desirous of ruining the British trade, cramped it with new duties upon goods and ships, and many new oppressive regulations and delays. The British merchants found it next to impossible to recover their debts in the Portuguese courts of justice; they were, moreover, compelled to take in payment actions (or shares) of the very companies which had been set up with a view to destroy their trade, which shares the officers of the revenue, and even the companies themselves, refused to take in payments. The property of the British merchants was frequently seized for the service of the king, and even for convents of monks supported by the king, and the payment delayed for many years, or totally withheld. The violences were committed not only in the pressure of war, but also during the tranquillity of peace."* At this time the value of the entire imports into Portugal from Britain and the British dominions was estimated to be as follows:—woollen, linen, and other manufactures from Britain, rice from America, and camlets from Ireland, 595,000*l.*; fish from Newfoundland, 48,000*l.*; butter and beef from Ireland, 40,000*l.*; staves from America, coals, &c., 8000*l.*; manufactures and provisions to Madeira and the other islands, 44,000*l.*; in all, 735,000*l.* And the exports to Britain and the British dominions were:—Oporto wine, 22,000 pipes, valued at 220,000*l.*; 7000 pipes of Lisbon wine, 63,000*l.*; 12,000 pipes of wine from Madeira and the other islands, 240,000*l.*; 50,000 chests of oranges and lemons, 75,000*l.*; 40,000 moys of salt, 24,000*l.*; and oil, morocco leather, cacao, Brazil wood, drugs, &c, to the value of 8000*l.* So that, by this showing, the annual balance to be discharged by Portugal in gold and silver, or what was called the balance in favour of Britain, was only 105,000*l.*, instead of about 2,000,000*l.* sterling, which was popularly supposed to be its amount. It is probable, however, that the amount of the imports from Britain into Portugal is somewhat understated in this exposition. It is observed also that the estimate does not comprehend the trade to the port of Faro, in Algarva, where the exports and imports are stated to have been of nearly equal value; nor does it in-

* Macpherson, iii. 458.

clude either the diamonds brought from Portugal to this country, or the sugars imported thence into Ireland, or the corn exported from Ireland to Portugal.* But, on the whole, our Portuguese trade appears to have gone on declining from this date; in 1770 it is remarked that for some years past the oppression of the British merchants seemed to have formed a part of the policy of the Portuguese government;† and under date of 1774 we are told that the trade, "usually so highly extolled, was now sunk down to less than half of what it used to be formerly."‡

The importation of British goods to Spain, on the other hand, was stated in 1765 to have increased considerably at St. Lucar and Seville during the preceding fifteen years. At Barcelona, however, the consul and merchants complained of oppressive laws and customs, and of arbitrary proceedings on the part of the people in power. At Corunna also in 1768 the consul reported "that since the last war no British merchants had settled there; and that the removal of the English packets from that place had thrown such difficulties in the way of making remittances, that the neighbouring country was now mostly supplied with French manufactures, to the great regret of the natives, who all prefer English goods." In the first six months of that year only seven British vessels had arrived in the provinces of Galicia and Asturias, most of which had only landed small parcels of goods there. In the same time eleven French and five Dutch vessels had delivered their full cargoes. The British vessels that arrived in that district were usually about fourteen in the year from Newfoundland with cod, three or four with salted provisions from Ireland, and a few with corn, coals, &c., from various ports in England or America. "The British consul and merchants at Cadiz," it is added, "complained of the hardships put upon them by several infringements of the treaties, and particularly by the *postura*, an order of the magistrates for fixing the prices of provisions, whereby they apprehended the trade from Ireland and Newfoundland to that port must be ruined. They and the consul at St. Lucar also complained of a proclamation prohibiting the importation of all printed and painted cloths and handkerchiefs, the demand for which in the Spanish colonies used to be very considerable. They also complained of the exactions of the health office, of the indignities put upon the commanders of their ships, the partiality shown to the French, and the arbitrary power of the governors and magistrates of Cadiz, who were ignorant of the treaties, and had not even any instructions to regard them."§ In December, 1771, the King of Spain, with the view of encouraging certain native manufactures recently set up, issued an ordinance altogether prohibiting the importation, and even for a time the use, of cotton velvets and all other stuffs composed wholly or in part of cotton—a measure which is stated to have proved very seriously injurious to the British trade.*

In Italy, too, if we may believe these reports of the consuls, the British trade was rather upon the decline in 1765. From Leghorn it was stated that the Danes and the French were hurting us in the fish trade; that the French were getting the better of us in the woollen manufactures; and that importations from some mines lately opened in Spain were lessening the consumption of our lead. From Messina, again, it was reported that the British trade in Sicily was about one-third less than formerly, the decay being attributable chiefly to the general poverty of the people, "occasioned by the oppression of the barons, and the defective administration of justice; the object of the government being the immediate increase of the revenue, without any regard to future consequences." "There were still, however," it is added, "more English woollen goods than Dutch or French consumed in Sicily, our returns being chiefly in raw and thrown silks shipped for England, and corn shipped for Spain and Portugal, the freights of which were considerable."

Finally, the members of the Turkey Company settled at Constantinople and the ports in the Levant complained that the sales of British woollens had so greatly declined in those parts, that, whereas they used formerly to be to the French sales as three to one, the latter now exceeded them in the same proportion. But this reversal of the old relation of the two trades was to be assigned in part, we may suppose, to the increase of the French importations as well as to the decrease of the British. Our exports to the Levant are stated to have at this time consisted almost entirely of woollens; the returns being chiefly in raw silk and mohair.

The political position of the East India Company underwent a great change during the present period, and their commerce also, affected both by that and other circumstances, experienced some considerable fluctuations. The origin of the military power and territorial sovereignty of the company in India may be dated from the famous victory of Plassy, gained by Clive on the 23rd of June, 1757. Followed as was that great blow struck at the ancient Mahometan rule of the country by the all but annihilation of the French interest through the successes that preceded the peace of 1763, it left the field clear for the bold and skilful operations which resulted in the establishment of a new English empire. Mohamed Cossim Ali Khan, set up as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in room of his father-in-law, Meer Jaffier, in September, 1760, immediately ceded to the company, to whom he owed his elevation, the districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chitagong. A further acquisition of political influence was made in February, 1765, when, on the death of Meer Jaffier, who had been restored in 1763, the company secured the succession for his natural son, Nujum-Dowlah, and bound him to receive a resi-

* Macpherson, iii. p. 459. † Id., p. 503.
‡ Id., p. 560. § Id., p. 482.

* Macpherson, iii. p. 514.

'dent from Calcutta, to put the chief management of his affairs into the hands of a person recommended by the president and council there, and never to permit the French Company to erect any fortifications within his dominions. But the greatest acquisition of all was that which followed in August of this same year, when, in return for putting him in possession of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, and ensuring him besides a settled revenue from Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, the Great Mogul, Shah Aulum, made over to the company the dewannee, or right of collecting for their own use the entire revenues, of these three last-mentioned provinces, at the same time confirming to them the absolute property of all the districts already ceded to them by the subahdars. So high were the expectations of the proprietors raised by these events, that in the year 1766 they at once raised the dividend from six to ten per cent., many of them insisting that it might safely be made fourteen per cent., and some even talking confidently of fifty per cent. as the probable amount of future dividends. It appears to have been at this crisis that the practice commenced of jobbing in India stock, which was carried so far, that before the end of the year its market price had risen to 263, and many of the speculators professed to believe that it would soon be up to 900 or 1000. In 1767 a motion was carried, against the directors, at a general court for raising the dividends to twelve and a half per cent. Here, however, parliament stepped in, and three acts were passed: the first requiring all public companies to declare their dividends only in general courts held at least five months after the declaration of the preceding dividend; the second, directing that in the East India Company in particular no dividend above ten per cent. should be made before the next session of parliament; the third, assuming, by implication at least, that the real sovereignty of the late territorial acquisitions of the company was in the crown, and binding the company to pay into the exchequer the sum of 400,000*l.* per annum in consideration of the revenues from their possessions in India being secured to them, or rather left in their hands, for the short space of only two years. These measures repressed at its commencement a ferment of speculation and delusion which, if it had been allowed to go on, might have rivalled the South Sea mania. At the same time, somewhat to relieve the company, which was embarrassed by an unusually large stock of tea in its warehouses, the excise duty of a shilling a pound was abolished in regard to all black teas for five years, and a drawback of the whole custom duty was directed to be allowed on all teas exported to Ireland and America; the company being, however, bound to indemnify the revenue for any loss it might sustain from these reductions. And in fact, although the company's sales of tea were nearly doubled, they found themselves obliged in the long run to make good a deficiency of the revenue to the amount in all of 686,390*l.* In 1768 parliament extended the prohibition against a dividend of above ten per cent. to the 1st of February, 1769; but the following year a new act was passed continuing to the company their territorial revenues in India for five years more on the former condition of an annual payment of 400,000*l.* into the exchequer, and authorising them to increase their dividends gradually to twelve and a half per cent. The company were also bound during the five years to export British merchandise to the annual amount of 380,837*l.*, exclusive of military and naval stores, that being the average amount of their export of such goods for the five preceding years. Upon this they raised their dividend in 1769 to eleven per cent.; in 1770 to twelve per cent.; and in 1771 to the highest allowed rate of twelve and a half per cent. But this rate was only maintained for three half years. Before the end of the year 1772, the amount of debt that had accumulated so alarmed them that they not only suddenly reduced the dividend to the old rate of six per cent. (by which, in conformity with a clause in the act of parliament, they released themselves from the heavy annual payment to government), but came to the resolution of applying to parliament for a loan. The consequence was, that the affairs of India were again brought before the House of Commons in the spring of 1773; when the inquiry resulted in the passing of two new acts for regulating the proceedings of the company both in India and in Europe, by which, among other things, it was directed that nothing less than the possession of 1000*l.* of stock, held for at least twelve months, should give a right to vote at the meetings of the proprietors; that an advance of 1,400,000*l.* of the public money should be made to the company at an interest of four per cent.; and that till that loan was repaid the company should be restricted from making any dividends above six per cent. By another act passed this same session, the company was authorised to export tea to the American colonies, receiving a drawback of the whole custom duty on the commodity; and cargoes were accordingly dispatched to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charlestown, which merely, however, served the purpose of provoking the first actual blow in the contest which, in its issue, separated the colonies from the empire; for it was one of these inauspicious cargoes that the people of Boston, on the 18th of December in this year, disposed of so summarily by unloading it into the sea. Of the rest, not a single pound was sold; and the entire adventure was a dead loss to the company. Meanwhile, also, an increase of the duty upon tea at home so greatly reduced the consumption, or, more probably, encouraged the smuggling trade, that the average sales for the five years beginning with 1773 were only 5,559,007 lbs., instead of 8,075,794 lbs., which had been the average of the five preceding years.

Yet the difficulties in which the company had been involved had certainly not been produced by their trade, which on the whole had been in a

flourishing and improving state. The source of the pecuniary pressure and embarrassment under which they had been labouring ever since their acquisition of the territorial revenues of Bengal had been undeniably the expenses entailed by their new character and position as a great political power, aggravated by the extravagance, profusion, and rapacity of the generality of their servants in India, left as they had been in that distant region to exercise almost without any control either from law or public opinion the supreme command over all the resources of the country to which they had been so suddenly elevated. The number of ships dispatched by the company in the year 1762 was 21; and in no subsequent year down to 1772 inclusive was the number so small: it was 28 in 1763, 32 in 1768, 31 in 1770, and 26 in each of the two following years. In 1773 and 1774 it was only 15; but it rose again to 19 in 1775, and to 23 in 1776. The value of the entire merchandise exported by the company was 520,719*l.* in 1760; and in the course of the next fifteen years it varied from 471,499*l.*, which it was in 1773, to 653,000*l.*, which was the amount it reached in 1768. On the whole, however, the average amount, more especially down to 1770, was very much greater than it had ever been in any former period. The quantity of bullion exported, which in 1760 was only 91,924*l.*, hardly a tenth of what it had been nine or ten years before, and which in 1761 had sunk to 27,327*l.*, was in 1764 not less than 369,831*l.*; and, although in 1766 it had been only 955*l.*, and none at all had been sent out in 1767, it was still 202,110*l.* in 1771; but for three of the following five years it was never much above 10,000*l.*, and was no more than 40,824*l.* in 1772, and no more than 109,422*l.* in 1776. This great diminution of later years in the money payments of the company was, in the prevalent notion, one of the chief indications, perhaps the chief indication, of the prosperity of the trade; but, in the absence of any statement of actual profits, which indeed the manner in which the company's commercial were mixed up with their political transactions now made it almost impossible satisfactorily to ascertain, the most distinct register of the extension or contraction of the trade will be found in the total amount of the exports for each year, including money as well as goods. For the year 1760 the value of the total exports was 612,643*l.*; after which it did not again reach the same amount till the year 1764, when it was 879,856*l.* For four of the six following years it was also above 800,000*l.*; but in 1766 and 1767 it fell again below 600,000*l.* In 1771 it was still 708,950*l.*; but in 1772 it was only 531,896*l.*, and in 1773 only 483,366*l.*; nor did it again reach 600,000*l.* till the year 1776, when it was 668,888*l.* Of the general imports of the company we have no account at this time; but the quantity of tea imported in each year is recorded from the year 1765. In that year its amount was 5,473,186 lbs.; and that was also about the average of the two following years. But in the five years from 1768 to 1772 it averaged above 8,000,000 lbs., having in 1769 been as high as 9,447,522 lbs. In 1773, however, it fell again to 4,577,477 lbs.; nor did it again reach so high as 7,000,000 lbs. in the next six years. The annual produce of the tea sales at this time was usually from 900,000*l.* to 1,200,000*l.*, out of which sum, however, the company had to pay the duties of custom and excise, amounting on an average to 700,000*l.* a-year. In the five prosperous or at least active years from 1768 to 1772 inclusive, the returns rose, indeed, to an annual average of 1,371,730*l.*; in 1770 they amounted to 1,555,968*l.*; but, on the other hand, in 1773 they were only 830,902*l.*, and in 1776 only 777,011*l.*

We will conclude our view of the commerce of the country during the interval from the termination of the Seven Years' War to the commencement of the war with the colonies by a short account of the progress of our shipping, of our general exports and imports, and of our customs revenue, throughout that peace of fourteen years' duration.

In 1761 the number of vessels belonging to all the ports of England was 6119, and their reputed burthen 405,793 tons; and the vessels belonging to Scotland were 956, measuring 51,523 tons. In 1763 the English shipping had increased to 6571 vessels, of 496,093 tons; the Scotch to 1062, of 59,862; making 7633 vessels, and 555,955 tons in all. And from this point the mercantile marine of both countries continued to grow, with little interruption, till in 1775 the number of English ships was 7549, having an aggregate burthen of 605,974 tons; and that of the Scotch 1559, weighing 91,330 tons; making in all 9108 vessels and 697,304 tons. The increase therefore during the peace may be stated in round numbers at about 20 per cent. in the English shipping, and about 50 per cent. in that of Scotland. The amount of the British shipping annually cleared outwards, which in 1762 had been 543,444 tons, increased from 631,724 tons in 1763 to 901,016 tons in 1774; that of the foreign ships cleared outwards, which in 1762 had been 124,926 tons, declined from 91,593 tons in 1763 to 68,402 tons in 1774. In 1775 the quantity of British shipping cleared out was 882,579 tons; of foreign 68,034, making a total of 950,613 tons, instead of 723,317, the total amount for 1763. The increase of our export trade during the interval of peace, therefore, in so far as it was carried on by means of our own shipping, had not been much less than 50 per cent. The official value of the total exports from England, which in 1762, the last year of the war, was 13,545,171*l.*, and in 1763 was 14,487,507*l.*, in 1771 reached the sum of 17,161,147*l.*, and in 1775 was still 15,202,366*l.* The exports from Scotland, which in 1762 were valued at 998,165*l.*, and in 1763 at 1,091,436*l.*, continued to increase till in 1771 they attained the amount of 1,857,734*l.*, from which however they had declined to 1,123,998*l.* in 1775.*

* In considering the exports for a series of years, we may take

If we compare the year 1763, the first of the peace, with 1774, which was the last that can be considered not to have been disturbed by the shadow of the coming war, the entire increase of our export trade during this period of tranquillity would thus appear to have been only about nine per cent. Its real increase, however, was probably somewhat greater, inasmuch as the calculation of the official values takes no cognizance of any improvement in the qualities or prices of commodities, which yet is an element that materially enhances the profits of the trade. The augmentation of the imports was, according to the official tables, considerably greater; the value of those into England having risen from 8,870,234*l.* in 1762, and 11,665,036*l.* in 1763, to 13,275,599*l.* in 1774, and to 13,548,467*l.* in 1775; and that of those into Scotland, which was only 708,925*l.* in 1762, and only 903,891*l.* in 1763, having become 1,202,276*l.* in 1774, and 1,267,388*l.* in 1775. Thus, the value of the British imports for 1763 having been 12,568,927*l.*, and that of those for 1774, 14,477,876*l.*, the increase from the one year to the other was about sixteen per cent. Putting the exports and imports together, the entire increase of our foreign trade between 1763 and 1774 was, according to the official accounts, from an annual amount of 28,147,870*l.* to one of 31,766,363*l.* In this actual increase of the amount of our trade, however, the popular theory perceived only a diminution of the national profits thence arising, inasmuch as the so-called balance in our favour, or the excess of exports over imports, had at the same time fallen from 3,010,016*l.* to 2,738,572*l.* Indeed the favourable balance had in 1764 been not less than 6,195,646*l.*, and in 1775 it was reduced for the whole of Great Britain to 1,510,508*l.*, while for Scotland it was actually converted into an unfavourable balance, the Scottish imports that year having been 1,267,388*l.* and the exports only 1,123,998*l.* We may add to these particulars a notice of the amount of customs annually paid into the exchequer, derived chiefly from exports:*—it was 1,853,691*l.* in 1762; 2,249,604*l.* in 1763; 2,642,129*l.* in 1771; 2,567,770*l.* in 1774; and 2,481,031*l.* in 1775. Some few alterations of the rates, however, had, as we have seen, taken place in the course of this series of years.*

An arrangement which was calculated to operate favourably both upon the regular commerce and upon the revenue of the country was the purchase by parliament of the sovereignty of the Isle of Man from the Duke of Athol in 1765. In an act of parliament, passed in 1725, it is affirmed that while "great sums of money are paid out of his majesty's duties of customs on account of debentures for tobacco, and other foreign goods and merchandises shipped for exportation to the Isle of Man," it had been "found by experience that the greatest part of such tobacco, and such other foreign commodities, are shipped for the Isle of Man with no other intent than fraudulently to reland the same on the coast of Great Britain or Ireland, by which evil practices his majesty's revenues of customs are very much lessened, and the fair traders prejudiced and discouraged in their trade;" and in order to prevent such frauds and abuses the commissioners of the treasury are by a subsequent clause authorised to effect the absolute purchase for his majesty of the lordship of the island from the Earl of Derby, to whom it then belonged.† But the negotiation begun at this time was not carried through, and the illicit traffic continued to flourish unchecked. In the "Tour through Great Britain," said to have been originally begun by Defoe and continued by Richardson, it is stated in a passage evidently written before the purchase of the island, although it stands unaltered in the edition before us printed in 1778, that the practice had been in existence for little more than half a century, but that it had been making very rapid progress all that time: if this was written by Richardson, as it probably was, a few years before the smuggling was put an end to, it would carry back its commencement to about the beginning of the century. "As everywhere else, so in this island," continues the writer of the Tour, "it has been attended with a numerous train of the most mischievous consequences. It was first introduced by foreign vessels landing their cargoes here, in order to elude the laws made for the benefit of British commerce, and by these means immense sums have been drained from these kingdoms. The goods thus landed are, from the convenient position of the isle, exported again in prodigious quantities in barks and boats into Wales, England, and Scotland, to the almost incomputable detriment of the revenue of the crown, and to the extreme prejudice also of the fair trader. But, independent of these injuries to their fellow subjects, it seems also to be in a fair way of be-

along with us the remark of Chalmers, "that, when one year furnishes a great exportation, the next supplies the foreign markets with less; the third usually sends a *cargo superior to the first*; and the fourth gives often a smaller quantity than the last, the amount of which, however, is seldom below the level of the first." "This striking variation," Chalmers adds, "arises chiefly from the irregularities of universal demand; since foreign fairs are sometimes empty, and sometimes full; and partly from the speculations, perhaps the caprice, of traders. And it has been shown from the most satisfactory proofs that the year of profound peace which immediately succeeds the conclusion of a lengthened war, always exhibits a great exportation, because every merchant makes haste to be rich; thus 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, 1785, and 1802, form epochs of great relative traffic."—*Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 324.

* Those duties had their commencement from the act of tonnage and poundage, at the Restoration, when the whole customs did not much exceed 400,000*l.* This law, which imposed five per cent. of the value on goods exported as well as on goods imported, on domestic manufactures as well as on foreign merchandises, and which laid particular taxes on our own woollens, and double taxes on all goods when sent out by aliens, was surely framed by no very judicious plan, though two and a half per cent. of the value were allowed to be drawn back on goods that, having been imported, should be again sent out in a twelvemonth. The publications of Mun, of Fortray, and of Child, soon after the Restoration, diffused more acquaintance with commercial legislation. The alien duties on the export of native commodities and domestic manufactures were judiciously repealed in 1673. The taxes on the exportation of woollens, of corn, meal, and bread were happily removed in 1700. Yet it was not till 1772 that, on a systematic consideration of the burthens which obstructed trade, all duties on the export of British manufactures were withdrawn, except on a few articles which, being regarded as materials, were still to be sent to rival *nations* with discouragements. . . . But the imports were discouraged then, and have been successively burthened with new subsidies and additional duties."—*Chalmers's Historical View*, p. 342.

* See *ante*, p. 545.

† Stat. 12 Geo. I., c. 28.

coming destructive to the island itself, by corrupting the manners of the inhabitants, and divesting them of all thoughts of honest improvements." It is added in a note, that, in a memorial given in to the treasury many years ago by the fair traders of Cumberland, the pecuniary loss thus sustained by the public was estimated at not less than 400,000*l.* per annum; and it was now supposed by many persons to be much greater. A short time before the purchase of the rights of the Duke of Athol, it was thought worth while to station a number of ships of war and cutters around the coasts of the island for the protection of the revenue and the legal trade.* At the same time it appears that the whole revenue drawn by the Duke of Athol did not average quite 7300*l.* a year, of which the customs paid to him as sovereign were somewhat above 6000*l.* Government therefore made a good bargain when it obtained from the duke the relinquishment of his right of levying these customs, and also of all his civil patronage in the island, for the sum of 70,000*l.*† It was now enacted that after the 1st of June, 1765, the revenue officers should search all vessels arriving in Man, and seize all goods illegally imported, in the same manner as in Great Britain; that no foreign spirits should be carried thither but from England or Scotland; and that none should be brought into the rest of the kingdom from thence.‡ At the same time another law was made taking away all bounties and drawbacks upon goods exported to the Faroe Islands, a practice having, it seems, grown up of shipping such goods for these more distant islands also, and afterwards relanding them in some part of Great Britain.§

The principal facts illustrative of the history of our commerce during the colonial war have been so well collected and arranged, chiefly from official sources, and in some instances from unpublished documents, by the late George Chalmers, who held the office of chief clerk to the Board of Trade, that we cannot do better than present an abstract of the generally able and valuable portion of his work on the "Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland," which goes over the ground from 1775 to 1783.‖

On the average of the years 1772, 1773, and 1774, which may be regarded as the three last years of the peace, the total quantity of shipping cleared outwards from Great Britain was 966,074 tons (of which the foreign shipping amounted only to 66,443 tons); and during the same space the average estimated value of our exports was 17,128,029*l.* In 1775, 1776, and 1777, the first three years of the war, the average quantity of our shipping cleared outwards fell to 942,250 tons (of which 81,665 were foreign); and the average value of our exports to 14,857,697*l.* In 1778, when the French joined the Americans, the quantity of shipping cleared outwards sunk to 865,336 tons (of which 93,786 were foreign); and the value of our exports was only 12,253,995*l.* The addition, however, of Spain to the number of our enemies in the following year does not seem to have had any very serious effect on our trade, or what effect it had may have been counteracted by other causes; for in 1779, although the quantity of shipping cleared outwards was reduced to 792,003 tons (of which 149,040 were foreign), the estimated value of our exports rose to 13,189,325*l.*; and in 1780 the quantity of shipping rose to 885,397 tons (including 154,111 foreign), although the value of the exports declined to 12,648,616*l.* Finally, in 1781, when the Dutch had struck in, the shipping cleared outwards came to be only 778,994 tons (including 170,775 foreign), and the value of the exports only 11,342,296*l.* But this was the lowest point of depression which our trade touched in the course of the contest; in the very next year, 1782, the last year of actual hostilities, the quantity of shipping cleared outwards was 840,606 tons (including 225,456 foreign), and the value of the exports had risen to 13,017,391*l.** The loss of the trade to America—the largest branch of our export trade—of course was alone enough to account for a great part of this falling off in the estimated value of the exports; but Chalmers is disposed to concur with a remark of Lord Auckland, "that, in the latter period, it may be doubted whether the dexterity of exporters, which in times of regular trade occasions ostentatious entries, may not, in many instances, have operated to under valuations." On the whole, however, it is admitted that in the course of no war since that of the Revolution was our shipping so much damaged, or our traffic so far driven from its usual channels. The alarm created by the interference of France first interrupted our general commerce; but the effect of that alone would probably have been soon overcome. "There was," it is observed, "an evident tendency in our traffic to rise in 1779, till the Spanish war imposed an additional burthen. There was a similar tendency in 1780, till the Dutch war added, in 1781, no inconsiderable weight. And the year 1781, accordingly, marks the lowest degree of depression, both of our navigation and our commerce, during the war of our colonies. But, with the same vigorous spirit, they both equally rose in 1782, as they had risen in former wars, to a superiority over our navigation and commerce during the year wherein hostilities with France began. We have beheld, too, on the return of complete peace, the spring of our traffic rebound with mighty force. A considerate eye may see this in 1783 and 1784, though the burthens of war were then removed with a much more tardy hand than in 1763 and 1764. Twenty years before, the preliminaries of peace were settled in November, 1762, and the definitive treaty with France and Spain was signed on the 10th of February thereafter; so that complete tranquillity

* Macpherson, Annals, iii. 405.

† His grace, however, afterwards obtained an additional grant.

‡ Stat. 5 Geo. III., c. 39.

§ Stat. 5 Geo. III., c. 43.

‖ Our references will be to the edition of 1812. In preceding editions the work is entitled "An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain."

* Computed from two tables in Chalmers, pp. 164, 165.

was restored early in 1763. But, owing to the greater number and variety of belligerent powers, the last peace was fully established by much slower steps. The provisional articles were settled with the separated colonies in November, 1782. The preliminaries with France and Spain were adjusted in January, 1783. The definitive treaty with both and with the United States of America was signed on the 3rd of September, 1783. Though an armistice was agreed on with Holland in February, 1783, preliminaries were not settled till September thereafter, and the definitive treaty was not signed till the 24th of May, 1784. And with Tippoo Saib, who was no mean antagonist, peace was not concluded till March, 1784."* These facts and dates ought to be kept in mind when a comparison is made between the averages of the last three years of the peace already given and the year 1783, in which the quantity of shipping cleared outwards was 1,037,905 tons (including 170,938 foreign), and the estimated value of the exports 15,468,287*l.*; the year 1784, in which the shipping was 1,050,487 tons (including 118,268 foreign), and the exports 15,734,062*l.*; and the year 1785, in which the shipping was 1,182,346 tons (including 107,484 foreign), and the exports 16,117,649*l.* Each of these years, it will be observed, exhibits an improvement upon its predecessor in all the three particulars, of the entire quantity of shipping cleared outwards, the proportion of the shipping which belonged to British owners, and the value of the exported cargoes. And it is remarkable that so early as 1784 even our exports to the United States already exceeded in amount what our exports to our American colonies had been on the average of the years 1771, 1772, 1773: their average annual value during these three years was 3,064,843*l.*; and their value in 1784 was 3,397,500*l.* "Yet," as Chalmers remarks, "the exportations of the years 1771-2-3 were, beyond example, great, because the colonists were even then preparing for subsequent events." "From the epoch," he adds, "that we have met industrious competitors in their ports, we have had too much reason to complain of having rather traded too much with a people who affect to be great traders without having great capitals."† The imports from America, however, which on the average of 1771-2-3 were estimated at the annual amount of 1,322,533*l.*, were no more than 749,329*l.* in 1784.

As connected with the American trade, the state of the Newfoundland fishery after the termination of the war may be noticed, and compared with its state after the peace of 1763. In 1764 the number of British ships engaged in the fishery was 141, weighing 14,819 tons; in 1784 it was 236, weighing 22,535 tons: in 1764 the number of British trading ships that arrived at Newfoundland was 97, weighing 11,924 tons; and in 1784 it was 60, weighing 6297 tons: in 1764 the number of colonial ships engaged in the fishery was 205, weighing 13,837 tons; in 1784 the number from the United States was only 50, of the aggregate burthen of 4202 tons: in 1764 the quantity of fish exported from Newfoundland was 470,188 quintals; in 1784 it was 497,884. Again, in 1765 the British fishing ships were 177, measuring 17,268 tons; the British trading ships 116, measuring 14,353 tons; the colonial ships 104, measuring 6927 tons; the quantity of fish exported 493,654 quintals: in 1785 the British fishing ships were 292, their burthen 26,528 tons; the British trading ships 85, their burthen 9202 tons; the ships from the United States 58, their burthen 6260 tons; and the quantity of fish exported 591,276 quintals. Thus this fishery, instead of having been totally lost, as was the common cry of a certain class of speculators during the war, remained to a much greater extent in our own hands after the separation of the colonies than it had ever been before.

The Greenland fishery also continued to be carried on to a greater extent after than it had been before the American war. The number of ships that sailed to the Greenland seas from England in the four years from 1772 to 1775 inclusive, was 266 in all, making an annual average of 66½; the number in the four years from 1782 to 1785 inclusive was 314, or, on an average, 78½ annually. The number in 1775 was 96; in 1785, 140, besides 13 from Scotland; making in all 153.

On the subject of the general results of the American war and the emancipation of the colonies as affecting both the commercial and the other interests of the mother-country, the following remarks by Chalmers are sensible as well as ingenious:—"It is, indeed, fortunate for us that the French were so much blinded by the splendour of giving independence to the British colonies, as not to see distinctly how much their interposition and their aid promoted the real advantage of Great Britain. When the colony-war began, the true interest of France consisted in protecting the entanglements which necessarily resulted from the virtual dependence of thirteen distant communities, claiming separate and sovereign rights, and which continued to enfeeble the British government by their pretensions, their clamours, and their opposition, till the dissatisfied provincials had, in the fulness of time, separated themselves, without any effort on their part, or any struggle on the side of Great Britain. From those embarrassments the French have, however, freed by their policy the rival nation. And they have even conferred on the people whom they wished to depress actual strength, by restoring unconsciously the ship-building, the freights, and the fisheries, of which the colonists had too much partaken, and which, with other facilities, have resulted to the mother-country from the absolute independence of the American states."* And again—"Had Great Britain, like Spain, received any public revenue from the transatlantic territories, she had doubtless lost this in-

* Chalmers, p. 169. † Id., p. 173.

* Chalmers, p. 178.

come by the independence of her colonies. If Great Britain has thereby lost sovereignty without jurisdiction, she has freed herself from the charges of protecting an extensive coast, without deducting anything from her naval strength; since the colony sailors were protected by positive statute from being forced into the public service. While this nation has saved the annual expense of great military and civil establishments, it can hardly be said to have lost any commercial profits. And, by excluding the citizens of the United States from their accustomed participation in the gainful business of ship-building, of freights, and of fishery, Great Britain has, in fact, made considerable additions to her naval power. Thus, the means which were used to enfeeble this country have actually augmented its strength, whatever may have been the fate of the other belligerent parties."*

A few facts remain to be stated, in order to bring down the history of the trade with the East Indies to the close of the present period. In 1777 the East India Company, having paid their debt to government, raised their dividend to seven per cent.; and in 1778 they raised it to eight per cent. On intelligence being received of the breaking out of the war with France in the latter year, the French establishments in Bengal and Coromandel were instantly attacked, and before the end of July all of them had fallen, except only Pondicherry, which was also compelled to surrender in October following. In 1781 the company obtained a new charter, continuing their exclusive commercial privileges and territorial possessions to the 1st of March, 1791. By this time they had become involved in the war with the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali, in the south of India, which, continued after the death of Hyder, in 1782, by his son Tippoo Saib, aided by the French, was not terminated till 1784. In November, 1783, Mr. Fox, then minister, brought forward his two bills for a new regulation of the affairs of the company, the fate of which has been elsewhere related. In the course of the discussions to which these measures gave rise in the House of Commons, it was stated that the sums contributed to the revenue for customs and excise upon the company's trade for the preceding fifteen years had amounted to not less than 19,889,673*l.*, besides which they had paid 2,569,399*l.* for being secured in their privileges and territorial revenue, and had in 1779 made the public the magnificent present of three seventy-fours and six thousand seamen, which cost them 109,002*l.* Their losses by the late war they estimated at 3,856,666*l.*, over and above the charges of the four unfortunate cargoes of tea sent to America in 1773. And during the whole fifteen years their dividends, about the extravagance of which so much was said, had only amounted to 3,788,644*l.* In January, 1784, Mr. Pitt, now first lord of the Treasury, brought in his first bill for the better government of India, the rejection of which occasioned the dissolution of parliament in March following; but his second bill, establishing the Board of Control, was passed by the new parliament in August of that same year.

The estimated value of the entire exports of the company in 1776 was 668,888*l.*, inclusive of 109,422*l.* of bullion; nor throughout the remainder of the period now under review did the amount of merchandise sent out vary much, although to the year 1784 inclusive the bullion never again amounted to much above 10,000*l.*, except in 1780, when it was 15,014*l.*, after which there was no export of gold or silver at all till the year 1785. In 1784 goods were exported to the value of 418,747*l.*, which was rather under the average amount. A very considerable proportion of the exports at this time still consisted of woollens: thus, the prime cost of the woollen goods taken out by the company in 1781 was 350,005*l.*; in 1782, 218,826*l.*; in 1783, 209,024*l.*; in 1784, 238,946*l.* Of these quantities there were sent in 1781 to Bengal to the value of 61,829*l.*, in 1784 to that of 32,305*l.*; to Madras in 1781 to the value of 20,742*l.*, in 1784 to that of 24,654*l.*; to Bombay in 1781 to the value of 118,176*l.*, in 1784 to that of 34,472*l.*; to China in 1781 to the value of 129,179*l.*, in 1784 to that of 146,741*l.*; to St. Helena in 1781 to the value of 79*l.*, in 1784 to that of 774*l.* From the year 1776 we have also an account of the estimated value of the imports of the company; from which it appears that in that year they amounted to 3,263,377*l.*, and that for the next seven years they fluctuated between 3,589,854*l.*, which was their amount in 1778, and 2,853,528*l.*, to which they fell in 1779. Tea continued to be the principal article brought home: the quantity, which in 1776 was 4,577,953 lbs., which sold for 777,011*l.* (including the duty), had risen by the year 1780 to 7,559,278 lbs., the produce of the sale of which (inclusive of the duty) was 1,309,305*l.* For the next three years the importations were somewhat less: but in 1783 the quantity of tea brought home by the company was still 5,857,883 lbs., and the produce of the sales, with the duty, 1,131,342*l.* With the year 1784 commenced a new era of the tea trade, the effect of Mr. Pitt's Commutation Act, passed in that year; the account of which, however, must be reserved for the next Book.

Another peculiarly circumstanced branch of our foreign commerce, as it was at this time considered, was our trade with Ireland. The modern commerce, and indeed civilization generally, of Ireland may be regarded as taking its commencement from the reign of James I. Chalmers quotes an unpublished document, from which it appears that in 1626, among the exports from Ireland were 449 tons of iron, 557 tons of lumber, 398,400 barrel staves, 409 hogshead staves, and 25,000 pipe staves. Lumber, the produce of a country not yet cleared of its natural woods, continued to

* Chalmers, p. 179.

be exported from Ireland even so late as 1669.* But, besides agricultural produce and fish, some coarse manufactures were also exported in the early part of the seventeenth century; and these other branches were improving as the timber trade declined. The great civil war swept away for a time all this growing prosperity; but after the Restoration the commerce rapidly revived; so that in the year 1665 the exports were estimated at 358,077*l.* Among them, for the first time, appears linen yarn (to the value of 17,385*l.*) and linen cloth (to that of 590*l.*): the remainder consisted of agricultural produce (including, however, some woollen goods), 309,808*l.*; fish, 24,107*l.*; skins of wild animals, 2687*l.*; wood, 2384*l.*; manufactured iron, 1116*l.* Of the entire exports England took about a half, consisting principally of live cattle, sheep, wool, linen, and yarn, and of about three-fourths of all the other articles.† The imports to Ireland that year were, from England 200,450*l.*; from foreign countries 135,593*l.*; in all 336,043*l.*; of which the tobacco amounted to 70,000*l.*, and the wine to 50,000*l.* By the year 1681 the Irish exports had risen to 582,814*l.* and the imports to 433,040*l.* The war of the Revolution again interrupted the progress of industry and trade; such indeed was the state to which the country was reduced by the distress of the time that the entire gross revenue collected in Ireland was in 1689 only 11,814*l.*, and in 1690 only 116,112*l.*; nor in 1694 was it more than 297,149*l.* But tranquil times gradually brought back the old prosperity; by the year 1697 the exports had again risen to 525,004*l.*, the imports to 423,182*l.*; and the next year, after the war with France had been terminated by the peace of Ryswick, the exports at once bounded up to 996,305*l.*, and the imports to 576,863*l.* The restrictions upon the rising woollen manufacture of Ireland, which were soon after this begun to be imposed by the English parliament, considerably affected the trade for 1700,‡ 1701, and 1702; but still for the three years ending with 1701 the average of the exports was 779,109*l.*, and that of the imports 726,559*l.* But the very prospect of war in 1702 reduced the exports to 493,435*l.*, and the imports to 475,158*l.*; nor did they recover their former amount till after the peace of Utrecht. For the three years, 1713, 1714, 1715, the average annual amount of the exports was 1,280,810*l.*; of the imports 882,829*l.* From this date, however, the trade rather declined for some years upon the whole, so that for the three years ending with 1728, the annual average of the exports was 1,035,575*l.*, and that of the imports 916,895*l.*; making together only 1,952,472*l.*, instead of 2,163,639*l.*, the amount of the two thirteen years before. Chalmers conceives that this falling off was principally owing to the uncertain condition of political affairs, and to the extensive stock-jobbing both in France and England, which had so shaken private credit. But in ten years more the trade of Ireland had recovered the point at which it stood at the beginning of the reign of George I. For the three years ending with 1738, the last of the peace, the exports averaged 1,232,446*l.*, the imports 951,548*l.*; making together 2,183,994*l.* And for the three years that followed the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—1749-50-51—the exports averaged 1,858,606*l.*, the imports 1,497,437*l.*; making a total of 3,356,043*l.** In the year 1755, again, the exports were 2,047,660*l.*, the imports 1,711,552*l.*; making an aggregate amount of 3,759,212*l.* Nor did even the war that broke out in the following year prevent the continuance of this advancing movement. For the three years ending with 1762, which were years of war, the average of the Irish exports was 2,274,422*l.*, of the imports 1,696,764*l.*; making together 3,971,186*l.* Much of this flourishing trade consisted in the exportation of beef, butter, and other provisions, the demand for which was rather augmented than otherwise by the war. But the peace that followed brought a still higher degree of prosperity; the average of the annual exports for the three years ending with 1772 having been 3,302,576*l.*, that of the imports 2,415,785*l.*; making a total of 5,718,361*l.* In the midst of the embarrassments of the colonial war the Irish successfully demanded freedom of trade and industry, as well as legislative independence and general political freedom; and various acts were passed by the English parliament in 1778, 1779, and 1780, for undoing the work of more than a century of restrictive policy. The following summary of these acts is given by Chalmers:—"By the 18 Geo. III., c. 55, certain goods were allowed to be exported directly from Ireland into the British plantations in America, and to the British settlements in Africa; and Irish-built ships were declared to be entitled to the same privileges as British. By the 18 Geo. III., c. 61, Papists were relieved from the disability of holding estates in Ireland. By the 19 Geo. III., c. 35, tobacco of Irish growth was allowed to be imported into Britain. By the 19 Geo. III., c. 37, bounties on the importation of Irish hemp were granted. By the 20 Geo. III., c. 6, restraints on the export of woollen drapery and glass from Ireland were repealed. By the 20 Geo. III., c. 10, a free trade with the British settlements in America, with the British West Indies, and the British settlements in Africa, was allowed. By the 20 Geo. III., c. 18, the Turkey trade was laid open to the Irish people; and by the same statute gold and silver were allowed to be exported to Ireland." Chalmers contends that, notwithstanding these concessions, the commerce of Ireland languished during the years 1780, 1781, and 1782: "The fact is," says he, "however men

* Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 409, note.

† These particulars Chalmers took from documents which he found in the paper-office, having been sent to Mr. Secretary Williamson by Sir Peter Pett (in the reign of Charles II.)—*Domestic Economy*, p. 412.

‡ See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 703.

* This is the total obtained by the addition of the sums given by Chalmers at p. 420. Elsewhere (p 416) he makes the total to be 3,554,042*l.*

may talk about freedom of trade, and whatever may be granted to the vehemence of their requests, without adequate capital, enlargement of enterprise, and the diffusion of correspondence, commerce cannot be much extended." But it appears, nevertheless, that the sum of the average annual exports and imports of Ireland for the three years ending with 1782, although these were years of war, rather exceeded the sum of those for the three years of peace ending with 1772; the exports being now 3,102,938*l.*, the imports 2,748,293*l.*; making together 5,851,231*l.* And Chalmers admits further that, as he rather splenetically expresses it, "the exports and imports of the subsequent years 1784 and 1785 did somewhat surpass the commerce of 1770-1-2, *after the United States had opened their guilty ports to the Irish trade.*"*

We may add, in connexion with this subject, that the legal rate of interest in Ireland had been reduced in 1704 from ten per cent. to eight; in 1722 to seven; and in 1732 to six per cent., at which it remained throughout the present period.

The royal navy at the commencement of the reign of George III. is stated to have consisted of 2 first-rates, carrying each from 96 to 110 guns; 11 second-rates, carrying from 84 to 90 guns; 60 third-rates, of from 64 to 80 guns; 43 fourth-rates, of from 48 to 60 guns; 71 fifth-rates, of from 26 to 44 guns; 40 sixth-rates, of from 16 to 24 guns; 68 sloops, of from 8 to 14 guns; 12 bomb-vessels; 10 fire-ships; 4 store-ships; 39 hired armed vessels; 7 royal yachts; and 5 small yachts; in all 372 vessels.† The entire registered measurement of the navy, which in 1754 had been 226,246 tons, was in 1760, 300,416 tons, but by 1774 had declined to 276,046 tons. During the six years of war, however, from 1775 to 1781, there were built, 44 ships of the line, carrying in all 3002 guns, and weighing 56,144 tons; 110 ships, carrying 3331 guns, and weighing 53,350 tons; and 160 sloops, carrying 2555 guns, and weighing 37,160 tons; making altogether an addition of 146,654 tons. Many of these ships were lost or taken in the course of the war; yet there were in commission in January, 1783, 20 men-of-war of from 80 to 108 guns; 44 of 74 guns; 45 of from 60 to 68; 18 of 50; 64 frigates, carrying each more than 30 guns; 15 frigates carrying less than 30 each; 110 sloops, of 18 guns and under; 15 fire-ships and bombs; and 26 hired armed ships; making in all 393 vessels, which were navigated by 104,978 seamen. And there were also 17 ships, of from 60 to 98 guns each, ready to be commissioned.‡

We may here note the progress of the revenue of the post-office during the present period, as affording perhaps a better index than any other single fact of the advancing commercial activity of the nation. A considerable reform of the system of the post-office signalised the commencement of this period, and a still greater its close. The former, effected by an act passed in 1764, consisted in the regulation of the privilege of franking, which up to this time was exercised by the member of parliament, or other authorized person, simply writing his name on the corner of a blank cover, and leaving the person to whom it was given afterwards to add any address he pleased. Parcels of such franks used to be obtained from members by their friends and put aside for use, just as the stamped covers sold by the post-office now are; and there was even a regular trade carried on in the retailing of franks, which it was common for the servants of members to ask their masters to sign in great numbers at a time. Franks, too, were believed to be forged to a large extent, however unnecessary that would appear to be under so very liberal a system. On the whole it was calculated that, if the usual rates were paid upon all the franked letters that passed through the post-office, the addition to the annual revenue of that establishment would have been not less than 170,000*l.* In 1755, only nine years before this time, the gross income of the post-office was no more than 210,663*l.*; and even for the year ending 5th April, 1765, after the new system, which considerably restricted the privilege of franking, had been nearly twelve months in operation, it was only 281,535*l.* The rates were raised in 1765, but it may be doubted if that measure did not rather check the advancing productiveness of the establishment. By 1775, however, the gross revenue had risen to 345,321*l.*; and in 1784 it was 420,101*l.* The great plan of reform suggested by the celebrated John Palmer was now brought into operation. A curious account of the old post-office system is given in the exposition of his scheme which was submitted by Mr. Palmer to Mr. Pitt in 1783. "The post at present," says this memoir, "instead of being the swiftest, is almost the slowest conveyance in this country; and though, from the great improvement in our roads, other carriers have proportionably mended their speed, the post is as slow as ever. It is likewise very unsafe, as the frequent robberies of it testify; and, to avoid a loss of this nature, people generally cut bank-bills, or bills at sight, in two, and send the parts by different posts. The postmaster-general lately advertised directions to the public how to divide a bill in such a manner as to prevent its being of any use to the robber. Rewards have also been frequently offered by him for the best constructed mail-cart, on some plan to prevent the frequent robbery of the mail, but without effect. Indeed, it is at present generally entrusted to some idle boy, without character, mounted on a worn-out hack, and who, so far from being able to defend himself, or escape from a robber, is much more likely to be in league with him." The existence of such a state of things as this little more than fifty years ago is a fact which it strains one's faith or imagination fully to believe or understand. Yet, notwithstanding all this social barbarism, for so we may truly call it, the common

* Domestic Economy, p. 425.
† Macpherson, Annals, iii. 350.
‡ Chalmers, Domestic Economy, pp. 161—163.

coaches or diligences, as they appear to have been designated, had already made a considerable advance to the admirable system of speed and punctuality which they afterwards attained, and which, now that a still more rapid mode of locomotion is everywhere taking its place, we may venture to describe as the perfection of horse travelling on common roads. Palmer mentions that the diligence which in 1783 left Bath at four or five o'clock on Monday afternoon would deliver a letter in London about ten on Tuesday morning, which is nearly as much as would be done even yet by some of the coaches on that road, or at least that were on it some two or three years ago. The post, however, that left Bath at ten or eleven on Monday night did not at this time deliver its letters in London till two or three on Wednesday afternoon, and frequently not till much later. The only advantage of the post was its greater cheapness; the postage of a letter from Bath to London was only 4*d.*; whereas booking, carriage, and porterage made the charge by the diligence amount to about 2*s.*; "nevertheless," says the memoir, "many persons both at Bath and Bristol send by the latter; and, indeed, throughout the kingdom, every letter to which expedition is necessary is now sent by diligences, where they are established." Diligences, it is added, were now established from almost every town in the kingdom to London, and also between many of the principal towns, as from Bath and Bristol to Birmingham, Liverpool, Chester, Oxford, Exeter, Plymouth, Portsmouth, &c. Besides his admirable suggestions for the acceleration of the mails, and for ensuring both the safety of the letters and the punctuality of their transmission and delivery, Palmer, whom Pitt, greatly to his credit, appointed to superintend the carrying of his own plans into effect in the character of comptroller-general of the post-office, advised that the rates of postage should be somewhat altered, and also that the privilege of franking should be still further regulated and curtailed; and this was done by an act of parliament passed in 1784, which required members not only to write the whole address on each letter, but to add besides the name of the post-town from which it was to be sent, and the date in words; so that the letter, if dispatched on any other day, should be charged with postage. The immediate effect of these improvements was to raise the gross income of the establishment for the year ending 5th April, 1785, to 463,753*l.*, and the increase was steadily progressive for many years after.

The only novelty in the history of our coinage within the present period was the coinage of gold pieces of the value of 5*s.* 3*d.*, called quarter-guineas, in 1761. These pieces, however, from their smallness, were found inconvenient, and they continued in circulation only for a few years. Scarcely any silver was coined in the first twenty-five years of the reign of George III.; but the quantity of gold was very great, nearly 20,000,000*l.* in guineas and half-guineas having issued from the mint only in the five years from 1773 to 1777 inclusive, after all the old gold in circulation had been called in.

At the commencement of the present period the annual average produce of wheat in England and Wales was estimated at 3,800,000 quarters, of which about 300,000 quarters were exported, with a bounty of 5*s.* the quarter. The year 1763 terminated a cycle of about half a century in which the harvests had been unusually productive, and only five had been decidedly unfavourable during that long period. The average price of wheat for the whole fifty years was only 34*s.* 11*d.* the quarter; and in 1761 the average price for the year was so low as 26*s.* 10½*d.* the quarter. After 1765 the harvests were scarcely favourable for ten successive years, and in several of these years the crops were so deficient as to lead to the suspension of the bounty on exportation. In the ten years ending with 1774 the average price of wheat was 51*s.* the quarter, that for the year 1773 being 59*s.* 1½*d.*, or 119 per cent. higher than the average price for 1761. In 1763 and 1764 the country was enabled to export 820,000 quarters in the two years, but in 1767 and 1768, the seasons being unfavourable, it became necessary to import 830,000 quarters of wheat. In 1773, after repeated suspensions of the bounty, a new act was passed, which admitted foreign wheat at a nominal duty of 6*d.* whenever the price in the home market was at or above 48*s.* the quarter; and when the price was 44*s.* exportation was prohibited, and the bounty of 5*s.* of course became inoperative. Although wheat was exported in years of abundance down to the termination of the period, yet the balance was constantly inclining in the other direction. In the ten years from 1760 to 1769 the excess of export (of wheat) over import was 1,384,000 quarters; in the next ten years, ending 1779, the excess was on the other side, and the imports exceeded the exports by 431,000 quarters; in the last five years of the period (1780-5) the excess of imports was 410,000 quarters.

In addition to the effect of unfavourable seasons in diminishing the productiveness of the home crops, the demands of an increasing population tended to render the importation of wheat constantly necessary. Wheaten bread, also, was more and more becoming the common diet of the poorer classes. To provide food for the additional numbers of the population, lands were enclosed and arable cultivation extended. This process was much more active during the present period than in the reign of George II., for, while the number of enclosure bills passed in the thirty-three years of that reign averaged only seven per annum, they amounted to forty-seven per annum in the twenty-five years from 1760 to 1785, the entire number being 385 in the first ten years, 660 in the second ten years, and 141 in the five years ending 1785.

Besides the additional breadth of land brought into cultivation, improvements in the various processes of agriculture tended to increase the acreable produce of the soil. So long, however, as there

existed large tracts of waste land capable of being rendered arable, the stimulus to improvement was deprived of some of its force. The writers on agriculture in this period inform us that farmers were commonly slovenly in their husbandry, slow to practise new modes of culture, or to make use of new implements. Improvements were for the most part confined to the more intelligent of the country gentlemen and to noblemen of large landed property. In every part of the kingdom there were some estates cultivated according to the most approved principles of agriculture, as then understood, and these served as models to the more intelligent tenant farmers of the surrounding country. On these estates new methods of tillage were constantly employed, and new implements of husbandry introduced; experiments were tried on the quantities of seed most proper to be sown—on the best adaptation of crops to particular soils—on the most beneficial succession of crops—on the fertility of different kinds of manure;* and crops which had till now been confined to the garden, as turnips, potatoes, cabbages, carrots, parsnips, &c., were cultivated on a larger scale in the field as food for cattle. An intelligent and enterprising spirit of inquiry and improvement was encouraged by societies for the improvement of agriculture, whose publications and reports extended a knowledge of improved practices in the various departments of British husbandry.

There were several districts which at the commencement of the period were superior in their agriculture to the rest of the kingdom, as East Kent and the Isle of Thanet, Northumberland, Norfolk, and Suffolk. In Norfolk and Suffolk the great improvement of the introduction of turnips as a field crop rendered it unnecessary to allow the land to lie fallow in order to restore its fertility, and the rotation of turnips, barley, clover or artificial grasses, and wheat, which soon became general in these two counties, converted light and unproductive soils into rich and fertile farms. The drill husbandry was an important feature of the agriculture of East Kent. On the large farms in Northumberland improvements were more general than in counties where farms were generally of smaller extent. Looking however at the ordinary methods practised by the common farmers, it would have been difficult to recognize much improvement since the commencement of the century. Arthur Young attributes this state of things to low rents, and he adduces numerous instances in which, on rents being raised, a more spirited system of farming was immediately commenced, the results of which were advantageous both to the tenant and the landlord. The same writer states that clover, sainfoin, and other artificial grasses, were comparatively unknown amongst common farmers. In his tour in the year 1769, embracing the counties north of London to Northumberland inclusive, he found clover common but not general, though more common than he expected; and yet this valuable plant had then been cultivated in this country for above a century. Turnips were by this time become a general crop in every part of the country, but they were seldom hoed. In his observations on the different modes of tillage, Arthur Young states that "custom alone has been the guide of the farmers in the number of draught cattle they use." He found the same number employed on loam soils as on the clays, and on light sands only one-seventh less than on clay; and, the number of cattle on the stiff soils being much greater than was necessary, the waste of labour on the lighter soils was shown in a still more extravagant light; while, to crown all, the quantity of land ploughed per day was about equal on every description of soil. These proofs of carelessness and of the blindest devotion to custom, in one of the most important operations of husbandry, show that agriculture, as a national interest, was not in that position which demands the utmost attention to economical arrangements. The Rotherham plough, the single-wheeled plough, and the Norfolk plough, were used by some of the more intelligent farmers; but, generally speaking, the strong, heavy, two-wheeled ploughs, which required four horses, a ploughman, and a driver, were to be seen, instead of the improved ploughs, which were equally serviceable with only two horses and one man. On the whole, however, this writer states it as his opinion that the agriculture of England was every day improving. The general average produce of wheat in the counties visited by him in his Northern Tour (estimated from the minutes of two hundred and fifty farms comprising seventy thousand acres of every description of soil under every variety of cultivation) was three quarters per acre; barley four quarters; oats four and a half quarters; rye three quarters three bushels, which was more than he had anticipated. The average quantity of seed was two bushels one peck per acre for wheat. Perhaps we may be justified in the conclusion, that, however inferior, careless, and unscientific the common farmers might usually be, the art of agriculture, as practised by many individuals, was gradually, and even, it may be, rapidly, advancing, and that the stimulus of an increased demand from the growth of manufactures was the chief means required to diminish the disparity between the best cultivated farms and those which were of inferior character.

The average rental of England and Wales was estimated in 1769, by Arthur Young, at 16,000,000*l.*, exclusive of houses, or 10*s.* per acre on sixteen million acres of arable and sixteen million acres of grass land, excluding land occupied by towns, buildings, &c., but inclusive of waste lands. He states that in all parts of the country landlords were evincing a desire to curtail the period of leases, and, though many granted them for seven years, others were unwilling to do so for more than three. The irregularity of prices and their consequent rise during the unfavourable seasons which occurred after 1763 may have led to this desire on

* Bone-dust was used by Colonel St. Leger, near Doncaster, in 1765, and salt by the Marquess of Rockingham at Wentworth.

the part of the landlords, so essential is steadiness of price to the establishment of contracts of sufficient duration to enable the tenant freely to apply his capital to the soil, and to give to the owner his fair share in the profits of its improvement, without their mutual interests being opposed to each other as prices suddenly rise or fall. To the fluctuation of prices subsequent to the present period we may impute, more than to any other cause, the almost entire absence of leases in our own day in many parts of the country. During the greater part of the century it was a popular fallacy that population was declining, which was attributed to the monopoly of the land by large farmers; but the statistical tables in Arthur Young's Northern Tour* show that on an average the size of farms was under three hundred acres; and that on large farms the number of persons employed was greater than on small farms.

The breeds of cattle and sheep were greatly improved during this period. Bakewell was the earliest and most successful cultivator of this department of rural economy, and he was assiduously followed by the more opulent agriculturists. He has been said to have "created" a new breed of cattle, the superiority of which consisted in smallness of bone and aptitude to fatten, while at the same time they were small consumers of food.† Very little attention had been paid to improvement in the breed of sheep before Mr. Bakewell's time. From the large, heavy, coarse-woolled breed, common to Leicestershire, and a tract of country reaching from Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire to the Yorkshire Wolds, he produced a breed of greater symmetry, which fattened on smaller quantities of food and came earlier to maturity.‡ Mr. Bakewell began his improvements in stock-breeding at the very commencement of the period, and they were probably the most important which took place in the rural economy of the first quarter of a century of the reign of George III.

A retrospective glance at the state of the useful arts generally at the close of the period immediately preceding the accession of George III. will show that the national industry was on the eve of very important changes and extension. Improvements in the means of social and commercial intercourse, which, if they do not always precede, are invariably found to be connected with, the fuller development of the productive resources of a nation, were then exciting more attention than they had done at any previous time. Although the first turnpike-road was established by an act of parliament passed in 1663,§ the progress of this class of improvements was, for many years, but slow; owing partly to the violent opposition raised by the prejudices of the people, who demolished the toll-gates or bars on some of the earliest established roads. After the peace of 1748 the extension of turnpike-roads was more rapid, and it does not appear to have been checked, any more than the introduction of canal navigation, by the war in which the country was involved in the latter years of George II.* The improvement just alluded to —canal navigation—afforded facilities for the increase of manufactures and internal commerce beyond what improved roads could supply, by providing the most economical means of conveyance for raw materials and manufactured goods, and a cheap mode of transport for fuel and provisions to all parts of the country; while, as is observed by Macpherson, canals were also of great benefit to foreign trade, "by facilitating the exportation of produce from, and the introduction of foreign merchandise into, the interior parts of the country, which are thus placed on a level with the maritime parts; or, in other words, the interior parts become coasts, and enjoy the accommodations of shipping."† Before the time of George II. very little had been done to extend the inland navigation of this country, and that little was chiefly in the way of improving the natural channels; but with the Sankey Brook navigation, the act for which was obtained in 1755; or perhaps more correctly with the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, which was formed under an act of the 32nd year of George II. (1758-9), a new system of still-water navigation was introduced, which extended so rapidly, that during the reign of George III. between two and three thousand miles of canal were made; rendering our system of inland navigation so perfect, that it has been said there is no spot in England, south of Durham, which is more than fifteen miles from water communication. While the improved facilities of transit thus introduced were affording free scope for the extension of the national industry, the adaptation of the steam-engine to a variety of useful purposes was preparing the means of indefinitely increasing the extent and improving the character of our manufactures. Down to the close of the period preceding that on which we are about to enter, this machine was cumbersome and expensive to work, and only adapted for the simple purpose of pumping water from mines.‡ The improvements of Watt, which claim a prominent notice in every history of the reign of George III., converted it into a machine alike capable of exerting boundless force, or performing the most delicate operations; and it is not too much to say, with Sir Humphry Davy,§ that, "during the last long war, his inventions and their application were amongst the great means which enabled Britain to display power and resources so infinitely above what might have been expected from the numerical strength of her population." Notwithstanding the difficulties and prejudices to be overcome in the introduction of the steam-engine as a moving power for manufacturing and other purposes, it was stated by Mr. Boulton,

* Vol. iv. p. 346.
† 'Cattle,' in Lib. of Useful Knowledge.
‡ 'Sheep,' in Lib. of Useful Knowledge.
§ 15 Car. II. c. 1. See Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iii. p. 865.

* Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 329.
† Id. vol. iii. p. 334.
‡ Some particulars respecting the history of the steam-engine, prior to its improvement by Watt, will be found in the Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iv. pp. 729, and 777—779.
§ Speech at the public meeting at Freemasons' Hall, June 18, 1824, for erecting a monument to Watt.

son to the able coadjutor of Watt, in 1824,* that a power equal to that which would require the maintenance of one hundred thousand horses had been furnished from the single establishment to which Mr. Watt belonged; and he further observed, that, "assuming that power to be exercised during three hundred days in the course of the year, the saving arising from the substitution of steam power in lieu of the exertions of the animals themselves, would not be less than three millions of pounds sterling per annum." "Extending this calculation," added Mr. Boulton, "to the whole of the steam power produced and used throughout the kingdom, we shall be supplied with a clear indication to one of the sources of power and wealth which have supported this nation through its late arduous struggle, and which have accelerated the renovation of its impaired energies with a celerity exciting surprise in every reflecting mind."

At the time when the steam-engine was receiving those improvements which fitted it to become the prime mover in manufacturing operations, the mechanical genius of the country was perfecting important inventions in other departments of machinery, which, in connexion with it, have introduced manufactures previously unknown among us, and given new energy to those formerly existing. The production of cotton fabrics, in particular, which is now carried on to so vast an extent, and forms so important a branch of the industry of the nation, was changed during this reign from a comparatively trifling domestic manufacture to a system exhibiting the most astonishing amount of mechanical contrivance; and so nearly automatic, that human intervention is scarcely required except for the purpose of oversight; muscular exertion being superseded either by the force of a current of water or the still more unlimited power of steam, while the most delicate operations are performed by means of ingenious mechanism with a precision unattainable by the most skilful hand. The application of our inexhaustible treasures of coal to the smelting and manufacture of the valuable deposits of iron ore with which Britain abounds, by giving an impetus to the construction of machinery, aided greatly in the improvement and development of those processes which had previously been rendered in some degree independent of mere animal labour, while it led to the use of mechanical contrivances in many cases in which they were not before applied.

While turnpike-roads were increasing greatly in number during the quarter of a century included in the period now to be treated of, as evidenced by the fact that not less than four hundred and fifty-two acts of parliament for repairing highways were passed between 1760 and 1774,† it does not appear that right principles of road-making were generally understood. The Tours of Arthur Young, of which the first—that through the Southern counties of England and Wales—was published in 1768, and the second—that in the North of England—in 1770, contain many notices respecting the state of the roads at that period, and show that their condition was, with a few exceptions, anything but creditable to the nation. When travelling in Essex he gives the following account of a parish or by-road:—"Of all the cursed roads that ever disgraced this kingdom, in the very ages of barbarism, none ever equalled that from Billericay to the King's Head at Tilbury. It is for near twelve miles so narrow, that a mouse cannot pass by any carriage. I saw a fellow creep under his waggon to assist me to lift, if possible, my chaise over a hedge. The ruts are of an incredible depth, and a pavement of diamonds might as well be sought for as a quarter. The trees everywhere overgrow the road, so that it is totally impervious to the sun, except at a few places. And, to add to all the infamous circumstances which concur to plague a traveller, I must not forget the eternally meeting with chalk-waggons; themselves frequently stuck fast, till a collection of them are in the same situation, and twenty or thirty horses may be tacked to each to draw them out one by one. After this description, will you—can you believe me, when I tell you that a turnpike was much solicited for by some gentlemen, to lead from Chelmsford to the ferry at Tilbury Fort, but opposed by the Bruins of this country, whose horses are worried to death with bringing chalk through these vile roads? I do not imagine that the kingdom produces such an instance of detestable stupidity; and yet in this tract are found numbers of farmers, who cultivate above 1000*l.* a-year."* That the author's indignation had not been excited in this instance by finding an *extraordinary* or *unusual* specimen of defective road-making, is evident from his frequent notices of similar cases, in which turnpikes figure as conspicuously as other roads. In the same work he expresses himself "infinitely surprised to find the same stony, hard, rough, and cursed roads, miscalled turnpikes, all the way from Gloucester to Newnham, which is twelve miles." "It is all a narrow lane," he says, "and most infamously stony;"† and he adds that he found, by the ruts, that the waggons in this district had their wheels full three inches nearer to each other than in the eastern counties; so that a Norfolk or Suffolk waggon could not even stir in this *turnpike*-road. Even in Lancashire, where the greatest modern improvements in the means of communication have since been so encouraged as to render the contrast between the past and present state of things more remarkable, Young seems to be at a loss for words to express the demerits of the principal roads of that day. Of the turnpike from Preston to Wigan he writes, "I know not, in the whole range of language, terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. To look over a map, and perceive that it is a principal one, not only to some towns,

* Speech at Freemasons' Hall.
† Chalmers's Domestic Economy, p. 150.

* Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales. 2nd edit., 1769, pp. 88 and 89.
† Ibid. p. 143.

but even whole counties, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent; but let me most seriously caution all travellers, who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil; for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs by overthrows or breakings down. They will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep, and floating with mud only from a wet summer; what, therefore, must they be after a winter? The only mending it receives is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory."*

It appears from the incidental remarks of this writer that in many cases where mending was attempted it was done merely by throwing large stones carelessly upon the road, without regard to the necessity of uniting them into a compact mass. The stones used for this purpose seem to have been frequently of most preposterous dimensions, of which an instance is mentioned in the roads near Chepstow; "the turnpikes! as they have the assurance to call them, and the hardiness to make one pay for." These were, we are told, "mere rocky lanes, full of hugeous stones as big as one's horse, and abominable holes."† A few cases are mentioned in which correct principles had been acted upon; the stones being broken into very small pieces, so that they might bind together, and the road levelled and widened, by which means the formation of deep ruts was avoided. The road from Salisbury to Romsey, and thence for four miles towards Winchester, is particularly noticed: Young says that it was, without exception, the finest he ever saw. Respecting this road he made particular inquiries, from the answers to which he gives the following account of its formation:—"They first lay a foundation of large stones, which they level with smaller ones; then make a layer of chalk, on that gravel, and, lastly, another of sifted gravel, exceedingly fine, and in some places tending towards sand."‡ The road, being made of a good width, the surface gently sloped to throw off water, and carefully kept free from ruts, had scarcely the print of a wheel to be seen upon it, and Young states that he believes there was not a loose stone to make a horse stumble in the whole nineteen miles. This road, which would be creditable even to a modern road-maker, is sufficient to show that there were some road-makers who understood their art, notwithstanding the wretched state of most of the highways. In some cases the turnpike-roads were paved, but very badly, and only to a width sufficient for a single carriage. The pavement was therefore soon dislocated, and the passage of vehicles meeting each other on such a road was attended with inconvenience and danger.

* Six Months' Tour through the North of England, 1770-1, vol. iv. pp. 430, 431.

† Six Weeks' Tour, p. 153. ‡ Id., p. 207.

As connected with the improvement and extension of the means of internal communication, the erection of bridges may be adverted to. Many remarkable works of this character were executed during the present period; and the introduction of cast-iron bridges, hereafter to be further noticed, forms an era in this department of engineering. Without attempting to enumerate works of minor importance, the bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars—the third of the bridges of London in point of date, although, since the removal of old London bridge, the second in age—must not be passed without particular notice. This structure was projected at least as early as 1754; but, owing to the difficulty of raising money, and other circumstances, it was 1759 before drawings and models were received for examination. The design of Mr. Mylne, the engineer by whom the bridge was erected, was at first objected to on account of the elliptical form of the arches, which had been adopted by him as affording the least possible obstruction to the navigation at all states of the tide, without raising the carriage-way to an inconvenient height; but this objection was overruled, a favourable report being made by scientific persons to whom the matter was referred. The bridge was commenced in 1760, and finished about ten years afterwards, at a cost of 152,840*l.*, though the embankments and approaches, and other expenses connected with the work, raised the total outlay to nearly 300,000*l.* A toll was taken originally; but after a few years the shares were bought up by government, and the bridge was thrown open to the public. It consists of nine elliptical arches, of which the central one is 100 feet span; and the total length is 1035 feet. It is much to be regretted that this beautiful bridge, certainly one of the finest then erected, is built of Portland stone, which is very deficient in durability for such works. It had consequently become so much injured by decay as to require very extensive repairs, for effecting which an act of parliament was obtained in 1833. The renovation was commenced shortly after, and completed in 1840.*

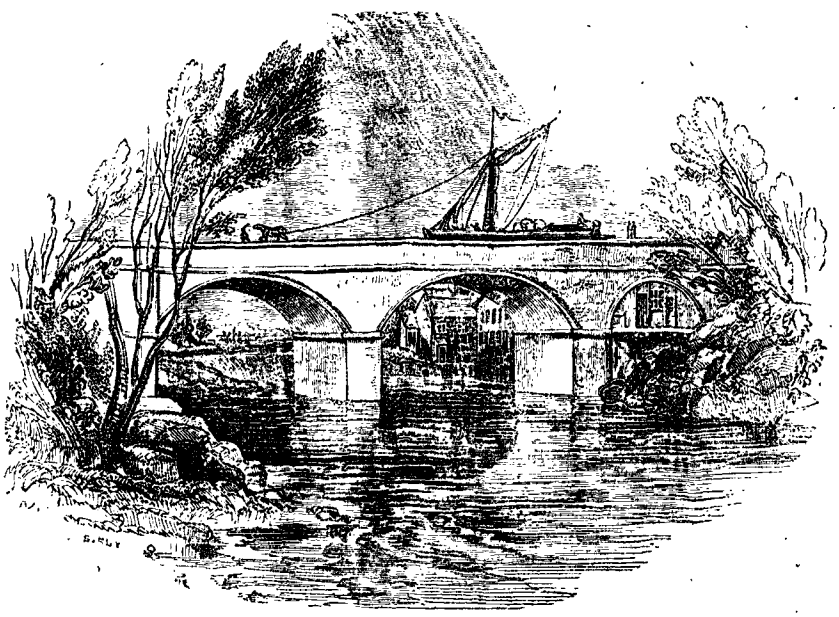
The progress of railways during the period under

* Though not falling strictly within the range of the present portion of our history, the celebrated Pont y Pridd presents itself as an example of enterprise and skill too honourable to its humble architect to be overlooked. This bridge was built by an uneducated Welsh mason, named Edwards. It crosses the river Taff, in a situation where the great breadth of the river, and its liability to sudden and heavy floods, presented unusual difficulties. Though Edwards had never been engaged on such a work before, he designed and executed an elegant bridge of three arches; giving security for its standing seven years. This structure was commenced in 1746, and stood well for two years and a half after its completion, when an extraordinary flood brought down large trees, that had been torn up by the roots, and which stopped against the piers of the bridge, and occasioned an obstruction which dammed up the water until it obtained sufficient force to burst through the obstacle, and destroy the bridge. Edwards then determined to span the river by a single arch of the then almost unexampled size of 140 feet, and had completed the bridge a second time, all to the parapets, when it fell, owing to the weight of the haunches forcing the keystones up out of their place. Still undismayed, the ingenious mason rebuilt the arch, of the same dimensions, making three cylindrical holes in each of the haunches, to lighten them. The third bridge was completed in 1755, and still stands—a rare monument of the indomitable perseverance of a British artisan. The height of the arch is 35 feet, and it is a segment of a circle of 175 feet diameter. Some particulars respecting Edwards may be found in the *Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*, vol. ii. pp. 353 &c., forming part of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge."

consideration was not so great as might be expected, considering the bad state of the ordinary roads, and the advantages which had long before been realized from the introduction of wooden railways or tramroads, which had been used in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for about a century, without receiving any very material improvement.* When Arthur Young visited this part of the country he described them as follows :—"The coal-waggon roads, from the pits to the water, are great works, carried over all sorts of inequalities of ground, so far as the distance of nine or ten miles. The tracks of the wheels are marked with pieces of timber let into the road for the wheels of the waggons to run on, by which means one horse is enabled to draw, and that with ease, fifty or sixty bushels of coals."† It was usual to make these waggon-ways with as uniform a descent as possible, so long as the slope was not so steep as to endanger the horses in descending, in which case the inconveniently steep parts were formed into steep inclined planes, down which the waggons were allowed to run by gravity, their speed being checked by the use of crooked pieces of wood, called *brakes*, or *convoys*, pressing upon the wheels, and thereby retarding their revolution. This arrangement led to the adoption of the contrivance known as the self-acting inclined plane, in which, by the intervention of a rope passing round a large wheel at the top of the inclination, the descent of a loaded carriage or train caused the simultaneous ascent of an empty one. Wooden railways were used in some other situations as well as at the Newcastle collieries, and on one of them, at the Colebrook Dale iron-works, the use of cast-iron plates to cover the wooden rails was first tried about the year 1767. In 1776 cast-iron rails with an upright flange to guide the wheels were first used in subterraneous railways at the Duke of Norfolk's colliery, near Sheffield, and from that time iron was generally used instead of wood. Iron wheels had been used for the waggons some years before.

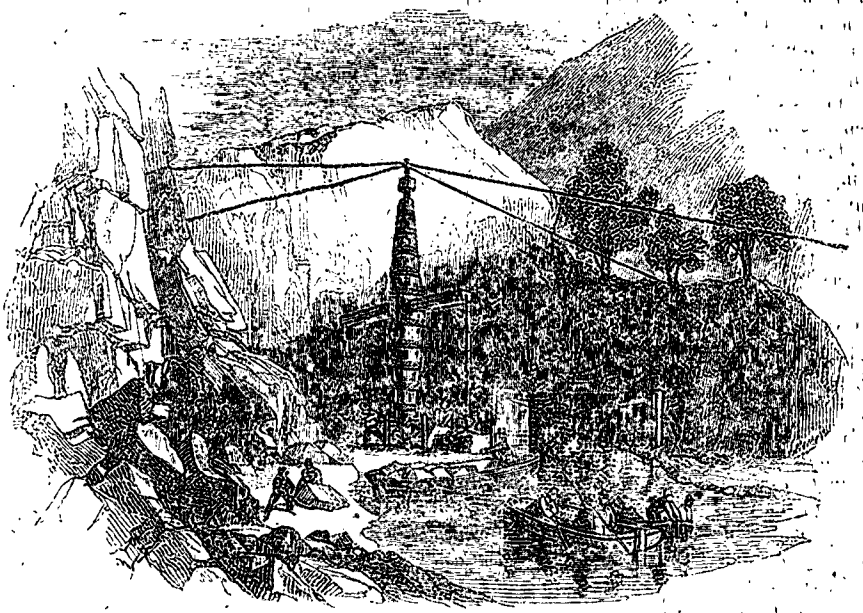
But, while railways were receiving some of the earliest of those improvements that were to fit them for the important position they were subsequently to assume, navigable canals were coming into successful operation upon a large scale. When the Duke of Bridgewater's canal was projected, and it was proposed to conduct it on a perfect level by boldly deviating from the natural surface of the ground, the undertaking was considered by many to be impracticable, and persons were not wanting to question or deny its utility if accomplished. One

* Roger North's account of these roads, in 1676, is given in the Pictorial Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 730, note.
† Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. p. 9.



AQUEDUCT OVER THE IRWELL. From an Anonymous Print.

of the most remarkable features of the plan was an aqueduct bridge to conduct the canal over the river Irwell at an elevation of about thirty-nine feet; the approaches to the aqueduct being formed by long and high embankments. Though this work was ridiculed as a "castle in the air" by another engineer to whom the design was submitted, it was successfully accomplished by Brindley, and opened on the 17th of July, 1761; affording the remarkable spectacle of a channel in which boats are moved with the greatest possible ease at an elevation of nearly forty feet above the Irwell navigation, where boats may be seen at the same time making their way up the stream by being dragged with great labour. At Worsley the canal is conducted into the heart of the coal-mine by a tunnel



Entrance to the Tunnel at Worsley. From a Print in Young's Tour.

with several branches, thereby affording the greatest possible facilities for loading the boats. The construction of tunnels, aqueducts, embankments, &c., was then a novelty to Englishmen, and the difficulty and expense of such works render it by no means surprising that, in the absence of successful precedents, doubts should have been entertained as to the remunerative character of such undertakings, especially where they had to maintain a rivalry with established river navigations, which was the case when the Duke's canal was extended so as to form, in connexion with the Mersey, a new means of communication between Manchester and Liverpool. Yet this canal was not long finished before, to adopt the language of Fulton, "the eyes of the people began to open; the Duke could work on his canal when floods or dry seasons interrupted the navigation of the Mersey. This gave a certainty and punctuality in the carriage of merchandise, and insured a preference to the canal. The emoluments arising to the Duke were not to be mistaken, and, perseverance having vanquished prejudice, the fire of speculation was lighted, and canals became the subject of general conversation."* The Duke of Bridgewater eventually greatly extended his original plan, which had been limited to the object of conveying coal from Worsley to Manchester; and, the advantages of this class of improvements being rendered evident, while their difficulties had been overcome by the master-mind of Brindley, other canals quickly spread over the country, producing the most important benefits to the districts which they rendered more easily accessible. Before the completion of the canal to Worsley, coal was retailed in Manchester at 7*d.* per cwt., but after it was opened the price was reduced to 3½*d.*, and six score were given to the cwt. The effect of the extension of this canal to the Mersey at Runcorn was to reduce the charge for the conveyance of goods by water from Manchester to Liverpool from 12*s.* to 6*s.* per ton; the cost of land carriage being as high as 40*s.* The number of canal acts passed between 1760 and 1774 was only nineteen,* the most rapid extension of these works not taking place till after the close of the American war; but in most of the canals executed before his death, in 1772, Brindley took an active

Brindley. From an Anonymous Portrait.

part. The Trent and Mersey, or Grand Trunk Canal, which was commenced under his superintendence in 1766, presents an example of the boldness of this wonderful man in the early days of

* Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation, 1796, p. 9.

* Chalmers's Domestic Economy, p. 151.

British civil engineering; the canal being conducted through a hill at Harecastle, in Staffordshire, by a tunnel 2880 yards long, 12 feet wide, and 9 high, at a depth in some parts of 70 yards from the natural surface of the ground.*

Improvements in the means of communication have been placed at the head of the notices of subjects affecting the national industry, because their influence may be considered more or less common to all its branches. On the same principle the steam-engine will claim attention before the numerous processes upon which it had a stimulating effect.

Although the machines of Savery had been successfully applied in a few instances in draining mines, it is perhaps not too much to say that the first really efficient steam-engine was constructed about 1711, under a patent obtained in 1705 by Newcomen and others; and this rude and simple machine continued for about sixty years, without any very material improvement, and without rivalry, to be much used in draining mines, and occasionally for other purposes. Even long after the improvements of Watt had been in successful operation, this, which was called the atmospheric engine, was preferred by some for its greater simplicity. "When it was first introduced, many valuable mines could not be worked on account of the accumulation of water. This engine not only rendered these available, but enabled others to be deepened and new ones to be opened, which could not have been done without some powerful means of raising water, cheap, safe, and manageable, which was not known till Newcomen's engine appeared. His engine was soon applied and continued to be used with great advantage in the coal-mines of the north of England, the tin and copper-mines of Cornwall, and the lead-mines of Cumberland, &c. It was employed in cities for supplying the inhabitants with water; in 1752, and afterwards, it was used for raising water to drive water-wheels for mills; it was used for blowing the air into the blast-furnaces for smelting iron ore; and was soon taken advantage of on the continent for similar purposes." † In 1769, when Smeaton made experiments which led to great improvements in the proportions of this kind of engine, there were fifty-seven engines in operation at Newcastle, exerting a power equal to that of 1188 horses.

In order to a full comprehension of the achievements of Watt, it is necessary to refer to the construction of Newcomen's engine. This machine consisted of a vertical cylinder, open at the top, and communicating at the bottom with a boiler in which steam was generated. A piston, moving air-tight in the cylinder, was suspended from one end of a massive beam, vibrating on gudgeons, to the opposite extremity of which the pump-rods were attached; these being so weighted that, when the machine was left to itself, they would depress

SMEATON. From a Picture ascribed to Mortimer.

their end of the beam, and thereby raise the piston (attached to the other end) to the top of the cylinder. Steam was then admitted from the boiler, so as to fill the cylinder; and, when full, the further access of steam being prevented, a jet of cold water was thrown into the cylinder, which, by condensing the steam, produced a partial vacuum beneath the piston. The piston was therefore forced down by the pressure of the atmosphere on its upper surface, with sufficient power to work the pumps connected with the beam. Steam being again admitted, the piston was drawn up by the balance-weight, and the same operation repeated. Thus the power was obtained from the pressure of the air, as indicated by the name "*atmospheric* engine;" steam being used simply as affording a convenient means of producing a vacuum by its condensation. Independently of the loss of power occasioned by the imperfect construction of the earlier machines, this kind of engine was attended with a very serious defect—the alternate heating and cooling of the cylinder, by which much steam was lost. After the cylinder had been cooled by the injection of water and the influx of cold air, it had to be raised to the temperature of the steam before it could be ready for another stroke. A considerable quantity of steam was wasted in effecting this; and, when done, the cylinder being too hot to allow the instant condensation of steam, time was lost in cooling it again. The amount of heat lost from this cause was estimated by Watt to be three times as much as was applied to the efficient action of the engine.

The attention of Watt appears to have been first directed to the steam-engine about 1759, when he was engaged as mathematical-instrument maker to the University of Glasgow, by his intimate friend Robison, then a student in the university (after-

* After this tunnel had been in use about half a century it was found necessary, in consequence of the increased traffic on the canal, either to enlarge it or to make another alongside of it, of much greater size. The latter alternative was chosen, and a new tunnel was made under the direction of Telford, which affords an interesting illustration of the great advances made in engineering science since the days of Brindley; for, while his (then unparalleled) work occupied eleven years, the larger tunnel of our own day was executed in less than three years.

† Reid on the Steam Engine, p. 111.

wards Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh), who conceived the possibility of applying steam to the propulsion of wheel-carriages. Shortly after Watt tried some experiments with high-pressure steam, but abandoned them, it is supposed mainly on account of the danger of bursting his apparatus. In 1763 he was engaged to repair a working model of Newcomen's engine, in doing which his active mind was led to investigate its defects, and ultimately to provide an effectual remedy. After a series of interesting experiments on the properties of steam he arrived at the conclusion that, in order to make the best use of it, the cylinder should always be as hot as the steam which entered it; and in 1765 he contrived his first engine, in which this important object was attained by condensing the steam in a separate vessel, communicating by valves with the cylinder, while the entrance of cold air was avoided by closing the top of the cylinder, and using the elastic force of steam, instead of the pressure of the atmosphere, to depress the piston. Beautifully simple as are the principles of this improved machine, and the admirably contrived apparatus by which they were rendered practically useful, it is difficult, in the present advanced state of science, to form an adequate idea of the difficulties conquered by Watt. What he accomplished has been well summed up by Sir Humphry Davy, who, in his speech at Freemasons' Hall, observed, "Those who consider James Watt only as a great practical mechanic form a very erroneous idea of his character: he was equally distinguished as a natural philosopher and a chemist, and his inventions demonstrate his profound knowledge of those sciences, and that peculiar characteristic of genius, the union of them for practical application. The steam-engine before his time was a rude machine, the result of simple experiments on the compression of the atmosphere, and the condensation of steam. Mr. Watt's improvements were not produced by accidental circumstances or by a single ingenious thought; they were founded on delicate and refined experiments connected with the discoveries of Dr. Black. He had to investigate the cause of the cold produced by evaporation, of the heat occasioned by the condensation of steam—to determine the source of the air appearing when water was acted upon by an exhausting power; the ratio of the volume of steam to its generating water, and the law by which the elasticity of steam increased with the temperature: labour, time, numerous and difficult experiments were required for the ultimate result; and, when his principle was obtained, the application of it to produce the movement of machinery demanded a new species of intellectual and experimental labour. He engaged in this with all the ardour that success inspires, and was obliged to bring all the mechanical powers into play, and all the resources of his own fertile mind into exertion; he had to convert rectilineal into rotatory motion, and to invent parallel motion. After years of intense labour he obtained what he wished for: and, at last, by the regulating centrifugal force of the *governor*, placed the machine entirely under the power of the mechanic, and gave perfection to a series of combinations unrivalled for the genius and sagacity displayed in their invention, and for the new power they have given to civilized man."

Although satisfied as to the value and practicability of his improvements, by the action of the small and imperfect models that his limited means enabled him to construct, Watt was aware of the difficulties that would arise in bringing his invention before the world, and he does not appear to have attempted to make it public for some years. In 1768 he became connected with Dr. John Roebuck, the founder of the Carron iron-works, whose exertions for the improvement of other branches of the national industry will be noticed hereafter; and at his expense a large model was constructed at Kinneil, a few miles from Carron, in 1768-9, the success of which led to the procuring of Watt's first patent in the latter year. Roebuck had a share in this patent, but was prevented by pecuniary difficulties from proceeding with the undertaking, and in a short time transferred his interest to his friend, Matthew Boulton, who had recently established the celebrated Soho works, near Birmingham; than whom it would have been difficult to find a

Matthew Boulton. From a Portrait by Sir W. Beechey.

fitter person for bringing the improved steam-engine into remunerative operation. In 1774 the new engine was exhibited at Soho, and approved by a deputation from the mining interest of Cornwall. This machine appears to have resembled, in general arrangement, the old atmospheric engine; but it had the separate condenser and closed cylinder formerly described, the air-pump for exhausting the condenser being worked by a connexion with the beam of the engine, and the cylinder kept hot by an external casing or jacket filled with steam. So low was the state of the mechanical arts at that time, that much difficulty was experienced in getting parts of the machine executed with sufficient accuracy; and even Smeaton, while convinced of the great superiority of the new engine over Newcomen's, is said to have doubted the

practicability of getting it made with the requisite precision; and augured, from this difficulty, that the machine, in its improved form, would never be generally introduced.*

As five years of the term of the patent had now expired, and it was deemed probable that the remaining period would not be sufficient to remunerate the proprietors for the heavy expenses yet to be incurred, a successful application was made to parliament for an extension of the term; an act being passed in 1775,† though not without opposition, "vesting in James Watt, engineer, his executors, administrators, and assigns, the sole use and property of certain steam-engines, commonly called fire-engines, of his invention, described in the said act, throughout his majesty's dominions," for a period of twenty-five years from the passing of the act. This application had the effect of attracting public attention to the merits of the invention, and the commercial tact of Boulton, who conducted the sale of the machine, soon brought it into extensive use. By a liberal system of proceeding, the principles of the engine were freely explained, and public experiments made, before disinterested practical and scientific men, on the saving of fuel effected by it, and its general superiority over Newcomen's machine. The owners of the patent did not attempt to make their profit on the *manufacture* of the engines, but claimed the value of one-third part of the coal saved by using the improved instead of the old machine.‡ Even taking this payment into the account, the patentees stated that the expense of performing the same work would be little more than half what was previously paid. Still further to encourage persons to adopt the new machines, Boulton and Watt in many cases took the old engines at much more than their real value; and in some instances erected machines worth some thousands of pounds, on condition of being paid for them when they produced the estimated advantage. An apparatus was contrived for registering the amount of work done, by comparing the indications of which with ascertained data respecting the quantity of fuel consumed, and calculating the saving by the price of coals in the district in which the engine was erected, the amount of payment due to the patentees was ascertained without any vexatious interference on the part of their agents. Thus everything was so contrived as to induce the public to regard the invention favourably; and this fair and liberal conduct met with its reward. In one instance alone, at the Chacewater mine, in Cornwall, where three very large engines were erected, the saving of coals was so great that the proprietors agreed to pay 800*l.* per annum for each engine, as a compromise for the patentees' share. It has been stated that upwards of 47,000*l.* were spent by Boulton and Watt before they received any remuneration.

The engines hitherto alluded to were, almost without exception, used merely for pumping water; although, in a few instances, the water so raised was employed for turning a water-wheel, in order to obtain rotatory motion. When used for this purpose, no inconvenience was occasioned by the circumstance of the power being applied in the downward stroke only. Watt was well aware that the utility of the steam-engine could not be fully developed until it was made capable of producing rotation; and, out of many contrivances which he suggested for the purpose, he appears to have considered none equal to the common crank. But this, if applied to the ordinary engine, would have required a very heavily loaded fly-wheel to keep up the motion imparted by the separate impulses of the piston; to avoid which he proposed to use two engines, working distinct cranks on the same axle. While Watt's attention was devoted to other points, patents were obtained about 1779 and 1780, by Wasbrough and Pickard, for converting the alternating rectilinear motion of the piston into a rotatory one; the plan of the latter person being the simple crank and fly wheel. Thus, unless he had seen fit to contest Pickard's patent (which might have been done, it is said, not merely on account of the common application of the crank in other machines, as the knife-grinder's wheel and the turning-lathe, but also on the plea that the parties who obtained the patent received the idea of using it from a workman employed by Watt), he was compelled to adopt another contrivance for the purpose; and he thereupon invented that known as the *sun-and-planet wheel*," which was used in his engines until the expiration of Pickard's patent, when the crank was substituted for it. It is curious to observe how much rivalry existed respecting this simple matter, and how many contrivances were suggested to obtain the object now so successfully accomplished by means of the simple crank. Many persons seem to have doubted whether a regular rotatory motion could be obtained immediately from the beam of the engine, and even Smeaton, in a report to the navy board respecting the erection of a steam-engine to work a flour-mill at Deptford, said, "I apprehend that *no motion* communicated from the reciprocating lever of a fire-engine *can ever produce a perfect circular motion*, like the regular efflux of water in turning a water-wheel."*

One of the greatest obstacles to uniform rotatory motion was removed by the invention of the

* Speech of Mr. Boulton at Freemasons' Hall, 1824.

† 15 Geo. III. c. 61.

‡ The value of Smeaton's improvements upon the old atmospheric engine, although those improvements related chiefly to the proportions of its component parts, is indicated by an observation made in a letter by Watt to Smeaton, in 1778, in reply to a proposition that Watt should grant licenses for the use of his condenser, to be applied to the atmospheric engine, without the other improvements; an arrangement which he thought it prudent to decline, as it would have introduced his invention under unfavourable circumstances. He wrote thus: "We charge our profits in proportion to the saving made in fuel by our engine, when compared with a common one which burns the same kind of coals; we ask one-third of these savings, to be paid us annually, or half-yearly; the payment being redeemable in the option of our employer, at ten years' purchase; and when the coals are low priced we should also make some charge as engineers. In all these comparisons our own interest has made us except your improved engines, unless we were allowed a greater proportion of the savings."—*Lardner on the Steam Engine*, 7th edit., p. 135.

* Stuart's Anecdotes of Steam Engines, p. 336.

double-acting engine, in which the piston is impelled upwards as well as downwards by the action of steam. Watt did not patent this machine till 1782; though it is said that he showed a drawing exhibiting its principle when applying for the extension of his first patent, and that he constructed one or more such engines before 1782; which, considering his habit of trying and perfecting his inventions before making them public, is far from improbable. This alteration rendered necessary several modifications in the construction of the apparatus, into the details of which it is not necessary here to enter. Another, and a highly important invention, the full advantages of which are perhaps not realized even at the present day, is that of working steam expansively; or cutting off the access of steam when the piston has performed only a part of its stroke, leaving it to be propelled through the remaining distance by the expansion of the steam already admitted. This mode of working was tried at Soho in 1776, but not made public till about two years later. The caution exercised by Watt in bringing any improvement before the public was a remarkable peculiarity in his career, and may partly account for his almost unexampled success; but it sometimes led to inconvenience, owing to his contrivances becoming divulged before he considered them ripe for publicity, and being claimed by others. His reputation was doubtless benefited by this circumspect procedure; his inventions were in general thoroughly matured and perfected when given to the world; while it was also, as observed by Stuart, "of incalculable advantage in inspiring confidence in Watt and Boulton's judgment as engineers."*

Thus, by a series of improvements perhaps unequalled as the produce of a single mind, the steam-engine was, during the period now under review, elevated from an obscure and inconvenient machine, of very limited application, into a power which has effected a complete revolution in manufacturing operations, and has been well said to be second only to printing in its results. During the former part of the eighteenth century water-power was the chief agent in driving machinery; the motion obtained from wind being too uncertain and irregular for most purposes. But, though the improvements of Smeaton and others greatly increased the efficiency of hydraulic machinery, they could not overcome the inevitable and serious difficulties occasioned by droughts and floods, nor obviate the necessity of establishing mills in the vicinity of falling water; at whatever expense, or however inconvenient the locality might be for the business to be carried on; sometimes rendering it necessary to build villages for the residence of the persons employed in the factory. The necessity of providing means to avoid a total stoppage in dry seasons, led, in some instances, to the erection of horse-machinery to work the mills under such circumstances, either immediately, or by throwing back the water. The steam-engines of Savery and Newcomen were occasionally used for this purpose;* but the improvements of Watt superseded such contrivances; and, by rendering the establishment of factories independent of local peculiarities, led to the prosperity of many of our principal manufacturing towns, and produced results which will claim frequent notice in subsequent chapters.

Allusion has been made to the early use of the steam-engine in connexion with mining operations. In the mines of Cornwall, in particular, the improvements of Watt were productive of the most important benefits. Comparatively shallow as our mines were before the general use of steam-engines, the working of them was greatly impeded by the accumulation of water; and much ingenuity had been exercised in devising means for its removal. Water-power could be used for working the pumps to a limited extent only, from the necessity of opening mines where the mineral is to be procured in the greatest abundance, without regard to the possibility of procuring a fall of water to work the machinery. The earlier sorts of steam-engine were used to meet this difficulty, and realized great advantages; but their wasteful consumption of fuel was a serious evil; the coal used at the mines of Cornwall being carried thither from South Wales, and being consequently expensive. Here, therefore, the new engines were eagerly adopted; and down even to the present day Cornwall has been distinguished for improvements in the economical working of steam-engines; which have so far kept pace with the increasing depth of the mines, that many which but for them must long since have been abandoned are now among the most productive mines worked. Improvements in the machinery and internal economy of mines were introduced in consequence of the extension of the iron manufacture; among which the substitution of iron for wooden pumps, and the use of subterraneous railways or tramroads to facilitate the carriage of the minerals from one part of a mine to another, may be mentioned.

The quantity of tin produced during this period increased regularly, though slowly. For several years previous to 1742 the average annual quantity was about 2100 tons; and from that time to 1760, about 2750 tons. Between 1760 and 1770 the mines of Cornwall and Devonshire yielded 27,277 tons, or nearly 2728 tons annually; the value averaging 66*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per ton, or 180,957*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. From 1770 to 1780 the total amount was 27,498 tons, being nearly 2750 tons per annum; and the value averaged 60*l.* 2*s.* per ton, or 165,275*l.* annually. The next decennial period exhibits a similar increase in quantity, accompanied by a rise in price, the average value having amounted to 68*l.* 2*s.* per ton.†

* Anecdotes of Steam Engines, p. 319.

* In 1752 a very large atmospheric engine was set up at Champion's copper and brass works, near Bristol, to raise water for turning a number of wheels. This appears to have been one of the earliest instances of such an application of the steam-engine; but it was subsequently employed in a similar way at the Colebrook Dale and Carron iron-works, at Soho, and in many other establishments.

† Chiefly from Rees's Cyclopædia, art. 'Mining.'

The produce of copper increased rapidly during this period. As early as the reign of Elizabeth the supply was so much augmented by the discovery of a copper-mine in Cumberland, that copper began to be exported.* The rich deposits of copper ore which have long formed the principal mineral wealth of Cornwall were neglected till early in the eighteenth century; partly from the ore being confounded with worthless iron pyrites, and therefore thrown aside as rubbish whenever it was met with; and partly from its usually lying at a greater depth than tin, which was the principal object of search. The copper-mines of Anglesea began to be worked in 1762, but for some time after that date they were not very productive. The copper-mine at Ecton Hill, Staffordshire, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, is stated in the Annual Register for 1769 to have given employment at that time to more than three hundred men, women, and children; and to have yielded an annual profit of from 8000*l.* to 10,000*l.* This mine is said to have been then the deepest in Great Britain.†

A statement given in Rees's Cyclopædia, art. "Mining," showing the amount and value of the copper ore raised from the Cornish mines from 1726 to 1775, indicates the rapid extension of this branch of mining industry. The probable annual amount of fine copper is added, because the richness of the ore is so variable that a statement of the quantity of ore raised does not indicate with certainty the quantity of copper produced. From this document it appears that in the ten years from 1726 to 1735, the quantity of ore raised was 64,800 tons; its average value 7*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* per ton; and the total value for the ten years 473,500*l.*‡ The fine copper produced was probably about 700 tons annually. From 1736 to 1745 the ore raised was 75,250 tons; average value 7*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* per ton; and total value 560,106*l.* The quantity of fine copper was about 830 tons annually. From 1746 to 1755 the ore raised was 98,790 tons; value 7*l.* 8*s.* per ton; total value 731,457*l.*; the fine copper produced annually about 1080 tons. From 1756 to 1765, the ore raised was 169,699 tons, value 7*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per ton; total value 1,243,045*l.*; the fine copper produced annually, about 1800 tons. From 1766 to 1775, the ore raised was 264,273 tons, value 6*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per ton; total value 1,778,337*l.*; the fine copper produced annually, about 2650 tons.

Another account § gives a larger quantity as the produce of the Cornish mines—making it 3450 tons annually from 1771 to 1775; 3310 tons from 1776 to 1780; and 3990 tons from 1781 to 1785. The price of copper was materially reduced about 1773 by the increased produce, owing to the opening of new mines. In 1730 the price was about 130*l.* per ton; in 1772, 100*l.*; and in 1781, 79*l.* It soon rose to 84*l.*, and continued about that sum for several years.

The general introduction of the steam-engine was an important aid in the extension and improvement of coal-mining, although, from the unlimited supply of fuel here, the old engines maintained their ground much longer in collieries than in other works. In addition to the advantages arising from the application of this power to the drainage of the mines, which was formerly effected by the labour of men and horses, it was productive of a material change in the method of extracting the produce, and bringing it to the surface. In many of the early coal-mines this was done by means of inclined planes from the bottom of the pit—the coal being carried up in baskets by men, and even women, who were often employed in this severe and degrading species of labour. Even long after it became customary to raise the coal by means of machinery, by drawing it in baskets up a vertical shaft, women were employed to carry it from distant parts of the mine to the bottom of the shaft. The account given by Arthur Young of the colliery at Worsley, belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater, affords an example of the superior arrangements that were in course of being introduced in his time. Here, as stated in a previous page, when alluding to the canal formed as a communication between this colliery and Manchester, small boats were able to penetrate to the heart of the mine by means of a tunnel, which served also to drain the works. Some of the seams or veins of coal were above, and others below, the level of this tunnel. As fast as the coal was excavated the space cleared was formed into arched passages for the conveyance of the coal to the tunnel. "This," says Young, "is done in little four-wheeled waggons, which contain ten cwt. of coals, and are pushed along by a man setting his head and hands against them (the road being laid on purpose for it). The roads all lead to the tunnel. When the man with the waggon comes over a well (of which there are several) that is sunk from the road through the arch of the tunnel, and under which the boats are fixed, he stops on a framework of wood, which turns on pivots, and is so contrived that, upon drawing up a part of one end of the waggon, some of the coals drop out, and then the waggon is tilted up, and all the rest follow them, falling into the boat either promiscuously, or directed through a tube to fill a box at a time, at pleasure; which work is performed almost instantaneously, and the waggon sent off again for a fresh cargo. But as the arches (roads) through the mine in many places cross each other, it there would have been impracticable for a man to push so great a weight around a turning; to remove which objection the square of the floor in the cross of the roads is all

* Piet. Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 811.

† It may not be amiss to observe that, in a note appended to the paper from which the above particulars are taken, it is stated that it was supposed there were no less than forty thousand working miners daily under ground in the tin-mines (possibly intended to embrace the copper-mines also) of Cornwall, and perhaps as many, if not more, in other works of copper, lead, and coal, in Great Britain;—an estimate apparently very erroneous, whether tested by the value of the metal produced, or by the present statistics of the county. In 1831 the number of adult males in Cornwall employed in labour not agricultural was under twenty-three thousand.

‡ The small disagreement between the price per ton and the total value of the ore raised may be accounted for in various ways.

§ Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Copper.'

of wood, and turns upon a central pivot of iron, so that, the man stopping when the waggon comes exactly on to the square, and turning it till it faces the road he is to go, he then pushes on without the least interruption. The coals that arise in the branches of the mine *below* the tunnel are drawn up through wells into those *above* it, and then conveyed, like the rest, in waggons to the boats."* The contrivance here described, to avoid the difficulty of passing waggons round a turning, appears to have been the original of the *turn-table* used so extensively and found so convenient in our modern railway-stations.

From the Annual Register for 1760 it would appear that the ventilation of coal-mines by means of a large fire on the surface, supplied with air by wooden trunks from the remote parts of the mine, was then a recent improvement; and that it enabled many mines to be worked which had been formerly abandoned owing to the accumulation of foul air.

The importance attained by the coal-trade may be estimated from the fact that, on occasion of riots among the coal-workers about Newcastle and Sunderland, in 1765, about six hundred ships and a hundred thousand men, in Newcastle, Sunderland, and London, were thrown idle.† Arthur Young states that the people employed in the coal-mines about Newcastle were "prodigiously numerous, amounting to many thousands;" the earnings of the men being from one to four shillings a day and their firing.‡ This was about the year 1770. In 1761 there were, according to Anderson, five or six thousand *keelmen* employed on the river Tyne, in conveying coal to the ships in keels or lighters.§

The quantity of coal brought to London in 1762 amounted to 570,774 chaldrons; which is nearly double the quantity brought in the early part of the century. In 1772, 725,008 chaldrons were imported to London, which greatly exceeded the quantity in any previous year; in the next seven years the average importation was 650,170 chaldrons; and in the five years ending March, 1785, 675,995 chaldrons annually.‖

During the space of time now under review the iron manufacture of this country made great advances, and exercised an important influence on many other branches of industry. The extension of this manufacture in earlier times had been seriously impeded by the destruction of forests occasioned by the increase of population and agriculture;¶ and it was not until the reign of George III. that our immense stores of mineral fuel were rendered extensively available, instead of charcoal, for the purpose of smelting iron ore. In the reign of Elizabeth acts of parliament were passed to restrict the felling of timber for the purpose of making iron, and to prohibit the establishment of new iron-works within twenty-two miles of London; and the prohibition was subsequently extended to every part of the counties of Surrey, Kent, and Sussex. An additional reason for legislative interference to prevent the total destruction of timber was afforded by the growing importance of the navy. These circumstances led to the promulgation of several plans for the substitution of pit-coal, of which that patented by Lord Dudley early in the seventeenth century appears to have been considered of importance, as it was exempted from the operation of the act passed in the reign of James I. for the abolition of monopolies.* Lord Dudley constructed a blast-furnace, in which his process of smelting was carried on, though on a very limited scale; but he became an object of jealousy to the manufacturers, and his works were destroyed by a mob, whom they are supposed to have incited to the commission of this outrage. The manufacturers on the old system doubtless foresaw the removal of the iron manufacture from its accustomed localities to those in which coal was abundant; and their desire to retain the profitable monopoly in their own hands, combining with old prejudices, may account for the length of time that elapsed before the use of coal became at all common. In 1719, a century after Lord Dudley obtained his patent, the writer of a tract quoted in Anderson's History of Commerce states "that the waste and destruction of the woods in the counties of Warwick, Stafford, Worcester, Hereford, Monmouth, Gloucester, and Salop, by these iron-works, is not to be imagined; and that, if some care be not taken to preserve our timber from these consuming furnaces, there will not be oak enough left to supply the royal navy and our mercantile shipping; that within these sixty years Ireland was better stocked with oak timber than we now are; but the iron-works since set up there have, in a few years, swept away the wood to that degree that they have not small stuff enough left to produce bark for their tanning, nor timber for common uses; insomuch that at present they are forced to have bark from England, and building timber from Norway, &c., and to suffer their large hides to be exported, untanned, to Holland, Germany, &c." From Horne's Essays concerning Iron and Steel, a little work published in 1773, which contains some curious information respecting the improvements then taking place in the manufacture of iron and steel, it appears that the difficulty of converting coal into coke of suitable quality was an important obstacle to the progress of the manufacture down even to the date of his publication. Further difficulties were occasioned by the less combustible character of coke as compared with charcoal, and its different chemical

* Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. pp. 226, 227.
† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 420.
‡ Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. pp. 8 and 9.
§ History of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 326.
‖ This statement is made on the authority of notices in Macpherson.
¶ Pict. Hist. of Eng., vol. ii. p. 811; and vol. iv. p. 732.

* The act alluded to—21 Jac. I. c. 3—describes this patent as "a grant or privilege for or concerning the melting of iron-ewer, and of making the same into cast-works or bars, with sea-coals or pit-coals, by his majesty's letters patents, under the great seal of England, bearing date the twentieth day of February, in the nineteenth year of his majesty's reign of England, made or granted to Edward Lord Dudley," &c.

properties. Alterations in the form and management of the furnace were required, and it was necessary to provide a more copious and powerful injection of air, in order to use coke for smelting. Ignorance as to the real causes of failure operated long and seriously in impeding the progress of this desirable improvement; "but all difficulties were at length surmounted by enlarging the height of the blast-furnace, so as to prolong the descent and contact of the ore and coke; and more especially by the eventual application of the steam-engine, which rendered the working of the blowing machinery at once regular and powerful."* The use of the steam-engine for this purpose is very important in all cases where there is not an ample supply of water, capable of working the blast under all contingencies of drought and flood; for instances have occurred in which the whole of the contents of a furnace have become a solid mass, owing to the accidental stoppage of the blast.†

It was not until about the middle of the century that pit-coal was extensively adopted as a substitute for wood and charcoal in blast-furnaces, and probably several years later before its use became general in our iron manufactures. The introduction of this and other improvements, and the greatly extended demand for iron occasioned by the increased use of machinery, led to the establishment of several considerable iron-works during the present period.

The Carron Works, which were among the earliest where iron-stone was smelted by pit-coal, were founded by Dr. John Roebuck, who had made some discoveries by which that operation might be facilitated. His capital being employed in other works, especially in the manufactory for oil of vitriol at Prestonpans (which will be further noticed in a subsequent page), it was originally proposed to construct iron-works on a limited scale in the vicinity of the last-mentioned establishment. But the experiments of Roebuck led to such flattering prospects of success, that he and his partner were encouraged to project extensive works for the smelting and manufacture of iron. The required capital was subscribed by relations and friends, and Roebuck selected a convenient spot on the banks of the river Carron, in Stirlingshire. This site possessed the important advantage of having abundance of coal and iron ore in its immediate vicinity; while the river supplied water-power for impelling the machinery, and navigable communication with the sea. Smeaton was employed to superintend the construction of the water-wheels, blowing-machinery, &c.; and Watt also assisted in a similar manner, though probably at a later date. The first furnace was blown on the first day of January, 1760; and the works soon attained importance and celebrity. A great improvement introduced subsequent to the opening of the works consisted in supplying a blast from three or four cylinders, which was much more regular than that obtained from bellows. It would be difficult to say precisely how far Roebuck deserves credit for *invention* as regards the improved processes introduced at Carron, because many plans had been suggested, and experiments made, before the establishment of these works; but in the memoir of his life by Jardine,* from which the preceding particulars are condensed, it is observed that he was certainly "among the first who, by means of pit-coal, attempted to refine crude or pig-iron, and to make bar-iron of it, instead of doing it by charcoal, which was the former practice." The Carron Works proved of great benefit to the industry of Scotland, giving employment to some hundreds of persons, and leading to the establishment of several other iron-works. Their proprietors were also foremost among the promoters of the Forth and Clyde Canal, which was projected a few years after they were brought into operation. The importance speedily attained by these works is indicated by what is stated by Macpherson, under the year 1777, by which time, he tells us, the exportation of the Carron manufactures was become of great national importance:—"Their great guns, which were cast solid, and bored by a drill worked by the whole force of the river Carron, were exported to Russia, Denmark, Spain, &c.; and the quantities were so considerable that the government was unwilling to let them be carried in ordinary ships, lest they should fall into the hands of the American cruisers. The company (of proprietors of the Carron Works) thereupon fitted out a stout ship of their own, properly armed and manned, for the purpose of carrying to Spain three hundred iron guns from three to twenty-four pounders."† It is observed that this is a specimen of the cargoes shipped by this great manufacturing company, who about this time supplied Spain, Russia, and several other foreign countries with great guns.‡ The war increased the demand for their iron ballast, which was universally used in the navy, and also in many merchant-ships. About this time their stoves, which are now to be found all over the kingdom, were coming into use.

Contemporary notices of other iron-works indicate the activity of the manufacture during this period. Young§ mentions one about five miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which, he says, was supposed to be one of the greatest manufactories of the kind in Europe. At this establishment several hundred persons were employed, their wages amounting to 20,000*l.* a-year. The ordinary workmen earned from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day. It appears that foreign iron was principally used here, three vessels being employed in importing the metal from the Baltic, each making ten voyages yearly, and bringing seventy tons at a time. This

* Ency. Brit., art. 'Iron-making.'
† Manufacture of Iron, p. 4, in the Library of Useful Knowledge.

* In the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. iv.
† Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 609.
‡ Macpherson speaks of the Carron Company also supplying the demand in Britain; but, as will be seen from a subsequent paragraph, our national arsenals were supplied with cannon at this time from the foundries of South Wales.
§ Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. pp. 9, 10.

makes 2100 tons annually; besides which it is stated that 500 tons were freighted in other ships. A considerable quantity of American iron was used at these works, and it was considered superior, for some purposes, to that brought from Sweden. They used annually 7000 bolls of coal of sixteen bushels each. The articles enumerated as manufactured here are anchors, which were made as high as 70 cwt., carriages for cannon, hoes, spades, axes, hooks, chains, &c.; and it is stated that the principal work was for exportation, particularly for the East India Company. Rolling-machinery, scissors for cutting bars of iron, cranes for moving anchors to and from the fire, and a tilt-hammer, are mentioned by Young, who, nevertheless, expresses an opinion that much labour might be saved by the further use of machinery.

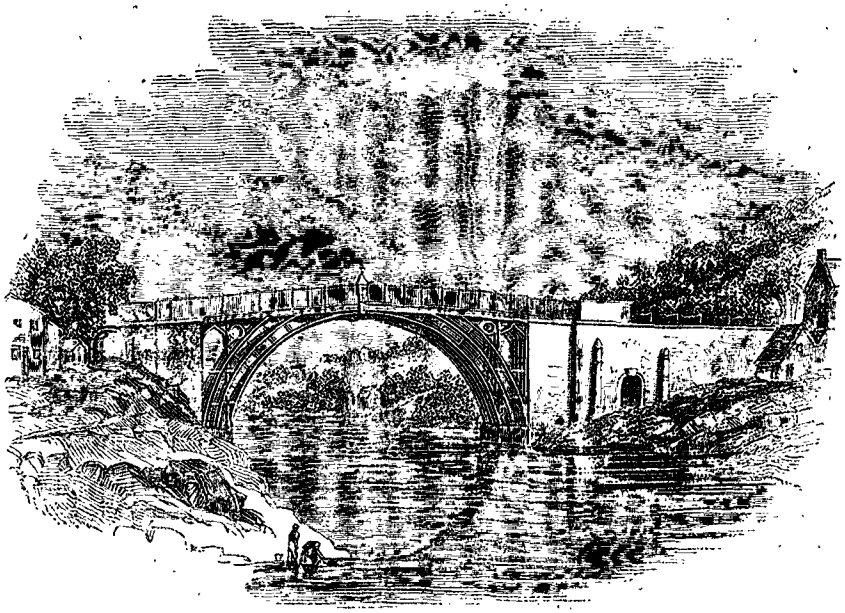
The same writer visited the iron-works at Rotherham, in Yorkshire, which supplied both wrought and cast iron; the former being partly for use at Sheffield. He observes: "Near the town are two collieries, out of which the iron-ore is dug, as well as the coals to work it with: these collieries and works employ together near 500 hands."* According to the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' many of the cannon used in the navy in the American and French wars were made at this town.

The use of pit-coal in the preparation of iron led to the establishment of the iron-manufacture in South Wales. About 1755 the first smelting furnace was erected at Cyfarthfa, near Merthyr Tydvil, by Mr. Anthony Bacon, M.P. for Aylesbury, who obtained a long lease of the iron and coal mines in a large tract of land in that vicinity. This gentleman contracted with government, during the American war, for the supply of cannon to the arsenals, from which, and other similar undertakings, he ultimately realised a large fortune. At the close of the war the contract was transferred to the Carron works; but in the mean time several other extensive works had been erected in the neighbourhood of Cyfarthfa.*

Owing to the improved quality of iron, and the cheapness consequent on the use of coal, it was brought into use for many new purposes. Cast-iron, which from its brittleness and unsound texture had been used to a very limited extent, was now often made to take the place of brass or of wrought-iron. Smeaton made the first great axis of a windmill of this material in 1751, and continued the practice; though without any great advantage in point of durability, until he procured his castings from Carron. In 1769 he made the first axis of a water-wheel at this establishment; and he subsequently used cast-iron for cog-wheels, shafts, and framing generally, wherever he was left at liberty to choose his materials.† The introduction of steam-engines led to improvements in the manufacture of both wrought and cast iron for the construction of the machinery and the boilers. Some large boilers are mentioned by Stuart, formed of cast-iron, under the direction of Smeaton, which indicate an advanced state of the art. The application of cast-iron to bridge-building dates from this period; the first iron bridge on a large scale erected in this or any other country being that over the Severn at Colebrook Dale, which was constructed under an act of the year 1776.‡ It consists of a

* Six Months' Tour, vol. i. p. 115.

* Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Merthyr Tydvil.'
† Stuart's Anecdotes of Steam Engines, p. 304.
‡ 16 Geo. III. c. 17.



Iron Bridge, Colebrook Dale.

single arch of more than 100 feet span, composed of five ribs, the roadway being supported by a flooring of cast-iron plates. The construction will be better understood from the annexed view, copied from a print published soon after the completion of the bridge, than from a lengthened description. The total weight of metal used is 378½ tons. This bridge was completed in 1779, and was followed in a few years by several others, some of which are of extraordinary dimensions.

In 1785 the manufactures of iron and steel had attained such importance that an act* was passed forbidding the exportation of any of the tools or engines used in them. There do not appear to be satisfactory data from which the amount of iron manufactured during this period can be ascertained. Foreign iron was still imported in considerable quantities. It has been stated that in 1781 more than 50,000 tons of iron were imported from Russia and Sweden; but that the average annual importation during the twelve preceding years had not exceeded 26,000 tons from Russia, and 16,000 tons from Sweden, or 42,000 tons in all.†

The manufactures of Sheffield and Birmingham were greatly extended during the last century, although we do not possess satisfactory data to enable us to trace their progress. The very early establishment of the manufacture of cutlery at the former place is indicated by Chaucer's description of the miller of Trompington, where he says,

"A Sheffield thwittle bare he in his hose;"

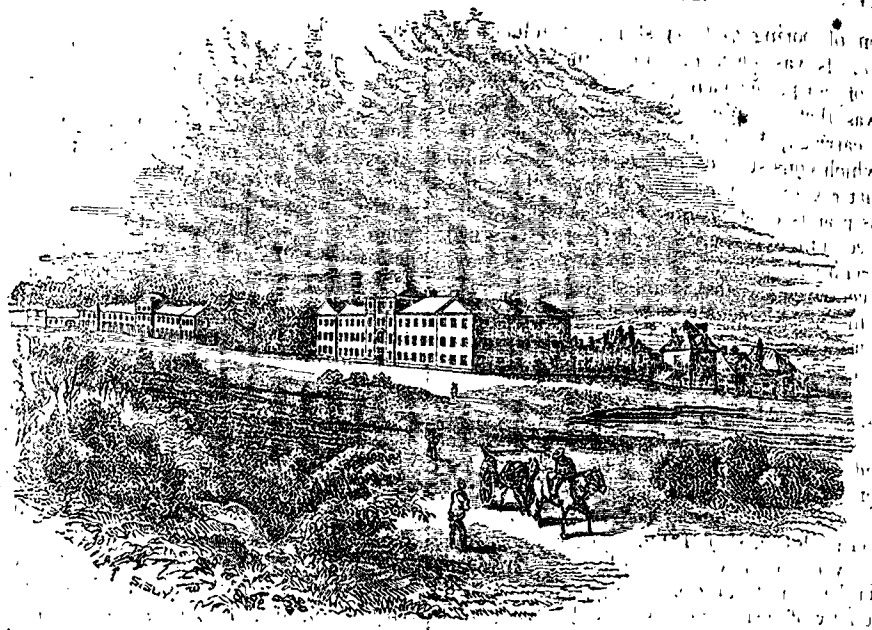
from which it would appear that Sheffield knives, or *whittles*, were famous as early as the fourteenth century. Writing of this town under the date 1761, Anderson says, "There are above 600 master cutlers there, who are a corporation, by the name of the cutlers of Hallamshire, of which district in Yorkshire Sheffield is the principal town." The place is stated to employ about 40,000 persons in her iron manufactures, though not all resident in the town.‡ When Arthur Young visited Sheffield, about 1770, the town contained about 30,000 inhabitants, the greater number of whom were employed in the manufacture of hardware. Of the various classes of workmen employed in the production of cutlery, the grinders are stated to have made the greatest earnings—from 18*s.* to 20*s.* per week—owing chiefly to the danger attending their employment. The grindstones, which were of great dimensions, were often turned by water-wheels, the velocity being increased by a train of toothed wheels, until it became so great that the stones occasionally flew to pieces, killing or wounding the men near them. The danger was somewhat diminished by a contrivance then recently introduced, by which the fragments were prevented, in such a case, from flying off except in one direction. In other branches the workmen earned from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* a-day, and the razor-polishers as much as 10*s.* 6*d.** A few years afterwards the following enumeration of articles made at Sheffield was published,† in which it may be observed that saws are omitted, probably by inadvertence:—"The principal manufactures here are knives, forks, scissors, razors, lancets, phleams, files, edge-tools for carpenters, shears, &c., metal and horn buttons; and of late years various kinds of goods have been plated with silver, such as knives, buttons, buckles, snuff-boxes, tweezer-cases, toothpick-cases, saucepans, coffee-pots, cups, tankards, candlesticks, &c. &c. &c. There is likewise reason to believe that here were first made snuff-boxes, candlesticks, &c., of a sort of coal called kennel or channel-coal, formerly got near this place."

The "plating-work," which, with "the cutlery, the lead-works, and the silk-mill," formed the great branches of industry at Sheffield, employed, according to Young, some hundreds of hands, including many girls, who earned from 4*s.* 6*d.* to as much, in some cases, as 9*s.* a-week. No men received less than 9*s.* a-week, and some earned 60*l.* a-year. The day's work, including the hours of cessation, was thirteen hours.‡ The amount of plate manufactured in Sheffield and Birmingham was so considerable that an act of parliament was passed in 1773§ appointing wardens and assay-masters for each of those towns.

The extent to which the peculiar manufactures of Birmingham were carried on at the commencement of this reign is indicated by Anderson's notice of that place in the year 1761. He says that this town "is, through the general increase of our national commerce, gradually grown up, more especially of later years, to the magnitude of a considerable city; by means of her vast, numerous, and most ingenious manufactures of iron, steel, and brass, or hardware, in an almost endless variety; such as enamelled, landscaped, and polished steel snuff-boxes, keys, locks, hinges, buckles, buttons, &c., not only for supplying ourselves and our foreign plantations, but almost all the rest of the world therewith. This very busy place is reckoned to contain at least 50,000 inhabitants."‖ The establishment of the Soho works, near Birmingham, is an interesting circumstance in the history of manufactures in metal at this period. About 1757 a small water-mill for rolling metal was established on this spot, which was previously a barren, uncultivated heath; a lease of the ground for 99 years having been granted for the purpose. In 1762 Matthew Boulton, who was the son of a hardwareman of Birmingham, purchased the lease and buildings, rebuilt the mill on a larger scale, and removed his manufactory of steel toys from Birmingham to this place. He expended many thousand pounds, which had been accumulated by his father, in the erection of workshops and dwellings,

* 25 Geo. III. c. 67.
† Continuation of Anderson's History of Commerce, edition of 1789, vol. iv. p. 395.
‡ History of Commerce, vol. iii., pp. 325, 326.

* Six Months' Tour, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.
† Tour through the Island of Great Britain, originally written by De Foe, 8th edition, 1778, vol. iii. p. 104.
‡ Six Months' Tour, vol. i. p. 123.
§ 13 Geo. III. c. 52.
‖ History of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 325.



Boulton and Watt's Works at Soho. From a View by Walker, 1798.

collecting the water of a small stream into a pool, in order to make it available as a moving power for a variety of machines for manufacturing articles for which Birmingham was already famous. An account of this establishment, given in a work before quoted, states that "The building consists of four squares, with shops, warehouses, &c., for 1000 workmen, who, in a great variety of branches, excel in their different departments, not only in the fabrication of buttons, buckles, boxes, trinkets, &c., in gold, silver, and a variety of compositions; but in many other arts long predominant in France, which lose their reputation on a comparison with the product of this place."* But the principal interest attached to Soho arises from its connexion with the introduction of what Mr. Huskisson well termed "a powerful moral lever in forwarding the great cause of civilization"—the steam-engine, which here received those grand improvements that exerted so mighty an influence on the industry of the nation. As the original works extended rapidly, the power of horses had to be employed for a time in aid of the water-wheel. Subsequently a steam-engine on Savery's principle was used to return the water to the reservoir. This application of the steam-engine appears to have led to the intimate connexion of Boulton with its subsequent improvements. In or soon after 1769 Watt became connected with Boulton, and removed to Soho, where he perfected his inventions and superintended their introduction into general use.

In noticing the difficulties conquered by Watt, allusion has been made to the low state of the mechanic arts, as regards the construction of machinery, in the early part of his career. It has been stated that there were then but one or two individuals who could bestow the requisite accuracy of workmanship upon the cylinders of air-pumps of only two inches diameter. We may conceive therefore what difficulties would arise when cylinders of the great size required for steam-engines had to be made, in which the same degree of precision was desirable. Although the early engines did not require by any means so much accuracy of construction as those of Watt, their cylinders were found very difficult to make, and were consequently expensive. They were commonly made of brass, owing to the facility with which that metal could be cast and bored. Another compound metal, the composition of which is unknown, was used instead of brass in many cases, as it was much easier to run, and, when properly managed, full as easy to bore. It was called *spelter*, and is said to have been, when cold, as brittle as glass, though a very slight degree of warmth made it pliant and easy to work.† The brass cylinder of an engine erected in Scotland in 1727 cost nearly 250*l.*, and the whole machine more than 1200*l.*, exclusive of the expense of putting together, and of the building in which it stood. Smeaton estimated that a similar machine, with a larger cylinder, (formed, we presume, of the material just described,) might be made for 750*l.*; including pipes of iron, instead of *elm pump-trees bound with hoops*, which were used in the Scotch engine.† Cylinders of iron are mentioned by Desaguliers as early as 1743, but it is doubtful whether such were used before the adoption of mineral fuel rendered iron cheaper as well as better in quality than at that time. The

* Tour through the Island of Great Britain, 8th edit., 1778, vol. ii. p. 376.

* Stuart, Anecdotes of Steam Engines, p. 302. † Id. p. 303.

operation of boring and polishing cylinders and pump-barrels was performed in a similar manner to that of boring wooden pipes, the principle of which was that the pipe or cylinder, placed on a kind of carriage, should move forward against the borer, which consisted of cutters fixed in a solid wheel that revolved without advancing. This method was practised at several of the new foundries now called into existence, though Carron retained the pre-eminence, owing to the improved machinery contrived for that establishment by Smeaton. Still the apparatus was so far defective that the action of the borer was influenced by irregularities in the casting. In a machine invented about 1775 by Mr, John Wilkinson, the proprietor of iron-works at Bersham, near Chester, this difficulty was overcome by causing the borer to advance into the cylinder along an inflexible rod, which guided its action so completely that the irregularities of casting became quite immaterial, provided there was sufficient thickness of metal. This and some kindred inventions may be considered as forming an era in the manufacture of machinery generally, and especially of steam-engines; as they rendered easy the construction of cylinders of five or six feet diameter, and piston-rods, &c., of corresponding dimensions. Watt observed, in a letter to Smeaton, that he could promise a cylinder of seventy-two inches diameter, bored by Wilkinson, that should not deviate from absolute correctness in the worst part more than the thickness of a thin sixpence. As all the parts of Watt's engines required an accuracy of workmanship then very rarely met with, their manufacture was chiefly carried on at Soho, where machinery for the purpose was set up. While this machinery was in preparation, Boulton wrote to Smeaton respecting it as follows:—"We are systematizing the business of engine-making, as we have done before in the button-manufactory; we are training up workmen, and making tools and machines to form the different parts of Mr. Watt's engines with more accuracy and at a cheaper rate than can possibly be done by the ordinary methods of working. Our workshop and apparatus will be of sufficient extent to execute all the engines which are likely to be soon wanted in this country; and it will not be worth the expense for any other engineers to erect similar works, for that would be like building a mill to grind a bushel of corn."*

The coining machinery, which subsequently became so remarkable a feature of the establishment at Soho, was brought into operation as early as 1783; but of that a further notice must be deferred to a later period, when it was more extensively employed.

Although the manufacture of brass and copper goods had attained considerable extent during the first half of the century, it appears to have been so imperfectly carried on that our productions could not compete with those of the continent. Even so late as 1745 and 1750 it is said that copper tea-kettles, saucepans, and pots of all sizes were imported in large quantities from Hamburg and Holland; though the character of British manufactures was so much improved after that time that they not only equalled but surpassed those of Germany.* The introduction of copper sheathing for ships is mentioned by Macpherson as having taken place about 1761, it being found far better than "the old sheathing of lead, which was clumsy and intolerably heavy; whereas the copper is neat and much lighter than the thinnest sheathing of boards."† This, and the use of copper bolts and fastenings in ship-building, greatly increased the demand for that metal. By the year 1780 the use of copper sheathing had become universal in the navy; and it was considered so important a part of military stores, that an act‡ was passed to enable the king, if necessary, to forbid its exportation, or even its being carried by sea from one British port to another, lest it should fall into the hands of our enemies.

Another improvement connected with shipping, which was introduced about 1779, is the manufacture of coal-tar, of the origin of which the following account is given by Macpherson:—"The failure of the supply of tar from America put the proprietors of a manufacture of lamp-black at Bristol upon making experiments on the oil extracted from pit-coals in their works; and they found that, by different degrees of boiling, it could be brought to the consistence of tar, and also of pitch. The tar, besides being much cheaper, proved comefficacious in preserving the bottoms of ships from the worm than vegetable tar. Moreover the coal, after the tar is extracted, becomes excellent coke, whereby a great saving is made in many manufactures for which coal used to be charred on purpose, in which operation the valuable tar was totally lost in smoke, as it is in a great measure in our common fires."§ Improvements were introduced in this manufacture by the Earl of Dundonald, who obtained a patent in 1781. As some difficulties impeded the bringing his process into operation in the manner originally proposed, a new association was formed for the purpose; and parliament, in consideration of the national importance of the object, and the superiority of his process over that introduced in 1779, granted the Earl an exclusive privilege for carrying his plans into effect for the period of twenty years. This was by an act‖ of the year 1785. The same ingenious nobleman introduced valuable improvements in purifying salt for curing meat, fish, &c.

The manufacture of pottery, though one of the most ancient of the useful arts, remained in a very low state in England till the commencement of the period under review. The pottery district of Staffordshire, although it had been the seat of the manufacture from time immemorial, appears to

* Lardner on the Steam Engine, 7th edit. pp. 155, 156.

* Rees's Cyclopædia, art. 'Mining.'
† Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 349.
‡ 20 Geo. III. c. 59.
§ Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 648.
‖ 25 Geo. III. c. 42.

have produced nothing but coarse wares until the end of the seventeenth century; and even these to a limited extent only. It has been said that the vessels made in this district were, at that time, sold only where they could be carried by hawkers; but Shaw, in his "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," endeavours to prove that the art of pottery was not in so low a state as is commonly represented. From his account it would appear that pulverized lead-ore was used for glazing about 1670; and also that about that time the use of *saggers*, or large vessels of coarse ware to contain the articles while being burnt in the kiln, and thereby protect them from injury, became common. If this be correct, it indicates the production of small and comparatively delicate articles at that time. He states also that a rude kind of white stone-ware was produced about 1685, by Thomas Miles, of Shelton. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, or, according to Shaw, about 1690, two brothers of the name of Elers came over from Holland and established themselves at Bradwell, in Staffordshire, where they introduced considerable improvements in the art. The discovery of a bed of red clay on the estate on which they settled enabled them to introduce a fine kind of unglazed red porcelain; and to them is usually attributed the introduction of the method of glazing earthenware with salt, which was long extensively practised in the Staffordshire Potteries, and which they are commonly stated to have practised with brown stone-ware only, the white not being introduced till a subsequent period.* Shaw, however, while he corroborates most of the circumstances generally related of these persons, states that this process was discovered accidentally about 1680,† and that it was practised by a potter named Palmer, who was soon imitated by others; the articles produced being common brown ware. The brothers Elers were much opposed by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who were probably jealous of their success and the secrecy of their operations, though the ostensible ground of opposition is commonly stated to have been the annoyance caused by the disagreeable fumes from the kilns during the process of glazing. The Messrs. Elers in consequence left the Potteries;‡ but their processes were carried on by a person named Astbury, who became possessed of their secrets by feigning mental imbecility, and obtaining employment in the works at Bradwell, where it appears that ignorant and stupid persons were employed in preference to others, in order that the secrets of the manufacture might not be divulged; and he acted his part so well as to acquire the knowledge he desired without suspicion.

The next important improvement is said to have originated with this person, who, according to the commonly received account, was travelling on horseback to London about the year 1720, when he observed some disorder in his horse's eyes. An ostler at Dunstable thought he could cure it by means of calcined flint, reduced to a powder; and accordingly put a common black flint stone into the fire. The potter, observing its whiteness when taken out, conceived the idea of improving his wares by mixing this substance with the whitest clay he could procure; and therefore sent a number of flints from that neighbourhood, where they abound among the chalk, to his pottery. By mixing the calcined flints with tobacco-pipe clay, he succeeded in producing a white stone-ware, very superior to any that had been made before; and his example was soon followed by other potters. At first the burnt flint was reduced to powder by manual labour, and in a dry state; but the dust caused so much annoyance and injury to the persons employed, that a mill was contrived by Brindley* for grinding them with water;—one instance among many of the application of machinery not merely to lighten labour, but also to render innoxious a process formerly productive of distressing diseases. The clay used for making white stone-ware was brought from Devonshire; but by the ingenuity of the manufacturers several other species of earthenware were formed of the clays dug in the vicinity of the Potteries. Before the middle of the century table-goods were made in Staffordshire for exportation as well as for home use; but they were deficient in the glazing, which was performed by throwing salt into the kiln, that being the only process then commonly practised; and they were also made rather with a view to cheapness than fine quality or elegant form. Superior kinds of earthenware and porcelain, for the use of the wealthy, had long been imported from France and Holland; and in 1760 white stone-ware far surpassing the English in form and quality began to be imported from France in considerable quantities. Such was the state of the manufacture when Josiah Wedgwood commenced that course of improvement by which he eventually acquired both fame and fortune. In 1763 he produced a new kind of cream-coloured ware, surpassing the manufactures of France and Holland in texture and durability; better able to bear alternations of temperature, and covered with a brilliant impenetrable glazing. This new manufacture, which, from the patronage of the queen, was commonly called *Queen's ware*, being supplied at a very moderate price, quickly became so popular as to supersede foreign wares. The new ware was universally used by all classes of society in this

* Parkes's "Chemical Catechism."

† The following is his account of the discovery:—"At Stanley Farm (a short mile from the small pottery of Mr. Palmer, at Bagnall, five miles east of Burslem) the servant of Mr. Joseph Yates was boiling, in an earthen vessel, a strong lixivium of common salt, to be used some way in curing pork; but during her temporary absence the liquor effervesced, and some ran over the sides of the vessel, quickly causing them to become red-hot. The muriatic acid decomposed the surface, and, when cold, the sides were partially glazed."—*History of the Staffordshire Potteries, by Simeon Shaw*, 1829, pp. 108, 109.

‡ It appears probable, from Shaw's "History of the Staffordshire Potteries," that these persons were subsequently connected with the porcelain manufactory at Chelsea.

* Shaw mentions three persons as claiming a share with Brindley in the honour of this improvement.—*History of the Staffordshire Potteries*, p. 143.

country; and was even exported in large quantities to those very countries whose productions it had supplanted in England. The universal celebrity of this kind of earthenware, which was known on

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD. From a Portrait by George Stubbs.

the continent as *English ware*, is testified by an eminent foreigner, M. Faujas Saint-Fond, who, writing about the commencement of the French revolution, says, "Its excellent workmanship, its solidity, the advantage which it possesses of sustaining the action of fire, its fine glaze, impenetrable to acids, the beauty and convenience of its form, and the cheapness of its price, have given rise to a commerce so active and so universal, that in travelling from Paris to St. Petersburg, from Amsterdam to the farthest part of Sweden, or from Dunkirk to the extremity of the south of France, one is served at every inn upon English ware. Spain, Portugal, and Italy are supplied with it, and vessels are loaded with it for the East Indies, the West Indies, and the continent of America."* But this was by no means the only product of the ingenuity and perseverance of Wedgwood. By seeking for and combining various kinds of clay, and by the introduction of new colouring substances, he was enabled to produce ornamental works of great beauty, of many different colours and qualities. Thus, he made cameos, medallions, small statues, &c., of a substance so hard and so well adapted to resist the action of fire and acids, that they bid fair to surpass bronzes, or any other works of art, in durability. The collection of antique vases brought from Italy by Sir William Hamilton opened a new field for his imitative powers; and he discovered the method of painting on vases without the glossy appearance of ordinary painting on porcelain and earthenware; an art which had been practised by the Etruscans, but lost since the time of Pliny. In connexion with Mr. Chisholm, a chemist who applied himself to this manufacture, and other scientific men whose services he engaged, Wedgwood tried long, but ineffectually, to overcome the insalubrity of the method of glazing with the oxides of lead, which had superseded the common process of glazing with salt.

From the statements of Shaw it appears that the art of transferring printed devices to pottery was introduced in this period. He states that "Mr. Carver, an engraver, employed by Messrs. Sadler and Green, of Liverpool, having invented a method by which devices from engraved copper-plates can be printed upon the glaze, (now called *black printing*,) Mr. Wedgwood employed the waggon belonging to Mr. Morris, the carrier, of Lawton, once a fortnight, to take down a load of cream-colour to be printed in this improved manner, by Messrs. Sadler and Green, and return with the load previously taken for that purpose." "The specimens," he adds, "are beautiful; and a tea-service, well authenticated to have been sent down in 1767, from the Bell works, is excellent in quality, and very fine in embellishment."* Shaw further informs us that black printing is said to have been practised at Hanley, by a person named Baker, before it was commenced by Sadler and Green;—and also that blue printing was introduced soon afterwards; being first practised by a person named Turner, of Caughley, in Shropshire, who is said to have completed, in 1780, the first blue printed table-service made in England.†

At the time of Young's visit to the Staffordshire Potteries, a very few years after the coloured ware was introduced, he informs us that there were about three hundred houses, which were calculated to employ, upon an average, twenty hands each, or six thousand in the whole; but that, if the persons engaged in the preliminary processes were included, the number of persons employed in this department of industry could not be far short of ten thousand; and it was daily increasing. He says, "The common clay of the country is used for the ordinary sorts; the fine kinds are made of clay from Devonshire and Dorsetshire, chiefly from Bideford; but the flints from the Thames are all brought rough by sea, either to Liverpool or Hull, and so by Burton."‡ A statement made by Wedgwood, in 1785, before a committee of the House of Commons, affords some statistical information respecting the manufacture about the close of the present period. It appears that the number of persons directly supported by the manufacture in and about the district called the Potteries, was 15,000 or 20,000; but that these formed but a small part of those dependent upon it; many more being engaged in raising coal for fuel, digging and preparing clay and flints, and conveying the materials and manufactured goods to and from the factories. Wedgwood estimated that 50,000 or 60,000 tons of clay and flints were annually conveyed to Staffordshire; and stated that about five-sixths of the whole quantity of wares made were exported; a fact affording a

* Travels in England, Scotland, and the Hebrides, translated from the French, vol. i. pp. 97, 98.

* History of the Staffordshire Potteries, p. 192.
† Id., p. 212.
‡ Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. p. 253.

striking contrast to the state of the manufacture at the commencement of his useful career.*

Although it has been asserted that glass was made in England at a much earlier period—and glass windows were certainly common long before—the first definite information we have met with on the subject is, that the manufacture of flint-glass was commenced in 1557, in which year it has been stated that drinking-glasses were first made in England. Crutched Friars, and the Savoy House in the Strand, London, are supposed to have been the earliest seats of the manufacture.† The destruction of wood occasioned by the glass manufacture, as well as by that of iron, appears, from Harrison, to have been a subject of complaint in the time of Elizabeth; and, in the reign of her successor, Sir Robert Mansell having discovered a method of making glass with coal, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the use of wood as fuel in making glass, and also the importation of foreign glass. From this proclamation, which was made in 1616, and is referred to in another, issued by Charles I., in 1635, and printed in the Fœdera, the manufacture of glass appears to have been then of considerable importance; although it may be inferred that the British manufacturers were unable to compete with those of the continent in quality, as Sir Robert Mansell has special permission to import such glasses from Venice, Morana, or other parts of Italy, as he should think fit, for special uses and purposes. This permission is supposed to refer to the fine Venetian flint-glasses for drinking, the manufacture of which was not brought to perfection in England until the close of the seventeenth century. Our glass manufactures were afterwards greatly improved by the exertions of the Duke of Buckingham, who, in 1670, is stated to have sent for the best glass-makers, glass-grinders, and polishers from Venice; "which public-spirited design has since so well succeeded," observes Anderson, writing in 1763, "as to be now enabled to send to that very place, and to almost every other part of Europe, and to Asia, Africa, and America, the very finest glass of all sorts that the earth can produce." About three years after this, it appears that the first glass plates for looking-glasses and coach-windows were made at Lambeth, under the auspices of the Duke of Buckingham. These were probably similar to our common sheet or window-glass; as the art of casting plates of glass, so as to produce what is now known as *plate-glass*, was first practised about 1688, in France.* The manufacture of plate-glass, properly so called, was commenced in England about 1773, in which year a joint-stock company was incorporated by act of parliament,† under the name of "The Governor and Company of British Cast Plate-Glass Manufacturers." A capital of 40,000*l.* was subscribed, and works were erected on a large scale at Ravenhead, near Prescot, in Lancashire, where the manufacture has been diligently and successfully prosecuted down to the present time. At an early period the plates made by this company were said to rival or even surpass the most celebrated foreign manufactures in size and brilliancy. It has been asserted that crown-glass was not manufactured in England till after 1760; but we have been unable to find any notice of its introduction. During the greater part of this period the duty on glass was levied under an act of 1746,‡ and amounted to 9*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. on the materials used in the manufacture of crown, plate, and flint-glass; and one-fourth of that sum, or 2*s.* 4*d.* per cwt., on the materials of green bottle-glass. In 1777§ these duties were doubled on plate and flint-glass, and raised fifty per cent. on crown, German sheet, and bottle glass; while a duty of 7*s.* per cwt. was imposed for the first time upon broad glass; and they were further increased in 1779, 1781, and 1783; the last alteration making them nearly 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* on the superior kinds of glass, nearly 16*s.* 2*d.* on crown and German sheet, nearly 8*s.* 2*d.* on broad, and rather more than 4*s.* on bottle glass. From a return printed with the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, 1835, it appears that the amount of duty received in England in 1770 upon bottle-glass was 25,759*l.*, and upon all other descriptions 59,500*l.*, making a total of 85,260*l.* In 1777, the rates of duty being the same, bottle-glass yielded 28,994*l.*, and other kinds 67,343*l.*; or 96,337*l.* in the whole. In 1778 the duties, increased as before stated, produced a gross sum of 131,817*l.*; being, from flint and plate 40,176*l.*; from crown and German sheet 44,310*l.*; from bottle-glass 39,627*l.*; and from broad glass 7703*l.* For some years following the duties declined a little in productiveness, and in 1784 were as follows:—plate, flint, and white, 43,655*l.*; crown and German sheet, 46,486*l.*; broad, 7200*l.*; and bottle-glass, 34,072*l.*; making a total of 131,415*l.* From these returns it would appear, by computation, that the quantity of bottle-glass made in 1777, the last year of the low duties, was about 248,520 cwts.; and that of other descriptions, in the same year, about

* A letter printed in the Annual Register for 1763 contains some remarks on the state of the British porcelain manufacture at that time. The writer says, "I have seen porcelain of all the manufactures of Europe. Those of Dresden in Poland [Saxony] and Chatillon in France are well known for their elegance and beauty. With these I may class our own of Chelsea, which is scarce inferior to any of the others; but these are calculated rather for ornament than use, and, if they were equally useful with the Oriental china, they could yet be used but by few, because they are sold at high prices. We have indeed here many other manufactories of porcelain which are sold at a cheaper rate than any that is imported; but, except the Worcester, they all wear brown, and are subject to crack, especially the glazing, by boiling water. The Worcester has a good body, scarce inferior to that of Eastern china; it is equally tough, and its glazing never cracks or scales off." This manufacture was, the writer adds, confined to comparatively few articles. It supplied the tea-table, and was sufficiently perfect to make up sets of foreign china, of which pieces were accidentally broken, without a perceptible difference; but, at that time, it supplied little towards the furniture of the dinner-table.

† See Anderson's History of Commerce, under the year 1557. It is stated in the Appendix to that work (edition of 1787, vol. iii. p. 156) that the first glass-house was established at Newnham, in Gloucestershire.

* The difference is here noticed because some writers, apparently confounding *glass plates* with *plate-glass*, have stated that the latter was made at the time and place above-mentioned.

† 13 Geo. III. c. 38. ‡ 19 Geo. II. c. 12.

§ 17 Geo. III. c. 39.

144,306 cwts. In the same way the returns of 1784 indicate the amount of the manufacture to have been, of bottle-glass nearly 170,000 cwts.; broad glass about 17,800 cwts.; crown and German sheet about 57,500 cwts.; and of the superior kinds about 40,600 cwts. The document upon which this statement is founded also affords some information respecting the glass-manufacture of Scotland. In 1770, the first year for which any return is given, 2593*l.* was paid as duty on bottle-glass made in that country; and no other kind is mentioned. In 1777, before the duty was increased, the amount had risen to 3190*l.* In 1778 it was 7430*l.* The next year, 1779, flint-glass appears for the first time; the duty paid for it being 817*l.* In 1781 appear the first returns for crown and German sheet; the duty paid in that year being 1317*l.*, though it was not so much in any of the five succeeding years. In 1784 the entire duty on glass paid in Scotland was 7275*l.*; being, 1222*l.* on flint-glass, 280*l.* on crown and German sheet, and 5772*l.* on bottle-glass.

During the earlier part of the eighteenth century the manufacture of cotton fabrics in England was assuming considerable importance, and was on the eve of great improvements.* No fabric consisting entirely of cotton was made in this country before the accession of George III.; although many varieties of goods called cotton were made with the weft of that material and the warp of linen; some of them perhaps as early as the end of the sixteenth century. This branch of industry, being on a very limited scale, and chiefly carried on as a domestic manufacture, presents few circumstances worthy of notice; but it may be observed that confusion is sometimes occasioned by the application, in early times, of the name *cottons* to certain *woollen* fabrics.† At a very early period this compound manufacture was located at Bolton, Leigh, and other small towns in Lancashire; and at least as late as the middle of the eighteenth century it was conducted in a very simple manner. The weavers, who were dispersed in cottages throughout the district, purchased the materials, worked them up, and then sold them on their own account to the dealers. But towards the middle of the century the business began to take a new form;—the masters or principal dealers of Manchester giving out cotton-wool to the weavers, and linen yarn for the warp. The preparation and spinning of the cotton were then done either by the weaver's own family, or by persons employed and paid by him; while he received from his employer a fixed price for the labour bestowed.‡ No means were then known of spinning fibres of cotton into a thread of sufficient strength to be used as warp; and, as the common spinning-wheel, by which only one thread was produced, was the only machine in use, the supply of cotton thread for the weft was very deficient; it being often impossible for a weaver to keep himself fully employed, on account of the difficulty of procuring it. During the first half of the century the imports of cotton wool did not amount, on an average, to so much as two millions of lbs. per annum; but at the end of that time they began to increase, and the necessity of some quicker method of spinning became more and more apparent. In 1751 the imports amounted to nearly three millions of lbs., and in 1764 were not much under four millions; but it was evident that, under existing circumstances, the manufacture could not make much further progress; and it was impossible to be very particular as to the quality of the cotton-yarn made use of, since its scarcity insured employment to spinners of every degree of skill. Mr. Baines gives the following account of the state of this branch of industry at the commencement of the reign of George III.:—"Up to the year 1760 the machines used in the cotton manufacture in England were nearly as simple as those of India, though the loom was more strongly and perfectly constructed, and cards for combing the cotton had been adopted from the woollen manufacture. The cotton manufacture, though rapidly increasing, could never have received such an extension as to become of great national importance, without the discovery of some method of producing a greater quantity and better quality of yarn with the same labour. None but the strong cottons, such as fustians and dimities, were as yet made in England; and for these the demand must always have been limited. Yet, at present, the demand exceeded the supply, and the modes of manufacture were such as greatly impeded the increase of production. The weaver was continually pressing upon the spinner. The processes of spinning and weaving were generally performed in the same cottage, but the weaver's own family could not supply him with a sufficient quantity of weft, and he had much pains to collect it from neighbouring spinners. Thus his time was wasted, and he was often subjected to high

* See Piet. Hist. of Eng., vol. iv. p. 730.

† The late period to which this inconvenient use of the name was continued may be seen by the following extract from Young's Six Months' Tour. He observes that the making of *cottons* was a considerable manufacture at Kendal at the time of his visit; and says, "They are called Kendal cottons; chiefly for exportation, or sailors' jackets, about 10*d.* or 1*s.* a-yard, made of Westmoreland wool, which is very coarse, selling only at 3*d.* or 4*d.* per lb. This branch employs three or four hundred hands, particularly shearmen, weavers, and spinners."—Vol. iii. p. 134.

‡ The Six Months' Tour of Arthur Young, in 1770, which we have so often quoted in illustration of the industry of this period, enters minutely into the manufactures of Manchester, which are divided into four branches—the fustian, the check, the hat, and the worsted small wares. Of the first class he enumerates thirteen varieties of manufacture:—corded dimities, velvets, velverets, thicksets, pillaws, quilts, petticoats, draw-boys, diapers, herring-bones, jeans, jeanets, and counterpanes. These goods were "worked up of cotton alone, of flax and cotton, and of Hamburg yarn." America, it is stated, took three fourths of all the manufactures of Manchester; and of the first class of manufactured articles—the fustians—it is observed, "Many low-priced goods they make for North America, and many fine ones for the West Indies. The whole business was exceedingly brisk during the war (1756-63), and very bad after the peace; but now are pretty good again, though not equal to what they were during the war. All the revolutions of late in the North American affairs are felt severely by this branch. It was never known in it that poor people applied for work and could not get it, except in the stagnation caused by the Stamp Act." Young further says, "The number of spinners employed in and out of Manchester is immense; they reckon thirty thousand souls in that town; and fifty thousand manufacturers employed out of it."—Vol. iii. pp. 187—194. His account of the number of persons employed must, we should think, be greatly exaggerated; although there is every reason to believe that the number was very large.

demands for an article on which, as the demand exceeded the supply, the seller could put her own price."*

Arkwright was not the first person who directed his attention to this inconvenient state of things, with a view to devising a remedy. Cotton thread had been produced without the intervention of human hands as early as 1733, by the machine invented by Mr. Wyatt, and subsequently patented by Lewis Paul, with whom he had formed a partnership in 1738.† This invention, of which the specification has come to light within a few years, deprives Arkwright of the honour of having been the *first* inventor of the plan of spinning by rollers; but at the same time confirms his claim to originality, as he mentioned the invention in his "Case," drawn up for presentation to parliament in 1782, at a time when his patent right was subjected to constant invasion; "and it is incredible," as has been remarked, "that, if he had possessed a knowledge of the particulars of Wyatt's patent, he should have thus drawn public attention to it, since he must, in that case, have known that the production of the specification would at once have deprived him of every ground upon which to establish his own rights as an inventor."‡ Nor is the ignorance of Arkwright on this subject by any means extraordinary, considering that this machine had proved a failure—not being able to produce thread equal to that made by the wheel in quality; and also that, although possessed of extraordinary powers of mind, he was an illiterate man. But nothing further can be needed to clear Arkwright from the suspicion of copying this invention than the fact that his opponents, whose interest led them to make every effort to overthrow his claims, were evidently unacquainted with the particulars of this patent, since they did not adduce it as a proof of prior invention. Dr. Ure has endeavoured to account for the failure of this beautiful and much-needed invention in the hands of Wyatt, by his want of fitness for the difficult task of bringing it into profitable operation. "Wyatt was a man of good education, in a respectable walk of life, much esteemed by his superiors, and therefore favourably placed, in a mechanical point of view, for maturing his admirable scheme. But he was of a gentle and passive spirit, little qualified to cope with the hardships of a new manufacturing enterprise. It required, in fact, a man of a Napoleon nerve and ambition to subdue the refractory tempers of work-people accustomed to irregular paroxysms of diligence, and to urge on his multifarious and intricate constructions in the face of prejudice, passion, and envy. Such was Arkwright, who, suffering nothing to stay or turn aside his progress, arrived gloriously at the goal, and has for ever affixed his name to a great era in the annals of mankind—an era which has laid open unbounded prospects of wealth and comfort to the industrious, however much they may have been occasionally clouded by ignorance and folly."*

Several methods of machine-spinning were suggested and tried between the date of Wyatt's invention and that of Arkwright; but the spinning-jenny, invented by James Hargreaves, a weaver residing near Blackburn, is the only one that claims particular notice. It was a contrivance by which one person was enabled to spin several threads at once; but which, in other respects, did not essentially differ from the common hand-wheel. The spindles were, however, vertical, or nearly so, whereas that of a spinning-wheel was always horizontal; and it has been said that the attention of Hargreaves was first attracted to the subject by observing the continued motion of a spinning-wheel that had been accidentally overturned with the spindle upwards. According to Dr. Ure, the spinning-jenny was invented about the year 1764; and, although it was kept private, Hargreaves had mounted and sold several before 1768, when the violent opposition of those who fancied themselves likely to be injured by the introduction of any mechanical substitute for human labour compelled him to leave the neighbourhood in which he had resided. When his secret transpired, not only was his machine destroyed by a riotous mob, but even his life was threatened. He therefore removed to Nottingham, where he established a small spinning-mill, in connexion with Mr. James, a joiner. In 1770 he obtained a patent, but unfortunately it was invalidated by the circumstance of his having made and sold several jennies before it was procured. His patent was therefore extensively invaded, and, as he had not acceded to the proposition made by delegates from the manufacturers, who had offered him 3000*l.* for permission to use his machine, he eventually gained nothing by it, excepting what he realized by his share in the factory at Nottingham. He died in 1778; "but," says Dr. Ure, "he did not fall a victim to poverty, as some have erroneously stated. The spinning factory of which he was a partner went on tolerably well, and enabled its author to live in humble comfort at least, and to leave a decent provision for his widow and children."† The spinning-jenny was originally made with eight spindles, but subsequent improvements increased the number to eighty. While this invention greatly increased the productive power of human labour, it did not introduce anything new in the principle of spinning itself; the thread produced by it being, like that of the common wheel, fit for use only as weft, for which purpose it was used even after the introduction of Arkwright's machinery, which first produced cotton thread of sufficient strength for warp. Nor did Hargreaves's invention materially alter the domestic character of the employment, the jenny being introduced into the houses of many of the Lancashire weavers. A similar machine, called a *jeannette*, has long been used in France, but, after investigating the

* History of the Cotton Manufacture, p. 115.
† See Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 780.
‡ Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Arkwright.'

* Philosophy of Manufactures, p. 16.
† Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 198.

point, Dr. Ure is of opinion that it was derived from the jenny of Hargreaves, instead of having been, as he had for a time conceived, the original of the English contrivance.

To enter into the details of the early attempts at spinning by machinery with such minuteness as to enable the reader to distinguish accurately the differences between them would be foreign to the object of this work.* What it was necessary to effect is well expressed by Dr. Ure in the following words:—"The grand mechanical problem which the cotton manufacture then offered to the solution of the ingenious may be stated as follows:—To construct a machine in which one member should supply continuously and uniformly porous cords of parallel filaments in minute portions; a second member should attenuate these cords by drawing out their filaments alongside of each other by an imperceptible gradation; a third member should at once twist and extend these attenuated threads unremittingly as they advance; and a fourth should wind them regularly upon bobbins exactly in proportion as they are spun."† Such a problem may well have appeared, in the then imperfect state of mechanical science, to be impossible of solution; and, although the machines of Wyatt and Paul may have done something in leading the way to the accomplishment of the object, they had also an unfavourable effect; since they had totally failed, notwithstanding the encouragement offered by the high price then paid for cotton-yarn. From the facts elicited in the searching investigation which the subject has undergone, by the adherents of Arkwright as well as by those who have sought to convict him of plagiarism, or at any rate to deprive him of the honour of being the first inventor of the machinery which he brought into use, it is evident that the scheme of spinning by rollers had attained notoriety before he brought forward his plan; but that it was regarded unfavourably—a natural consequence of its failure in the hands of the earliest experimentalists.

Richard Arkwright was born at Preston, in Lancashire, in 1732; he was brought up as a barber, and followed that trade in the town of Bolton. It is said that he gained some celebrity by his skill in preparing and dyeing hair; and that he travelled about the country buying and selling it. Possibly the information obtained in his journeys may have led him to consider the possibility of machine-spinning, as he would doubtless have numerous opportunities of observing the inconvenience occasioned to the weavers in the district in which he resided by the deficient supply of cotton-yarn. It is commonly stated that his first effort in mechanics was an attempt to discover the perpetual motion; but Dr. Ure conceives that he may have disguised his first experiments in cotton-spinning under that name—a supposition not very improbable, considering the violent opposition then made to the introduction of machinery. However this might be, he completed a model of his spinning-machine

SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT. From a Portrait by J. Wright, R.A.

in 1767, and applied to a Mr. Atherton, a mechanist of Warrington, for assistance in constructing a working machine. Atherton declined taking any share in what appeared so hazardous an enterprise, but sent two workmen to assist Kay, who had been engaged in making the model. The machine was soon made, and set up privately at Preston, Arkwright being assisted by a friend named Smalley. The success of this trial encouraged them to take measures for the construction of other machines on a larger scale; but apprehensions excited by the recent riots against Hargreaves's invention induced them to abandon their native county. Arkwright and Smalley therefore went to Nottingham, whither Hargreaves also migrated about the same time. They were led to select this place because it was then, as now, the head-quarters of the framework-knitting trade, in which, perhaps more than in any other branch of the cotton manufactures, the want of good yarn was a serious inconvenience; the common hand-spun yarn, and also that made by the jenny, being too soft and loose for making good stockings. Here Arkwright's invention was encouraged for a time by Messrs. Wright, bankers, who, however, soon became alarmed, and withdrew from the concern. They introduced Arkwright to Mr. Need, an extensive stocking-manufacturer in partnership with Jedediah Strutt, who had some years before invented the only important improvement made on the original stocking-frame of Lee—that by which it was enabled to produce ribbed stockings. These gentlemen appreciated the value of Arkwright's invention; and with their encouragement he effected improvements in the factory which, with the assistance of Smalley and the Messrs. Wright, he had founded at Not-

* It may be well here to remark that the particulars of this narrative are given chiefly on the authority of Dr. Ure's 'Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain;' it having been deemed more advisable to follow so good an authority than to make any attempt to place various, and often conflicting, statements before the reader; especially where the points in question are of minor importance.

† Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 219.

tingham in 1768, and which was driven by horse-power. Arkwright became connected with Need and Strutt in 1770; but in the previous year—a year also memorable for the first patent taken out by Watt—he had obtained his first patent, in which he chose to describe himself as a clockmaker, a title not altogether unfounded, as he had devoted much attention to the construction of time-pieces. The invention for which this patent was obtained consisted principally in the use of two pairs of rollers, between which the roving of cotton is drawn, the second pair being made to revolve much faster than the first. In passing between the first pair of rollers, the cotton, then in the form of a thick but very soft cord, is slightly compressed, but receives no further alteration; but, as the second pair of rollers revolve more rapidly than the first, it is evident that the cotton passing between them must be drawn out to a length proportionate to the difference of their velocities. Thus, if the second pair of rollers revolve twice as fast as the first, the thread will be drawn out to double its original length; or, if they revolve ten times as fast, to ten times its original length; its thickness being of course reduced in proportion to the increase of length. To enable the rollers to hold the soft cotton thread, the upper one of each pair is covered with leather, while the lower one is of wood, and fluted. The details of this machine, of which a drawing is given on the margin of the specification, show that Arkwright possessed considerable talent in mechanical contrivance.

In 1771 Messrs. Arkwright, Need, and Strutt selected a convenient site on the river Derwent, at Cromford, where they erected the first spinning-mill worked by water-power,—"the nursing-place," as it is styled by Dr. Ure, "of the factory opulence and power of Great Britain." "Here," says this writer, "still [in 1836] may be seen at work the original frames of the inventor—proofs demonstrative, were any wanted by the candid philosopher, that Arkwright was no plagiarist of other men's ideas, since he had then created a grand productive automaton, unlike everything else on the face of the earth. But many years of indefatigable labour passed over the inventor's head before the system was completed to his mind,—scarcely a week being barren of some valuable improvement." * From the use of water-power in impelling the machinery of this mill, Arkwright's machine obtained the name of the *water-frame*, and the thread produced by it was called *water-twist*. In 1775 a second patent was obtained, in which several new contrivances were embraced, some of which, it was alleged by his opponents, were not the invention of Arkwright. As the whole of the operations of a cotton-factory were included in this patent, it was impossible to avoid the mention of some things that were not new; and this afforded a pretext for those who desired to invalidate his patent, in order to avail themselves of mechanism which, to say the least, Arkwright was the first to bring into practical operation. One of the points much contested was the share that he had in the invention of carding-machinery. Cards are the instruments resembling combs or brushes, consisting of wire teeth set in leather, which are used for laying the fibres of wool or cotton in a parallel direction. As early as 1748 cylindrical cards are supposed to have been invented by Lewis Paul; and they were subsequently improved by several individuals. In Arkwright's machinery a beautiful contrivance was introduced for removing the cotton from a carding-cylinder in an unbroken fleece, by means of a comb that was made by a crank movement to impinge upon the teeth of the cylinder with slight but reiterated strokes, and thereby detach the cotton. This, as well as others of his inventions, was divulged by his workmen, and pirated by other manufacturers; and many of his contrivances thus surreptitiously obtained before he took out his second patent were afterwards used as weapons against him. In fact, the whole course of conduct followed by his opponents indicates a most disgraceful want of principle and of fair dealing towards this benefactor of his country. They bribed away the persons whom he had trained, with no inconsiderable labour, to the processes of his factory; they inflamed the passions of the mob to such a degree as to cause the destruction of a mill he had erected near Chorley, which was burned in the presence of a powerful body of police and military, without any of the civil authorities requiring their interference to prevent the outrage; and they even formed a combination not to purchase his yarn, although its very superior quality was acknowledged.* At length Arkwright brought actions against nine of the pirating manufacturers, but he was nonsuited in the first case, not on the ground originally taken by his opponents—that his invention was not new—but on the plea that his specification was not sufficiently distinct. This was in July, 1781. He therefore abandoned the other eight actions, but published a statement which he called his "Case," in the hope of obtaining an act of parliament to confirm his second patent, although it had been quashed in a court of law; an object which he did not pursue. In this publication it was stated that he had established a business that already employed upwards of 5000 persons and a capital of not less than 200,000*l.*

For some time Arkwright did, in consequence of this decision, forego his rights under the second patent; but in 1785 he commenced a new action, which was decided in his favour, thereby restoring his exclusive right. But by this time the number of persons who were interested in quashing the patent had greatly increased. "On the faith of the former verdict large capitals had been embarked, which would have been subjected to heavy depreciation if his patent could have been sustained, and accordingly in a very few months an action was brought for the cancelling the patent by a writ of *scire facias*, nominally at the suit of the crown; but actually prosecuted by

* Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 228.

* Ure, Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 239.

the cotton-spinners of Lancashire, who would have been liable to penalties for continuing to use the invention."* On this occasion the workman, named Kay, who had been employed to make Arkwright's original machine, but had left his employment in consequence of being accused of felony, was brought forward to prove that he had been previously engaged in a similar manner for another person, whose invention he said he had divulged to Arkwright. Suspicious as was the character of all the evidence brought against Arkwright, a verdict was once more given against him; and, although he endeavoured to bring on another trial, the court refused to allow it.

But we must return to another branch of the history of Arkwright and his inventions. The combination among the manufacturers to discountenance the use of his yarn left a large stock upon his hands, and compelled him and his partners, in an early stage of their operations, to manufacture it themselves into hosiery and cotton cloths. The fabrication of stockings succeeded very well; and so did that of calicoes, which was commenced at Derby in 1773, so far as the manufacture was concerned; but it was discovered that these goods, being formed entirely of cotton, were subject to an excise duty of 6*d.* per yard, as being similar to those imported; while the duty on the British mixed fabric was only 3*d.*; and also that their use when printed was prohibited by an existing law *for the encouragement of the arts*—an enactment intended to prevent the printing of Indian white goods for home use; but very impolitic in its provisions, because the unequal affinities of linen and cotton for mordants and colouring matters rendered it impossible to print well on the composite fabrics, the use of which was thus made necessary. As the operation of this act was ruinous to the undertaking in which Arkwright and his partners were engaged, they applied to parliament for its repeal; but such was the malignity of the rival manufacturers, that they offered a strong opposition. Notwithstanding this, an act was passed in 1774, recognising the new manufacture as useful and praiseworthy, and sanctioning the use of the genuine British calicoes on payment of 3*d.* per yard duty.†

* Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Arkwright.'

† The preamble of this act, which is 14 Geo. III. c. 72, is as follows:—"Whereas a new manufacture of stuffs, wholly made of raw cotton wool, (chiefly imported from the British plantations,) hath been lately set up within this kingdom, in which manufacture many hundreds of poor people are employed: and whereas the use and wear of *printed, painted, stained,* or dyed stuffs, wholly made of cotton, and manufactured in Great Britain, ought to be allowed under proper regulations: and whereas doubts have arisen whether the said new-manufactured stuffs ought to be considered as calicoes, and as such, if printed, painted, stained, or dyed with any colour or colours, (such as shall be dyed throughout of one colour only excepted,) liable to the inland or excise duties laid on calicoes when printed." &c.; . . . "and whether the wearing or use of such new-manufactured stuffs, when the same are printed, painted, stained, or dyed, are not prohibited by an act passed in the seventh year of the reign of his late majesty King George the First, intituled, 'An act to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures of this kingdom, and for more effectual employing the poor, by prohibiting the use and wear of all printed, painted, stained, or dyed calicoes, in apparel, household stuff, furniture, or otherwise,'" &c. It is therefore enacted, for the removal of such doubts, that no greater duty than threepence per yard long, reckoning a yard wide, is to be taken for such manufacture when printed, &c., and that all persons may use and wear the same.

Considering the numerous and serious obstacles to be overcome, it is not surprising that, as stated in Arkwright's "Case," "it was not till upwards of five years had elapsed after obtaining his first patent, and more than 12,000*l.* had been expended in machinery and buildings, that any profit accrued to himself and partners;" but, at a subsequent period, wealth and prosperity amply rewarded the enterprising founders of the factory system. We shall have occasion, in the next Book, to revert to their important establishments.

Another invention connected with cotton-spinning claims notice in this place—the machine contrived by Samuel Crompton, and called a *mule*, or *mule-jenny*, from the circumstance of its combining the principles of the spinning-jenny of Hargreaves and the water-frame of Arkwright. This machine was invented about 1776, but did not come into general use till about ten years later, and could not then have been used publicly but for the annulling of Arkwright's patent. Crompton devoted much time to his invention, and endeavoured to work it in secret; but the superior quality of the yarn supplied by him attracted attention, and he was at length compelled to make it public. Dr. Ure remarks that "the mule enabled the spinner to make a prodigious advance in the fineness as well as rapidity of his work; and it may be considered as the parent of the muslin manufacture, destined in so short a time to render Europe the successful competitor of the hitherto unrivalled productions of Hindostan."*

SAMUEL CROMPTON. From a Portrait by Allingham.

The process of weaving received few improvements during this period, the principal being a new mode of throwing the shuttle, by which the weaver was enabled to produce a much greater quantity of cloth in a given time, and of any required width. This improvement was adopted

* Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 262.

from the woollen manufacture, in which it had been in use many years before it was applied to the production of cotton cloth.* Strutt's improvement on the stocking-frame, which was invented a few years before the accession of George III., led to the introduction of several new articles of manufacture. His patent was twice contested, by the hosiers of Derby and of Nottingham, but unsuccessfully. The superior quality of the water-twist yarn was of great importance in the stocking manufacture, in which it soon superseded that made by hand. The application of the stocking-frame to the production of lace was first tried about the year 1777.

It would be impossible, without going much more fully into detail than our limits will allow, to trace satisfactorily the progress of the textile manufactures of this country in the early part of the reign of George III. Although the manufactures of wool, linen, and silk were all increasing, the rapid strides made in that of cotton threw them comparatively into the shade. At the commencement of the reign, in giving an account of the quantity and value of the linen stamped for sale in Scotland from 1740 to 1760, Macpherson observes that the linen made in private families for domestic use in some shires was probably equal to one-half of what was made for sale; but that all the linen made in the whole kingdom of Scotland was much inferior in value to the woollen cloth manufactured in the West Riding of Yorkshire only.† In the year 1760 the linen stamped for sale in Scotland was 11,747,728 yards, valued at 523,153*l.*; the produce having risen in twenty years from 4,609,672 yards, which was the quantity stamped in 1740. In 1784 the quantity stamped was 19,138,593 yards, valued at 932,617*l.*‡ Writing under the date 1760, Macpherson says, "Some manufactures of a more advantageous nature were now beginning to arise in Scotland, especially in the towns and villages within the influence of the spirited and commercial city of Glasgow, among which Paisley was the soonest distinguished for the industry and ingenuity of its manufacturers. Bengals (imitations of striped muslins), handkerchiefs, lawns, and threads, had been made in Paisley for a considerable time before the year 1759, when silk gauzes were first made there. As soon as they appeared in London, some gentlemen there resolved to avail themselves of the low rate of wages in Paisley, and to set up a manufacture of silk gauzes upon a large scale. The stagnation occasioned by the general mourning for the late king was of service to their undertaking, as the weavers of light fabrics were all thrown idle, and glad to get employment; and thenceforth silk gauzes became the principal articles of the place. They supplied the London and foreign markets, and gained so decided a preference to those of Spitalfields, that the manufacture was soon after in a manner resigned to Paisley, and there it has paved the way to the still more important manufactures of muslin and other articles of cotton."§

The manufacture of thread attained considerable importance in Scotland at this time. It is said to have been introduced at Paisley about 1722, and in 1784 the number of machines employed in twining thread at that place is said to have been not less than 120; while in all Scotland they amounted to about 500. It is also stated that about this time, the number of women employed in the various operations of this manufacture, from the spinning of the flax to the finishing of the thread, was upwards of 20,000, besides 4000 or 5000 men.†

The linen manufacture of Ireland increased rapidly until 1771, in which year the exports from Dublin amounted to the value of 1,691,000*l.*; but, as there was an over-production about that time, the amount fell until, in 1773, it was less than 900,000*l.* In that year it is said that in the north of Ireland about three-fourths of the looms were out of employment; and in some places a still larger proportion. This depression in the manufacture caused considerable emigration from the north of Ireland, principally to North America. The state of affairs in Scotland was not much better. It was stated in evidence given before the House of Commons in 1774, that in four shires in Scotland, including Glasgow and Paisley, out of 6000 looms, 2500 were unemployed; and that in general a *third* part of the looms in Scotland and the north of England were idle.‡ The quantity of linen cloth exported from Ireland in 1710 was only 1,688,574 yards. In 1760 it had risen to 13,375,456 yards; and in 1770 it was 20,560,754 yards. During the interval the price per yard had slightly increased; the average in 1710 having been 1*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1770 1*s.* 6*d.* In the same time the exports of linen yarn had risen from 7975 cwts., valued at 47,853*l.*, to 33,417 cwts., valued at 200,502*l.*§ "The first water-mill erected in Ireland," Dr. Ure states,‖ "for spinning cotton-twist was built in the neighbourhood of Belfast. In the year 1771, at which time there was not a single cotton-loom in the whole north of Ireland, the late Robert Joy conceived the scheme of introducing into that then desponding kingdom the cotton manufacture, which has proved a source of industry and considerable

* See Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 731.
† Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 336.
Id. vol. iv. p. 63.

* Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. pp. 336, 337. A quotation made by Dr. Ure from Gibson's History of Glasgow, as an incidental evidence of the coarse quality of British cotton goods, even so late as 1775, is curious:—"While the industrious inhabitants of Glasgow and Paisley were lately exerting themselves to improve, bring to perfection, and extend the manufactures of cambric and lawn (flax fabrics), the greater part of the women in Scotland were wearing muslin, a fabric of India; nay, so great is the influence of fashion, that the very wives and daughters of these men were wearing this exotic themselves! Surely we are void of thought!" Dr. Ure adds, "To counteract this absurdity in the Scottish ladies of wearing these foreign robes, because they were cheaper, more durable, and more becoming than their country-people's webs, a national society was proposed to be founded for shaming down these anti-patriotic habits in the ladies, and for black-balling all the gentlemen who should continue to keep company with the refractory fair in muslin raiment."—*Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 190.
† Appendix to Anderson's History of Commerce, edition of 1789.
‡ Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, iii. 547.
§ Id. vol. iii. p. 515.
‖ Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 285, &c.

opulence to the sister island." Joy's first attempt was with the common wheel, which was worked by the children in the Belfast poorhouse; but machinery resembling that used in England was soon introduced. The first mill for spinning twist by water in Ireland was built in the year 1784, "from which year," Dr. Ure adds, "the Irish cotton manufactures were considered to be firmly established." Macpherson states that in 1780 Captain Robert Brooke established a cotton manufactory about eighteen miles west from Dublin; and that the manufacture soon became important, being taken up by other persons also.*

Early in this reign the production of fine linen fabrics excited much attention in England; an important manufactory of cambric being established at Winchelsea, in Sussex. From an account of this undertaking in the Annual Register for 1763, it appears that the workmen employed in the first instance were chiefly French; but that English children were taken as apprentices. Great difficulties were experienced in procuring good hands, and still more in raising flax of sufficiently fine quality. The writer of the account referred to says, "Before French cambrics were prohibited by act of parliament, the quantity of them consumed in England was almost incredible: it is therefore to be hoped that our ladies will not be less fond of this Winchelsea linen (which equals the French cambrics in quality), merely because it happens to be manufactured in England." Macpherson states that this manufactory was established in 1761; and that in 1765 it was brought to such perfection that its products "were esteemed nothing inferior to the French fabric, and promised, with due encouragement, very soon to supersede the necessity of importing any from France."† He adds, in a note, that three hundred pieces were sold at Garraway's Coffee-house in January, 1765, at an average price of 13*s.* 6*d.* per yard. An act of parliament was passed in 1764‡ to establish a company, under the title of the English Linen Company, for carrying on this manufacture.

Arthur Young mentions a considerable lace manufactory at Bedford, employing five hundred women and girls. The lace made was of various sorts, up to the price of 25*s.* per yard. The women employed earned from 8*d.* to 1*s.* per day; and the girls, aged from eight to fifteen years, from 6*d.* to 9*d.* "This manufacture," he observes, "is of infinite use to the town, employing advantageously those who otherwise would have no employment at all."§

Of the woollen manufactures, which in the previous periods of our history have claimed so much notice, there is now very little to say. "It does not appear that for upwards of a century and a half any very essential alteration or improvement had been made in the *processes* of manufacture, either for woollen or worsted fabrics, beyond the variations of colours and patterns, accommodated to the caprices of fashion. But, fortunately for our clothiers, the ingenious mechanical inventions and arrangements of Arkwright, for the carding and spinning of cotton-wool, were soon modified to suit the two staples of sheep's wool, and produced an entire revolution in the woollen and worsted trade."* The results of this improvement may come under notice in a subsequent period. From authentic annual accounts of the quantity of woollen cloth produced in the West Riding of Yorkshire, it appears that in the year ending March, 1761, the number of pieces of broad cloth made in that district was 48,944, and of narrow cloth 75,468. In the year ending March, 1771, the numbers were 92,782 and 89,920; and in the corresponding twelve months of 1780 and 1781, 102,018 and 98,721 respectively. In the latter year the pieces manufactured, which were of various lengths, contained 3,099,127 yards of broad, and 2,671,397 yards of narrow cloth. The quantity of the finer cloths manufactured in the West of England is not, Macpherson says, so well ascertained.† The average annual value of the woollen goods exported from England in the five years from 1772 to 1776 was about 4,146,904*l.*, according to the custom-house computation; and, as Macpherson observes, it must have been considerably more in reality. In 1777 it was estimated that the woollen manufacture gave employment to about 1,500,000 persons in various parts of England;‡ but probably this estimate, like many others made before authentic statistical information became generally diffused, is considerably beyond the truth. Knit stockings were made at Kendal to such an extent that Young states the estimated number of hands employed to be near five thousand. "They reckon a hundred and twenty wool-combers, each employing five spinners, and each spinner four or five knitters. If four, the amount is two thousand four hundred. This is the full work, supposing all to be industrious; but the number is probably much greater." The produce was about 28,600 dozen annually, and the price per pair from 22*d.* to 6*s.*, but in general from 22*d.* to 4*s.*; and some for boys as low as 10*d.* At an average of 3*s.* per pair, the annual value would be 51,480*l.* Young states that they were all sent to London by waggon.§ The same writer informs us that the woollen manufactures of Witney, in Oxfordshire, consisting of kersey-pieces, coarse bear-skins, and blankets, occupied above 500 weavers, who worked up 7000 packs of wool annually. The two first-named articles were

* Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 80.
† Id., vol. iii. p. 411.
‡ 4 Geo. III. cap. 36.
§ Six Months' Tour, vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

* Ure, Philosophy of Manufactures, pp. 137, 138.
† After the statement from which the above particulars are extracted, Macpherson gives an estimate, published about 1783, of the annual produce of the principal manufactures of Great Britain; observing, however, that he does not know on what principles it is founded. This estimate makes the annual value of the woollen manufactures 16,800,000*l.* Leather is rated at 10,500,000*l.*; flax, 1,750,000*l.*; silk, 3,350,000*l.*, and cotton only 960,000*l.* The total annual value of our manufactures is stated at 56,660,000*l.*—*Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. pp. 15, 16.
‡ Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 603.
§ Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. p. 133.

made for the American market; and the finest blankets, rising to 3*l.* a-pair, for Spain and Portugal. The blankets for home use were generally 23*s.* or 24*s.* a pair, ten quarters wide and twelve long. Four or five broad-wheeled waggons went weekly to London with the goods manufactured here.*

The silk manufacture does not appear to have made any important progress during this period. "After the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, French and Italian manufactured silks were admitted under considerable duties; but in 1765 the ribbon and other silk manufacturers procured the re-establishment of the prohibitory system, which was thenceforward maintained for sixty years, enforced by heavy penalties. With the increase of population and the greater demand for luxuries, the home market increased; but an export trade, principally to America, gradually decayed, in consequence perhaps of the heavy duties on raw and thrown silk."†

The arts of dyeing and calico-printing received several improvements in this quarter of a century. Calico-printing began in this country in 1676, according to Anderson; but Mr. Thomson, of Primrose, near Clitheroe, in evidence given before a parliamentary committee in 1833, states that the first establishment was founded in 1690, at Richmond, on the banks of the Thames, by a Frenchman. The process might not have been carried on successfully in England for a considerable time, but for the operation of the act 11 and 12 Will. III. cap. 10, by which foreign prints were prohibited. This act, and others by which the production and use of printed cottons were long and seriously impeded, were passed in consequence of the clamorous demands of those engaged in the manufacture of silk and woollen fabrics for protection from rivalry, especially from the cottons of India. Allusion has been made in a preceding page to the absurd restriction by which, for a considerable time, the printing of goods entirely consisting of cotton was forbidden. It was computed that about 50,000 pieces of linen and cotton goods were printed annually in Great Britain about the year 1750, when the practice of this art was almost entirely confined to the vicinity of London. Mr. Thomson states that calico-printing was introduced into Lancashire about 1768 or 1769; but Mr. Baines‡ gives the date 1764. It was then, he says, commenced near Preston, by Messrs. Clayton; but was soon taken up and prosecuted with great vigour by Robert Peel (grandfather to the present Sir Robert Peel), near Blackburn. Mr. Peel is said to have commenced his operations privately, having his cloth ironed by a female of the family, instead of being calendered. Cylinder-printing was not introduced till about 1785. Young, writing in 1770, says, "At Carlisle is a considerable stampery of printed cottons, established by some manufacturers from Newcastle; the labourers in it earn from 1*s.* to 3*s.* a-day."§

The name of Dr. Roebuck has already been introduced in connexion with the improvements of the steam-engine and the iron manufacture; and his efforts for the extension of the national industry in another way must not be passed without notice. This remarkable man was the son of a Sheffield manufacturer, and was born in that town in 1718. Soon after 1744 he settled in Birmingham, where, besides practising in the medical profession, he devoted much attention to scientific pursuits. "Strongly attached to the rising science of chemistry, he conceived high views of extending its usefulness, and of rendering it subservient to the improvement of arts and manufactures."* In connexion with Mr. Garbet, he established an extensive laboratory at Birmingham in 1747, at which several chemical processes were carried on profitably. About this time the extensive use of oil of vitriol, or sulphuric acid, in chemistry, and the prospect of its application in the useful arts, led to a great demand for it. Dr. Ward obtained a patent for a method of making it, and established a manufactory, which became very lucrative; but the price of the acid was high, owing partly to the frequent accidents with the glass vessels used in the process of manufacture. Dr. Roebuck, by substituting large vessels of lead for those of glass, and various other improvements, was enabled to supply it much cheaper; and he, with Garbet, set up a large manufactory for producing it at Prestonpans, in Scotland, in 1749. Ward opposed them, and took out a patent for Scotland, but in vain. Roebuck and Garbet did not procure a patent, but kept their process secret. The establishment of these works reduced the price of sulphuric, or, as it was then called, vitriolic acid, from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 4*d.* per lb. It is therefore not surprising that the demand became very large, both for home use, and, for a time, for exportation. The reduced price of the acid led to its use in many processes to which it had not previously been applied. It does not appear to have been used for bleaching in Roebuck's time, although he tried and recommended it for that purpose. This establishment realised great profits; but it is painful to add that its enterprising founder did not long derive the benefit due to his talents and exertions. After these works had been some years in operation, he projected, as before stated, the Carron iron-works, and subsequently became lessee of extensive coal and salt works at Borrowstounness, near Carron; which latter, proving unsuccessful, involved him in so much expense that he was ultimately compelled to resign his shares in the flourishing refinery at Birmingham, the vitriol-works at Prestonpans, and the iron-works at Carron, besides his share in the property of Watt's patent. Ruinous as the speculation at Borrowstounness proved to himself, it was of great benefit to the trade of the country, and afforded employment to nearly a thousand men.

Under the year 1781, Macpherson gives some

* Six Weeks' (Southern) Tour, p. 130, &c.
† Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Riband.'
‡ History of the Cotton Manufacture.
§ Six Months' Tour, vol. iii. p. 94.

* Memoir by Jardine, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol. iv.

particulars respecting the introduction of another important chemical process,—the manufacture of verdigris. Until early in this reign that substance, without which, it is asserted, not a single hat could be dyed, was made nowhere in Europe except in the south of France; but some years before 1781, Messrs. Bindley and Maud, of Newnham, in Gloucestershire, had produced verdigris equal to the best French. In 1763 Mr. Bindley received 50*l.*, and in the next year a further premium of 100*l.*, from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, as a reward for the introduction of this important manufacture into Britain. The manufacture being fully established, a duty was laid on foreign verdigris by the act 21 Geo. III., cap. 32.*

From the same source we learn that before the end of the present period the distillation of ardent spirits from corn and molasses had, "unfortunately for the health, the morals, and the industry of the people, become a plenteous source of revenue to the government, and a great and flourishing manufacture in every part of Great Britain, and especially in the metropolis," which, with its near neighbourhood, paid about eleven-twelfths of the whole duty collected in the United Kingdoms.†

It may be gathered from a circumstance recorded by Macpherson under the year 1783, that great advances had been made shortly before that time in the art of carriage-building. The coachmakers of London and Edinburgh had for some years been successfully rivalling those of Paris, who were formerly the most celebrated for the construction of fashionable carriages. Carriages had, before the year just mentioned, been exported from Edinburgh to the principal towns on the Baltic, and to St. Petersburg; but in that year an Edinburgh coach-builder received an order from *Paris* for *a thousand* crane-necked carriages; the order to be executed in three years.‡

The manufacture of blocks for the rigging of ships had been, before this time, carried on so imperfectly that serious inconvenience, and even danger, was often occasioned by the failure of these important parts of the tackle, at the time when their perfect action was most essential to the safety of the vessel. The first great improvement in the process of making them was effected by two persons named Walter Taylor, father and son. The elder Taylor, who died in 1762, had spent many years at sea, and was led to turn his attention to this subject from experience of the necessity of improvement. In 1763 a patent was granted to Elizabeth, widow of the above Walter Taylor, "for the sole use and exercise of certain engines, tools, instruments, and other apparatus, for making blocks, sheavers, and pins," invented by her late husband; from which patent it appears that the improved blocks were first examined by the officers of the admiralty and ordnance in 1759, and that the commissioners of the navy had, before the patent was granted, contracted with the widow for the supply of blocks for the navy. In 1776 the term of this patent was extended by act of parliament* for an additional period of fourteen years; the act reciting that the patentee had assigned her interest to her son Walter, who had made great improvements in the machinery. Great difficulties had to be overcome in bringing the improved mechanism into operation, but about 1781 an extensive manufactory was established at Southampton; and for a considerable time Taylor supplied all the blocks required for the use of the navy. In the prosecution of this manufacture, Taylor is said to have invented the circular saw; and, if he did not actually invent the instrument, he was probably the first to use it for the purpose of cutting wood,—the only earlier use of it with which we are acquainted being for cutting the teeth of watch and clock wheels. The use of saw-mills in this country may be said to date from the year 1767 or 1768, when a mill was erected at Limehouse; the proprietor, Mr. Dingley, receiving a reward from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c., for the service he thereby rendered to the industry of the nation. Saw-mills had been long before used on the Continent; and one had been erected near London as early as 1633, but it was soon afterwards "put down, lest," as observed by Anderson, "our labouring people should want employment." In the year 1700 Houghton† recommended the adoption of saw-mills in this country, although he anticipated that they might meet with some opposition from the populace. The mill erected at Limehouse was superintended by James Hansfield, who had become acquainted with the use of sawing machinery in Holland and Norway; and was driven by wind. As Houghton had feared nearly seventy years before, it excited the jealousy of the mob, who pulled it to pieces; but as the rioters were punished, and the damage was made good by the county, it was immediately re-established, and was soon followed by others. According to some authorities, a saw-mill was erected at Leith a few years earlier than this. With the exception of those in the block-machinery of Taylor, circular saws were not used till a later period; all the early saw-mills being on the reciprocating plan.

The grand achievement of John Harrison, in making chronometers available as a means of ascertaining the longitude, may be noticed here, although it perhaps belongs more strictly to the history of scientific inventions and discoveries. It affords a rare example of undaunted perseverance crowned with success. Harrison was born near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, in 1693. His father was a carpenter, and he himself followed that business for several years, but early displayed a taste for mechanical pursuits, especially for the improvement of time-pieces. In 1714 an act of parliament had

* Annals of Commerce, vol iii. pp. 688, 689.
† Id. vol. iv. p. 43.
‡ Id., vol. iv. p. 35.

* 16 Geo. III. c. 18.
† Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, No. 419

been passed offering rewards of 10,000*l.*, 15,000*l.*, and 20,000*l.* respectively, for the discovery of the means of ascertaining the longitude within sixty, forty, or thirty miles.* This offer, the terms of

John Harrison.

which indicate how greatly such an invention was needed, stimulated Harrison to great exertions. According to a paper delivered to the commissioners of longitude on the 16th of January, 1741-2, he had made a pendulum-clock that kept time so exactly with the heavens as not to err above one second in a month for ten years together. The pendulum of this machine was rendered almost independent of the disturbing effect of changes of temperature, by the combination of metals that are differently affected by heat. An account of his inventions, in the Annual Register for 1765, states that Harrison had made this clock by the year 1726, and that about 1729 he began his experiments for the construction of a marine chronometer—a task of no small difficulty, it being necessary to provide against irregularities arising from the motion of the ship, the effect of alternations of temperature on the machine itself, and on the oil with which it is lubricated, and a variety of other circumstances. About 1736 he had made a time-piece of such superior excellence that he was allowed, in that year, to proceed with it to Lisbon in a king's ship, and the result was so favourable that the Commissioners of Longitude encouraged him to proceed with his experiments. According to the Annual Register, this time-piece, after a voyage to Lisbon and back, corrected the reckoning at the mouth of the Channel about a degree and a half. The paper of 1741-2 states that Harrison had made a second marine time-piece, with which many experiments had been tried, and adds, "And the result of all these experiments is this; that (*as far as can be determined without making a voyage at sea*) the motion of the machine is sufficiently regular and exact for finding the longitude of a ship within the *nearest limits proposed by parliament*, and *probably much nearer*." It further states that he was then making a third time-piece of small size; and it concludes by expressing an opinion that, even in their then state of exactness, the chronometers would be of great use, and recommending the commissioners to aid Harrison by a grant of money to enable him to complete his third chronometer. It is signed by the president of the Royal Society, the Astronomer Royal, and several other scientific men. Harrison subsequently made a fourth time-piece; and then, considering that he had attained sufficient accuracy to obtain the prize offered by the act of 1714, he requested a trial.* Accordingly, in 1761, the fourth chronometer was taken to Jamaica, in a king's ship called the Deptford, Harrison's son accompanying it. On its arrival at Port Royal, Jamaica, it was found to be only $5\frac{1}{10}$ seconds wrong, and, on its return to Portsmouth, in the beginning of the following year, in the Merlin, only 1 minute $54\frac{1}{2}$ seconds; this being sufficiently accurate to determine the longitude within eighteen miles. Having accomplished so much more than was required by the terms on which the highest reward was offered, Harrison claimed it; but several objections were raised, and an act of parliament † was passed authorizing the immediate payment of 1500*l.*; 1000*l.* more when his chronometer should return from a further trial voyage to the West Indies; 5000*l.* when he should have fully divulged the principles upon which it was constructed; and the remaining part of the reward so soon as the merits of the invention should have been fully proved. In 1764 the chronometer was taken to Barbadoes by William Harrison, son of the inventor; and in the next year another act was passed,‡ allowing 10,000*l.*, as a moiety of the reward, to be paid when Harrison should have fully divulged his invention, and assigned his four chronometers (one of which was styled a watch) to the use of the public, deducting the sum of 2500*l.* which he had already received under the former act. The remaining moiety of 10,000*l.* was to be

* The preamble of this act, which is 12 Anne, cap. 15, is as follows: "Whereas it is well known by all that are acquainted with the art of navigation that nothing is so much wanted and desired at sea as the discovery of the longitude, for the safety and quickness of voyages, the preservation of ships and the lives of men," &c. The act then constitutes certain persons commissioners for the discovery of the longitude, with power to receive and experiment upon proposals for that purpose, and to grant sums of money not exceeding 2000*l.* to aid in such experiments. The clause by which the rewards are offered, and of which we make an extract, in order to show what was the encouragement held out to experimentalists, is as follows:—"And for a due and sufficient encouragement to any such person or persons as shall discover a proper method for finding the said longitude, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that the first author or authors, discoverer or discoverers of any such method, his or their executors, administrators, or assigns, shall be entitled to, and shall have, such reward as hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, to a reward or sum of 10,000*l.*, if it determines the said longitude to one degree of a great circle, or sixty geographical miles; to 15,000*l.* if it determines the same to two-thirds of that distance; and to 20,000*l.* if it determines the same to one-half of the same distance; and that one moiety or half part of such reward or sum shall be due and paid when the said commissioners, or the major part of them, do agree that any such method extends to the security of ships within eighty geographical miles of the shores which are the places of the greatest danger, and the other moiety or half part when a ship, by the appointment of the said commissioners, or the major part of them, shall thereby actually sail over the ocean, from Great Britain to any such port in the West Indies as those commissioners, or the major part of them, shall choose or nominate for the experiment, without losing their longitude beyond the limits before mentioned."

* Annual Register, 1765. † 2 Geo. III. cap. 14. ‡ 5 Geo. III. cap. 20.

paid on sufficient proof of the correctness of the chronometers. Harrison expressed the greatest readiness to explain his inventions, and to subject them to any required test; but such were the delays and disputes of those who had the management of the matter, that he did not procure the whole of his reward until 1767.* Harrison died in 1776, in his eighty-third year. Many schemes had been proposed before Harrison's invention, but none of them had proved successful. This, however, and others to which it gave rise, have rendered the determination of the longitude almost as certain as improvements in astronomical instruments have made the observation of the latitude. The benefits it has conferred upon navigation are almost incalculable, and can only be conceived by comparison with the uncertainty that prevailed previously, and the accidents often thence arising. The circumstance of government having offered so large a sum as 10,000*l.* for an invention that should enable the navigator to determine the longitude *within sixty miles* is sufficient proof of the fearful necessity of improvement that existed within little more than a century of the present time.

* That Harrison felt keenly the injustice of the repeated delays to which he was subjected may be seen from the following extract of a letter sent by him to the commissioners, dated May 30, 1765. The letter is printed, at length, in the Annual Register for that year: "I cannot help thinking but I am extremely ill used by gentlemen who I might have expected a different treatment from; for if the act of the 12th of Queen Anne be deficient, why have I so long been encouraged under it, in order to bring my invention to perfection? And, after the completion, why was my son sent twice to the West Indies? Had it been said to my son, when he received the last instruction, 'There will, in case you succeed, be a new act at your return, in order to lay you under new restrictions, which were not thought of in the act of the 12th of Queen Anne,' I say, had this been the case, I might have expected some such treatment as I now meet with. It must be owned that my case is very hard; but I hope I am the first, and, for my country's sake, shall be the last, that suffers by pinning my faith on an English act of parliament. Had I received my just reward, for certainly it may be so called after forty years' close application in the improvement of that talent which it had pleased God to give me, then my invention would have taken the course which all improvements in this world do; that is, I must have instructed workmen in its principles and execution, which I should have been glad to have had an opportunity of doing. But how widely this is different to what is now proposed, viz. for me to instruct people that I know nothing of, and such as may know nothing of mechanics; and, if I do not make them understand to their satisfaction, I may then have nothing! Hard fate indeed to me, but still harder to the world, which may be deprived of this my invention, which must be the case, except by my open and free manner in describing all the principles of it to gentlemen and workmen, who almost at all times have had free recourse to see my instruments! And if any of those workmen shall have been so ingenious as to have got my invention, how far you may please to reward them for their piracy must be left for you to determine; and I must set myself down in old age, and thank God I can be more easy in that I have made the conquest, and though I have no reward, than if I had come short of the matter, and by some delusion had the reward."

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

THE chief bequest which the immediately preceding age made to the era of our literature commencing with the accession of George III. was the body of Prose Fiction, the authors of which we familiarly distinguish as the modern English novelists, and which in some respects may be said still to stand apart from everything in the language produced either before or since. Indeed, Fielding was the only one of these writers yet dead, and the series of their works was still incomplete. Richardson had at last laid down his fluent pen; but Smollett had yet to add his Humphrey Clinker to his Roderick Random, his Peregrine Pickle, and his Count Fathom; and Sterne had only begun his Tristram Shandy.

If there be any writer entitled to step in before Richardson and Fielding in claiming the honour of having originated the English novel, it is Daniel Defoe. But, admirable as Defoe is for his inventive power and his art of narrative, he can hardly be said to have left us any diversified picture of the social life of his time, and he is rather a great *raconteur* than a novelist, strictly and properly so called. He identifies himself, indeed, as perfectly as any writer ever did with the imaginary personages whose adventures he details;—but still it is adventures he deals with rather than either manners or characters. It may be observed that there is seldom or ever anything peculiar or characteristic in the language of his heroes and heroines; some of them talk, or write, through whole volumes, but all in the same style; in fact, as to this matter, every one of them is merely a repetition of Defoe himself. Nor even in professed dialogue is he happy in individualizing his characters by their manner of expressing themselves; there may be the employment occasionally of certain distinguishing phrases, but the adaptation of the speech to the speaker seldom goes much beyond such mere mechanical artifice; the heart and spirit do not flash out as they do in nature; we may remember Robinson Crusoe's man Friday by his broken English, but it is in connexion with the fortunes of their lives only, of the full stream of incident and adventure upon which they are carried along, of the perils and perplexities in which they are involved, and the shifts they are put to, that we think of Colonel Jacque, or Moll Flanders, or even of Robinson Crusoe himself. What character they have to us is all gathered from the circumstances in which they are placed; very little or none of it from either the manner or the matter of their discourses. Even their conduct is for the most part the result of circumstances; any one of them acts, as well as speaks, very nearly as any other would have done similarly situated. Great and original as he is in his proper line, and admirable as the fictions with which he has enriched our literature are for their other merits, Defoe has created no character which lives in the national mind—no Squire Western, or Trulliber, or Parson Adams, or Strap, or Pipes, or Trunnion, or Lesmahago, or Corporal Trim, or Uncle Toby. He has made no attempt at any such delineation. It might be supposed that a writer able to place himself and his readers so completely in the midst of the imaginary scenes he describes would have excelled in treating a subject dramatically. But, in truth, his genius was not all dramatic. With all his wonderful power of interesting us by the air of reality he throws over his fictions, and carrying us along with him whithersoever he pleases, he has no faculty of passing out of himself in the dramatic spirit, of projecting himself out of his own proper nature and being into those of the creations of his brain. However strong his conception was of other things, he had no strong conception of character. Besides, with all his imagination and invention, he had little wit, and no humour—no remarkable skill in any other kind of representation except merely that of the plain literal truth of things. Vivid and even creative as his imagination was, it was still not poetical. It looked through no atmosphere of ideal light at anything; it saw nothing adorned, beautified, elevated above nature; its gift was to see the reality, and no more. Its pictures, therefore, partake rather of the character of fac-similes than of that of works of art in the true sense. On turning our eyes from his productions to those either of Fielding or Richardson, we feel at once the spell of quite another sort of inventive or creative power. Yet no two writers could well be more unlike than the two we have mentioned are to one another both in manner and in spirit. Intellectually and morally, by original constitution of mind as well as in the circumstances of their training and situation, the two great contemporary novelists stood opposed the one

to the other in the most complete contrast. Fielding, a gentleman by birth, liberally educated, had been a writer for the public from the time he was twenty: Richardson, who had nearly attained that age before Fielding came into the world (the one was born in 1689, the other in 1707), having begun life as a mechanic, had spent the greater part of it as a tradesman, and had passed his fiftieth year before he became an author. Yet, after they had entered upon the same new field of literature almost together, they found themselves rivals upon that ground for as long as either continued to write. To Richardson certainly belongs priority of date as a novelist: the first part of his Pamela was published in 1740, the conclusion in 1741; and Fielding's Joseph Andrews, originally conceived with the design of turning Richardson's work into ridicule, appeared in 1742. Thus, as if their common choice of the same species of writing, and their antipathies of nature and habit, had not been enough to divide them, it was destined that the two founders of the new school of fiction should begin their career by having a personal quarrel. For their works, notwithstanding all the remarkable points of dissimilarity between those of the one and those of the other, must still be considered as belonging to the same school or form of literary composition, and that a form which they had been the first to exemplify in our language. Unlike as Joseph Andrews was to Pamela, yet the two resembled each other more than either did any other English work of fiction. They were still our two first novels properly so called—our two first artistically constructed epics of real life. And the identity of the species of fictitious narrative cultivated by the two writers became more apparent as its character was more completely developed by their subsequent publications, and each proceeded in proving its capabilities in his own way, without reference to what had been done by the other. Fielding's Jonathan Wild appeared in 1743; Richardson's Clarissa Harlowe—the greatest of his works—was given to the world in 1748; and the next year the greatest birth of Fielding's genius—his Tom Jones—saw the light. Finally, Fielding's Amelia was published in 1751; and Richardson's Sir Charles Grandison in 1753. Fielding died at Lisbon in 1754, at the age of forty-seven; Richardson survived till 1761, but wrote nothing more.

Meanwhile, however, a third writer had presented himself upon the same field—Smollett, whose Roderick Random had appeared in 1748, his Peregrine Pickle in 1751, and his Count Fathom in 1754, when the energetic Scotsman was yet only in his thirty-fourth year. His Sir Launcelot Greaves followed in 1762, and his Humphrey Clinker in 1771, in the last year of the author's active life. Our third English novelist is as much a writer *sui generis* as either of his two predecessors, as completely distinguished from each of them in the general character of his genius as they are from each other. Of the three, Richardson had evidently by far the richest natural soil of mind; his defects sprung from deficiency of cultivation; his power was his own in the strictest sense; not borrowed from books, little aided even by experience of life, derived almost solely from introspection of himself and communion with his own heart. He alone of the three could have written what he did without having himself witnessed and lived through the scenes and characters described, or something like them which only required to be embellished and heightened, and otherwise artistically treated, in order to form an interesting and striking fictitious representation. His fertility of invention, in the most comprehensive meaning of that term, is wonderful,—supplying him on all occasions with a copious stream both of incident and of thought that floods the page, and seems as if it might so flow on and diffuse itself for ever. Yet it must be confessed that he has delineated for us rather human nature than human life—rather the heart and its universal passions, as modified merely by a few broad distinctions of temperament, of education, of external circumstances, than those subtler idiosyncracies which constitute what we properly call character. Many characters, no doubt, there are set before us in his novels, very admirably drawn and discriminated; Pamela, her parents, Mr. B., Mrs. Jewkes, Clarissa, Lovelace, Miss Howe, Sir Charles Grandison, Miss Byron, Clementina, are all delineations of this description of the most part natural, well brought out, and supported by many happy touches: but (with the exception, perhaps, of the last mentioned) they can scarcely be called original conceptions of a high order, creations at once true to nature and new to literature; nor have they added to that population of the world of fiction among which every reader of books has many familiar acquaintances hardly less real to his fancy and feelings than any he has met with in the actual world, and for the most part much more interesting. That which, besides the story, interests us in Richardson's novels, is not the characters of his personages but their sentiments—not their modes but their motives of action—the anatomy of their hearts and inmost natures, which is unfolded to us with so elaborate an inquisition and such matchless skill. Fielding, on the other hand, has very little of this, and Smollett still less. They set before us their pictures of actual life in much the same way as life itself would have set them before us if our experience had chanced to bring us into contact with the particular situations and personages delineated; we see, commonly, merely what we should have seen as lookers on, not in the particular confidence of any of the figures in the scene; there are they all, acting or talking according to their various circumstances, habits, and humours, and we may look at them and listen to them as attentively as we please; but, if we want to know anything more of them than what is visible to all the world, we must find it out for ourselves in the best way we can, for neither they nor the author will ordinarily tell us a word of it. What both these

writers have given us in their novels is for the most part their own actual experience of life, irradiated, of course, by the lights of fancy and genius, and so made much more brilliant and attractive than it was in the reality, but still in its substance the produce not of meditation but of observation chiefly. Even Fielding, with all his wit, or at least pregnancy of thought and style—for the quality in his writings to which we allude appears to be the result rather of elaboration than of instinctive perception—would probably have left us nothing much worth preserving in the proper form of a novel, if he had not had his diversified practical knowledge of society to draw upon, and especially his extensive and intimate acquaintance with the lower orders of all classes, in painting whom he is always greatest and most at home. Within that field, indeed, he is the greatest of all our novelists. Yet he has much more refinement of literary taste than either Smollett or Richardson; and, indeed, of the works of all the three, his alone can be called classical works in reference to their formal character. Both his style and the construction of his stories display a care and artifice altogether unknown to the others, both of whom, writing on without plan or forethought, appear on all occasions to have made use alike of the first words and the first incidents that presented themselves. Smollett, a practised writer for the press, had the command, indeed, of a style the fluency of which is far from being without force, or rhetorical parade either; but it is animated by no peculiar expressiveness, by no graces either of art or of nature. His power consists in the cordiality of his conception and the breadth and freedom of his delineation of the humorous, both in character and in situation. The feeling of the humorous in Smollett always overpowers, or at least has a tendency to overpower, the merely satirical spirit; which is not the case with Fielding, whose humour has generally a sly vein of satire running through it, even when it is most gay and genial.

But he to whom belongs the finest spirit of whim among all our writers of this class is the immortal author of "The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy." Sterne, born in Ireland in 1713, had already published one or two unregarded sermons when the first and second volumes of his most singular novel were brought out at York in the year 1759. The third and fourth volumes followed in 1761; the fifth and sixth in 1762; the seventh and eighth not till 1765; the ninth in 1767. The six volumes of his Yorick's Sermons had also come out in pairs in the intervals; his Sentimental Journey appeared in 1768; and his death took place the same year. Sterne has been charged with imitation and plagiarism; but surely originality is the last quality that can be denied to him. To dispute his possession of that is much the same as it would be to deny that the sun is luminous because some spots have been detected upon its surface. If Sterne has borrowed or stolen some few things from other writers, at least no one ever had a better right to do so in virtue of the amount that there is in his writings of what is really his own. If he has been much indebted to any predecessor, it is to Rabelais; but, except in one or two detached episodes, he has wholly eschewed the extravagance and grotesqueness in which the genius of Rabelais loves to disport itself, and the tenderness and humanity that pervade his humour are quite unlike anything in the mirth of Rabelais. There is not much humour, indeed, anywhere out of Shakspeare and Cervantes which resembles, or can be compared with that of Sterne. It would be difficult to name any writer but one of these two who could have drawn Uncle Toby or Trim. Another common mistake about Sterne is, that the mass of what he has written consists of little better than pure nonsense or rubbish—that his beauties are but grains of gold glittering here and there in a heap of sand, or, at most, rare spots of green scattered over an arid waste. Of no writer could this be said with less correctness. Whatever he has done is wrought with the utmost care, and to the highest polish and perfection. With all his apparent caprices of manner, his language is throughout the purest idiomatic English; nor is there, usually, a touch in any of his pictures that could be spared without injury to the effect. And, in his great work, how completely brought out, how exquisitely finished, is every figure, from Uncle Toby, and Brother Shandy, and Trim, and Yorick, down to Dr. Slop, and Widow Wadman, and Mrs. Bridget, and Obadiah himself! Who would resign any one of them, or any part of any one of them?

It has been observed, with truth, that, although Richardson has on the whole the best claim to the title of inventor of the modern English novel, he never altogether succeeded in throwing off the inflation of the French romance, and representing human beings in the true light and shade of human nature. Undoubtedly the men and women of Fielding and Smollett are of more genuine flesh and blood than the elaborate heroes and heroines who figure in his pages. But both Fielding and Smollett, notwithstanding the fidelity as well as spirit of their style of drawing from real life, have for the most part confined themselves to some two or three departments of the wide field of social existence, rather abounding in strongly marked peculiarities of character than furnishing a fair representation of the common national mind and manners. And Sterne also, in his more aerial way, deals rather with the oddities and quaintnesses of opinion and habit that are to be met with among his countrymen than with the broad general course of our English way of thinking and living. Our first genuine novel of domestic life is Goldsmith's exquisite Vicar of Wakefield, written in 1761, when its author, born in Ireland in 1728, was as yet an obscure doer of all work for the booksellers, but not published till 1766, when his name had already obtained celebrity by his poem of The Traveller. The language contains no work either more truly

English in spirit than the Vicar of Wakefield, or more classical in manner and form. Scarcely anywhere else is there to be found a humour at once so rich and deep and of so unforced and natural a flow; a sunny shower, it may be called, all gladness and love, and irradiating while it refreshes. Never had wit and sprightliness so little of either gall or acid as in Goldsmith; he is truly what his friend Johnson has said of him in his epitaph, "*sive risus essent movendi sive lacrymæ, affectuum potens at lenis dominator*;"—a ruler of our affections, and mover alike of our laughter and our tears, as gentle as he is prevailing.

As the author of the Traveller and the Deserted Village, published in 1765 and 1771, Goldsmith, who lived till 1774, also holds a distinguished place among the poetical writers of this first quarter of a century of the reign of George III., the poetical produce of which, however, is neither very considerable in quantity, nor any of it of the highest order in quality. Indeed the scanty measure of song which has sufficed to make the fame of some of the most eminent poets of this time is remarkable. Shenstone and Gray, as well as Goldsmith, are instances of this; as was likewise Collins, who died, however, a few years before the commencement of the present period: the whole collected verse of these four, or at least all of it that posterity has cared to remember, would hardly, printed in a good type, make a decent sixpenny pamphlet. Collins, indeed, the greatest among them, died at the early age of thirty-six, and some of the last years of his short life were clouded with a depression of spirits which made intellectual exertion impossible; while his five or six odes which are universally known, including that to Evening and that entitled The Passions, were all written ten years before his death. Shenstone is remembered for his Pastoral Ballad, his Schoolmistress, and an elegy or two. Gray's famous elegy, his two Pindarics, his Ode on Eton College, his Long Story, and a few translations from the Norse and Welsh, and other short pieces, make up nearly all the enduring produce of a life of leisure, which terminated in 1771, at the age of fifty-five, and nearly thirty years of which had been devoted to poetry. And Goldsmith's renown rests upon his two poems already mentioned, which do not together much more than equal in length one of the books of Paradise Lost. Yet Collins, Gray, and Goldsmith are not only the greatest of our minor poets, but the greatest of all the poets of their era; and even Shenstone's slender oaten pipe has made considerable noise in the world. Goldsmith had not the skyey fancy of his predecessor Collins, but there is a glow of heart in his poetry which the school of Pope, to which, in its form at least, it belongs, had scarcely before reached, and which makes it an appropriate prelude to the more fervid song that was to burst forth among us in another generation. Nor does the gorgeous brocade of Gray's verse, even in the two celebrated compositions, The Progress of Poesy and The Bard, at which, according to Johnson, "the readers of poetry were at first content to gaze in mute amazement," hide the true fire and fancy that animate it, or even the real elegance of taste which had nevertheless been led to array itself so ambitiously. It must be admitted that he carries himself in his stiff and painted robes with an imposing air. But Gray often expresses himself too with ease and simplicity; the most touching of the verses in his Ode to Eton College, for instance, are in that style; and in his Long Story he has given us a fine example of his mastery over the lightest graces and gaieties of song.

One poet, however, of this age is not amenable to the charge of having written too little or at too slow a rate. Churchill published his first poem, The Rosciad, at the age of thirty, in 1776, and the rest of his compositions, including his satire entitled Night—The Ghost—The Prophecy of Famine — his Epistle to Hogarth — The Conference—The Duellist—The Author—Gotham—The Candidate — The Times — Independence — The Journey—several of them pieces of considerable length, all within the next four years. He was suddenly carried off by an attack of fever in November, 1764. Vigorous as well as fluent, though irregular and coarse, Churchill in his own day was looked upon as a sort of Dryden of the eighteenth century. He was far enough from being Dryden come to life again; but he had evidently formed himself upon the study of that great master; and he probably contributed somewhat to the restoration of a freer spirit and more various flow to our poetry, after the tranquillizing effect of half a century's imitation of the trim regularities of Pope. Cowper, himself at a later date the chief author of this restoration, appears to have looked upon Churchill as his precursor, and even to have made him his model in some respects. But, with little delicacy of taste, or refinement of any sort, Churchill wrote far too hastily, and too generally upon mere topics of the day, to achieve for himself more than an ephemeral popularity, and, though his name is still a considerable one in our literature, even the best of his poetry is now little read or known.

There still survived also some eminent poetical writers of the preceding age;—among others, Armstrong, born in Scotland in 1709, whose Art of Preserving Health, published in 1744, has the rare merit of an original and characteristic style, full of raciness and manly grace; and Akenside, likewise a physician, the author, at the age of twenty-three, of the Pleasures of Imagination, published in the same year with Armstrong's poem, and giving another example of the treatment of a didactic subject in verse with great ingenuity and success. Akenside's rich though rather diffuse eloquence, and the store of fanciful illustration which he pours out, evidence a wonderfully full mind for so young a man. But neither Akenside nor Armstrong published any verse after the accession of George III.; though the former lived

till 1770 and the latter till 1779. Wilkie, the author of the rhyming epic called The Epigoniad, who was a Scotch clergyman and professor, would also appear from the traditionary accounts we have of him to have been a person of some genius as well as learning, though in composing his said epic he seems not to have gone much farther for his model or fount of inspiration than to the more sonorous passages of Pope's Homer. The Epigoniad, published in 1753, can scarcely be said to have, in any proper sense of the word, long survived its author, who died in 1772. Nor probably was Glover's blank verse epic of Leonidas, which appeared so early as 1737, much read when he himself passed away from among men, in the year 1785, at the age of seventy-four—although it had had a short day of extraordinary popularity, and is a performance of considerable rhetorical merit. Glover also wrote two tragedies, one of which, entitled Medea, appeared in 1761; they are said to be cold and declamatory, and have been both long ago consigned to oblivion.

To the early part of the present period belongs Falconer's pleasing descriptive poem, the Shipwreck, the truth, nature, and pathos of which, without much imaginative adornment, have made it a general favourite. It was first published in 1762, and its author, who was a native of Scotland, was lost at sea in 1769, in his thirty-ninth year. Another poem of this age by a countryman of Falconer's, is Beattie's Minstrel, the first book of which was published in 1770, the second in 1774. The Minstrel is an harmonious and eloquent composition, glowing with poetical sentiment; but its inferiority in the highest poetical qualities may be felt by comparing it with Thomson's Castle of Indolence, which is perhaps the other work in the language which it most nearly resembles, but which yet it resembles much in the same way as gilding does solid gold, or as coloured water might be made to resemble wine. Everybody knows that, besides this and other pieces in verse, Beattie, who survived till 1803, wrote an Essay on Truth, and some other prose works, which everybody has long given up reading. The New Bath Guide, by Anstey, who lived till 1805, and wrote a considerable quantity of more verse, may be noticed as another of the poetical productions of this time, which for a season enjoyed great popularity, though now neglected. It first appeared in 1766, and the edition before us, printed in 1772, is the eighth. The New Bath Guide does not rise or aspire to rise above a rattling vivacity, and has been far surpassed in brilliancy by later productions in the same style; but it is entitled to be remembered as the earliest successful attempt of its class. Among the lighter versifiers of this period may be mentioned John Hall Stevenson, the author of the Crazy Tales, and other collections of satiric pieces, which are impregnated by a much airier spirit of wit and humour than those of Anstey. We may here also notice the celebrated "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," which, with several other effusions in the same vein, appeared in 1773, and is now known to have been, what it was always suspected to be, the composition of Gray's friend, Mason, who commenced poet so early as 1748 by the publication of a satire on the University of Oxford, entitled Isis, and afterwards produced his tragedies of Elfrida in 1752, and Caractacus in 1759, and the four books of his English Garden in 1772, 1777, 1779, and 1781, besides a number of odes and other shorter pieces, some of them not till after the expiration of the period now under review. Mason, who died, at the age of seventy-two, in 1797, enjoyed in his day a great reputation, which is now become very small. His satiric verse is in the manner of Pope, but without the wit; and the staple of the rest of his poetry too is mostly words.

There is much more fancy and true poetry, though less sound and less pretension, in the compositions of Thomas Warton, who first made himself known by a spirited reply to Mason's Isis in 1749, when he was only a young man of twenty-one, and afterwards produced many short pieces, all evidencing a genuine poetic eye and taste. Thomas Warton, however, who lived till 1790, chiefly owes the place he holds in our literature to his prose works—his Observations on the Fairy Queen, his edition of the Minor Poems of Milton, and above all, his admirable History of English Poetry, which, unfinished as it is, is still perhaps our greatest work in the department of literary history. Of the three quarto volumes the first appeared in 1774, the second in 1778, the last in 1781. Dr. Joseph Warton, the elder brother of Thomas, is also the writer of some agreeable verses; but the book by which his name will live is his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, the first volume of which was published, anonymously, in 1756, the second not till 1782. He died in 1800, in his seventy-eighth year. The Wartons may be regarded as the founders of a new school of poetic criticism in this country, which, romantic rather than classical in its spirit, (to employ a modern nomenclature,) and professing to go to nature for its principles instead of taking them on trust from the practice of the Greek and Roman poets, or the canons of their commentators, assisted materially in guiding as well as strengthening the now reviving love for our elder national poetry. But perhaps the publication which was as yet at once the most remarkable produce of this new taste, and the most effective agent in its diffusion, was Percy's celebrated Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, which first appeared in 1765. The reception of this book was the same that what is natural and true always meets with when brought into fair competition with the artificial; that is to say, when the latter is no longer new any more than the former:—

"As one who, long in populous city pent,
Forth issuing on a summer's morn to breathe
Among the pleasant villages and farms
Adjoined, from each thing met conceives delight;
The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or kine,
Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound;"

such pleasure took the reader of those rude old ballads in their simplicity, directness, and breezy freshness and force, thus suddenly coming upon him after being sated with mere polish and ornament. And connected with the same matter is the famous imposture of Rowley's poems, by which a boy of seventeen, the marvellous Chatterton, deceived, in the first instance, a large portion of the public, and, after the detection of the fraud, secured to himself a respectable place among the original poets of his country. Chatterton, who terminated his existence by his own hand in August, 1770, produced the several imitations of ancient English poetry which he attributed to Thomas Rowley, a monk of the fifteenth century, in that and the preceding year. But this was the age of remarkable forgeries of this description, Chatterton's poems of Rowley having been preceded, and perhaps in part suggested, by Macpherson's poems of Ossian. The first specimens of the latter were published in 1760, under the title of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse language;" and they immediately excited both an interest and a controversy, neither the one nor the other of which has quite died away even to the present hour. One circumstance, which has contributed to keep up the dispute about Ossian so much longer than that about Rowley, no doubt, is, that there was *some small portion of truth* mixed up with Macpherson's deception, whereas there was none at all in Chatterton's; but the Ossianic poetry, after all that has been said about its falsehood of style and substance as well as of pretension, making it out to be thus a double lie, must still have some qualities wonderfully adapted to allure the popular taste. Both Chatterton and Macpherson wrote a quantity of modern English verse in their own names; but nothing either did in this way was worth much; they evidently felt most at ease in their masques.

The dramatic literature of this era is very voluminous, but consists principally of comedies and farces of modern life, all in prose. Home, indeed, the author of Douglas, which came out in 1757, followed that first successful effort by about half a dozen other attempts in the same style, the last of which, entitled Alfred, was produced in 1778; but they were all failures. Horace Walpole's great tragedy, the Mysterious Mother, although privately printed in 1768, has never been acted, and was not even published within the present period. The principal writers whose productions occupied the stage were Goldsmith, Garrick, and Foote, who all died before the expiration of this period; and Macklin, Murphy, Cumberland, Colman, Mrs. Cowley, and Sheridan, who lived through it, and mostly survived till after the commencement of the present century. Goldsmith's two capital comedies of the Good-Natured Man, and She Stoops to Conquer, were brought out, the former in 1768, the latter in 1773. To Garrick, a miracle of an actor, but no more than a smartish man of talent off the boards, we owe, besides many alterations and adaptations of the works of Shakspeare and other preceding dramatic writers, the lively farces of The Lying Valet

GARRICK. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

and Miss in her Teens, both, however, produced before 1760; and he is also commonly stated to have been in part the author of the excellent comedy of The Clandestine Marriage, brought out in 1766, which was principally written by Colman.* The still favourite farce of High Life Below Stairs, first acted in 1759, which used also to be attributed to Garrick, is now understood to have been written by the Rev. James Townley, assisted by Dr. Hoadly, the author of The Suspicious Husband. Foote produced twenty-two comic pieces, mostly farcical and satirical, between 1752 and 1778; of which The Minor (1760), The Liar (1761), and The Mayor of Garratt (1763), still keep the stage. He was by nature a mimic, and a somewhat coarse one, rather than a wit. Macklin, also an actor as well as Garrick and Foote, is the author of the very clever and effective comedy of The Man of the World, which was brought out in Ireland, his native country, in 1764, under the name of The Free-Born Scotchman, although the daring delineation of the principal character, the renowned Sir Pertinax Macsycophant, debarred it for many years from the English stage. Macklin, who did not die till 1797, is remarkable for having lived to the age of a hundred and seven, and for, what is still more unexampled, having continued his appearances on the stage almost till he was a hundred. Colman, an accomplished scholar, and well known for his translations of the Plays of Terence and Horace's Art of Poetry, and various other

* In a copy of Baker's Biographia Dramatica, edit. of 1782, we find the following MS. note appended to the notice of this play, at p. 57 of vol. ii.:—"Garrick composed two acts, which he sent Mr. Colman, desiring him to put them together, or do what he would with them. *I did put them together*, said Mr. Colman; *for I put them in the fire, and wrote the play myself.* I had this anecdote from Mr. Colman's mouth. J. W."

literary performances, commenced dramatist in 1760, by the production of a clever and successful little piece, which he entitled "Polly Honeycombe, a Dramatic Novel;" and between twenty and thirty more comedies, farces, and alterations of older plays proceeded from his pen before 1780, among which his comedy of The Jealous Wife, produced in 1761, ranks as the best along with that of The Clandestine Marriage, already mentioned. Colman lived till 1794. Murphy, also an elegant scholar, and the translator of Tacitus and Sallust, is the author, among other dramatic productions of less note, of the farce of The Upholsterer (1758), of the comedies of The Way to Keep Him (1760), All in the Wrong (1761), and Know your Own Mind (1777), and of the tragedy of The Grecian Daughter (1772). Murphy died in 1805, in his eighty-fifth year. Cumberland, a voluminous poet, or versifier, novelist, pamphleteer, essayist, critic, &c., &c., as well as a dramatist, began to write for the stage so early as 1761, and, amid much of what he did that is forgotten, will continue to be remembered for his striking comedies of The West Indian, The Fashionable Lover, The Jew, and The Wheel of Fortune, of which, however, only the two first were produced within the quarter of a century now under review. This somewhat overweening and superficial, but still ingenious and not unamiable man died in 1811, at the age of seventy-nine. Mrs. Cowley's pleasant comedy of The Belle's Stratagem was brought out with great success in 1780: this lady, whose first play, The Runaway, appeared in 1776, wrote also a number of long poems, now all forgotten, and survived till 1809. But the most brilliant contributions made to our dramatic literature during this period were Sheridan's celebrated comedies of The

Sheridan. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

Rivals, brought out in 1775, when the author was only in his twenty-fifth year, The Duenna, which followed the same year, and The School for Scandal, which crowned the reputation of the modern Congreve, in 1777. After all that had been written, indeed, meritoriously enough in many instances, by his contemporaries and immediate predecessors, these plays of Sheridan's were the only additions that had yet been made to the classic comedy of Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar; and perhaps we may say that they are still the last it has received. Sheridan's wit is as polished as Congreve's, and its flashes, if not quite so quick and dazzling, have a softer, a more liquid light; he may be said to stand between the highly artificial point and concentration of Congreve and the Irish ease and gaiety of Farquhar, wanting, doubtless, what is most characteristic of either, but also combining something of each. Sheridan had likewise produced all his other dramatic pieces—The Trip to Scarborough, The Critic, &c.—before 1780; although he lived for thirty-six years after that date.

The direction of so large a portion of the writing talent of this age to the comic drama is an evidence of the extended diffusion of literary tastes and accomplishments among the class most conversant with those manners and forms of social life which chiefly supply the materials of modern comedy. To this period has been sometimes assigned the commencement of the pursuit of literature as a distinct profession in England; now, too, we may say, began its domestic cultivation among us—the practice of writing for the public as the occupation and embellishment of a part of that leisure which necessarily abounds in an advanced state of society, not only among persons possessing the means of living without exertion of any kind, but almost throughout the various grades of those who are merely raised above the necessity of labouring with their hands. Another indication of the same thing is the great increase that now took place in the number of female authors. Among the writers of plays, novels, and poetry, besides Mrs. Cowley, mentioned above, may be noticed Mrs. Sheridan (originally Miss Frances Chamberlayne),—the admirable mother of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, for whose sake Samuel Johnson was contented to keep on terms, so long as she lived, with the vain, gasconading, mercurial projector and adventurer, her husband,—the authoress of the two comedies of The Discovery, brought out with great success in 1763, and The Dupe, which was produced in 1765, and which, although it failed on the stage, owing, it is said, to a conspiracy of some hostile parties, was also well received by the public from the press, and of the novels of Sidney Bidulph and Nourjahad, all written in the darkest hours of a life of struggle and disappointment, which a complication of diseases terminated in 1766, at the age of forty-two; Mrs. Brooke (whose maiden name was Miss Frances Moore), the authoress of the novels of Lady Juliet Mandeville and Emily Montague, and of the musical drama of Rosina, as well as of some tragedies and other compositions in prose and verse—among the rest, a periodical work called

The Old Maid, which appeared weekly from November, 1755, to July, 1756; Miss Jane Marishall, an Edinburgh lady, of whom there remain the novels of Clarinda Cathcart and Alicia Montague, which had considerable success on their first appearance, in 1765 and 1767, and the comedy of Sir Harry Gaylove, printed in 1772, although never acted, but whose most interesting production is a Series of Letters, in two volumes, Edinburgh, 1788, in which she gives a *naïve* and lively account of the mischances of her literary career; Mrs. Lennox (originally Miss Charlotte Ramsay, a native of New York), whose Memoirs of Harriet Stuart appeared in 1751, her Female Quixote, or Adventures of Arabella, to which Johnson wrote the dedication, in 1752, her Shakspeare Illustrated in 1753, her novel of Sophia in 1761, her comedy of The Sister in 1769, and who did not cease to write till near the end of the century; Miss Sophia Lee, whose two first performances, her amusing comedy of The Chapter of Accidents, and her popular romance of The Recess, were both produced within the present period, the former in 1780, the latter in 1783; and Miss Frances Burney, afterwards Madame D'Arblay, whose celebrated novels of Evelina and Cecilia appeared, the former in 1777, the latter in 1782. To these names may be added, as distinguished in other kinds of writing, blind Anna Williams, Dr. Johnson's friend, whose volume of Miscellanies in prose and verse was published in 1766; the very learned Miss Elizabeth Carter, whose translation of Epictetus, however, and we believe all her other works, had appeared before the commencement of the present period, although she lived till the year 1806; her friend Miss Catherine Talbot, the writer of a considerable quantity both of prose and verse, now forgotten; Mrs. Montagu (originally Miss Elizabeth Robinson), the pupil of Dr. Conyers Middleton, and the founder of the Blue Stocking Club, whose once famous Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare was published in 1769, and who survived till the year 1800; Mrs. Chapone (Miss Hester Mulso), another friend of Miss Carter, and the favourite correspondent of Samuel Richardson, whose Letters on the Improvement of the Mind appeared in 1773; Mrs. Macaulay (originally Miss Catherine Sawbridge, afterwards Mrs. Graham), the notorious republican historian and pamphleteer, whose History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Restoration was published in a succession of volumes between the years 1763 and 1771, and then excited much attention, though now neglected; and the other female democratic writer, Miss Helen Maria Williams, who had not, as yet, however, begun to figure as a politician, her only publications that come within the scope of the present survey being some volumes of verse which she gave to the world in 1782 and the two or three following years. Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Charlotte Smith, Mrs. Inchbald, and some other female writers who did not attain the height of their reputation till a later date, had also entered upon the career of authorship before the expiration of this period. And to the commencement of the reign of George III. is to be assigned perhaps the most brilliant contribution from a female pen that has ever been added to our literature, the collection of the Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, which, although written many years before, were first published in 1763, about a year after Lady Mary's death. The fourth volume, indeed, did not appear till 1767.

DR. CONYERS MIDDLETON.

To the latter part of the reign of George II. belongs the revival of the Periodical Essay, which formed so distinguishing a feature of our literature in the age of Anne. Political writing, indeed, in this form had been carried on from the era of the Examiner, and the Englishman, and the Freeholder, and Defoe's Review and Mercator, and the British Merchant, with little if any intermission, in various publications; the most remarkable being The Craftsman, in which Bolingbroke was the principal writer, and the papers of which, reprinted in seven volumes, extend from the 5th of December, 1726, to the 22nd of May, 1731; nor was the work discontinued, we believe, till some time after the latter date, although the subsequent numbers have not, as far as we are aware, been collected. Some attempts had even been made during this interval to supply the place of the Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian, by periodical papers, ranging, in the same strain, over the general field of morals and manners: Ambrose Philips, for instance, and a number of his friends, in the year 1718 began the publication entitled "The Freethinker, or Essays on Ignorance, Superstition, Bigotry, Enthusiasm, Craft, &c., intermixed with several pieces of wit and humour designed to restore the deluded part of mankind to the use of reason and common sense," which attracted considerable attention at the time, and was kept up till

the numbers made a book of three volumes, which were more than once reprinted. The Museum was another similar work, which commenced in 1746, and also ran to three volumes—Horace Walpole, Akenside, the two Wartons, and other eminent writers being among the contributors; but nothing of this kind that was then produced has succeeded in securing for itself a permanent place in our literature. The next of our periodical works after the Guardian that is recognised as one of the classics of the language is The Rambler, the first number of which appeared on Tuesday, the 20th of March, 1750, the last (the 208th) on Saturday, the 14th of March, 1752, and all the papers of which, at the rate of two a-week, with the exception only of three or four, were the composition of Samuel Johnson, who may be said to have first become generally known as a writer through this publication. The Rambler was succeeded by The Adventurer, edited and principally written by Dr. Hawkesworth, which was also published twice a-week, the first number having appeared on Tuesday, the 7th of November, 1752, the last (the 139th) on Saturday, the 9th of March, 1754. Meanwhile The World, a weekly paper, had been started under the conduct of Edward Moore, the author of the Fables for the Female Sex, the tragedy of The Gamester, and other dramatic productions, assisted by Lord Lyttelton, the Earls of Chesterfield, Bath, and Cork, Horace Walpole, Soame Jenyns, and other contributors: the first number appeared on Thursday, the 4th of January, 1753; the 209th, and last, on the 30th of December, 1756. And contemporary with The World, during a part of this space, was The Connoisseur, established and principally written by George Colman, in conjunction with Bonnell Thornton, a writer possessed of considerable wit and humour, which, however, he dissipated for the most part upon ephemeral topics, being only now remembered for his share in a translation of Plautus, also undertaken in concert with his friend Colman, the first two volumes of which were published in 1766, two years before his death, at the age of forty-four. The Connoisseur was, like The World, a weekly publication, and it was continued in 140 numbers, from Thursday, the 31st of January, 1754, to the 30th of September, 1756. We have already mentioned Mrs. Frances Brooke's weekly periodical work, entitled The Old Maid, which subsisted from November, 1755, to July in the following year; but it is not usually admitted into the collections of the English essayists. The next publication of this class which can be said still to hold a place in our literature is Johnson's Idler, which appeared once a-week from Saturday, the 15th of April, 1758, to Saturday, the 5th of April, 1760. And with The Idler closes what may be called the second age of the English periodical essayists, which commences with The Rambler, and extends over the ten years from 1750 to 1760, the concluding decade of the reign of George II. After this occurs another long interval, in which that mode of writing was dropped, or at least no longer attracted either the favour of the public or the ambition of the more distinguished literary talent of the day; for no doubt attempts still continued to be made, with little or no success, by obscure scribblers, to keep up what had lately been so popular and so graced by eminent names;—thus, Hugh Kelly, the author of The School for Wives, and some other second-rate dramas, produced during this interval a series of papers in a flashy, juvenile style, under the title of The Babbler, which were afterwards collected in two small volumes; Miss Marishall, the Edinburgh novelist, who has been already mentioned, about the close of the year 1770 set up a periodical paper in London, in which, she tells us, she had the assistance of several gentlemen of known literary merit, although the sale proved insufficient to enable her to go on with it;* and there were of course many more such instances. But we have no series of periodical papers of this time, of the same character with those already mentioned, that is still reprinted and read. Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, occupied as it is with the adventures and observations of an individual, placed in very peculiar circumstances, partakes more of the character of a novel than of a succession of miscellaneous papers; and both the letters composing that work and the other delightful essays of the same writer were published occasionally, not periodically, or at regular intervals, and only as contributions to the newspapers or other journals of the day, not by themselves, like the numbers of the Spectator, the Rambler, and the other works of that description that have been mentioned. Our next series of periodical essays, properly so called, was that which began to be published at Edinburgh under the name of The Mirror, on Saturday, the 23rd of January, 1779, and was continued at the rate of a number a-week till the 27th of May, 1780. The conductor and principal writer of The Mirror was the late Henry Mackenzie, who died in Edinburgh, at the age of eighty-six, in 1831, the author of The Man of Feeling, published anonymously in 1771, The Man of the World, 1773, and Julia de Roubigné, 1777, novels after the manner of Sterne,

* Letters, vol. ii. pp. 202, 229. The very title of this forgotten work is probably now irrecoverable, as well as the names of the meritorious literati who were to lend it the aid of their reputation and abilities. Its ingenious, sensible, and good-humoured projector says, "*From a grateful sense of the Duchess of Northumberland's goodness* [her first novel had been presented to the queen by the duchess], I sent her grace the introductory paper in manuscript, begging the favour of being allowed the honour of dedicating the work to her grace; and next day I was waited on by a gentleman, probably one of her suite; who informed me that her grace not only accepted the dedication, and would most cheerfully patronize the work, but would also furnish me with some anecdotes which might be useful in the publication. But whether this gentleman, displeased with my *je ne scais quoi*, or disgusted at my Scots accent, had prejudiced her grace against me; or whether my not waiting on the duchess to receive the anecdotes, *I* cannot say; but *I* never had the good fortune to hear *from my* patroness again." In reply to an application she made to Lord Lyttelton for his advice, as to whether she should continue the publication, his lordship wrote—"On considering the question you do me the honour to put to me, my answer is this: if you write for fame, go on; if for money, desist, unless the Duchess of Northumberland or Lord Chesterfield will enable you to bear the expense of continuing the paper till it becomes so well known as to support itself. This they surely could do without any inconvenience to their opulent fortunes; and this I would do, if I were in their circumstances, with great pleasure."

which are still universally read, and which have much of the grace and delicacy of style as well as of the pathos of that great master, although without any of his rich and peculiar humour. The Mirror was succeeded, after an interval of a few years, by The Lounger, also a weekly paper, the first number of which appeared on Saturday, the 5th of February, 1785, Mackenzie being again the leading contributor; the last (the 101st) on the 6th of January, 1787. But with these two publications the spirit of periodical essay-writing, in the style first made famous by Steele and Addison, expired also in Scotland, as it had already done a quarter of a century before in England.

A hotter excitement, in truth, had dulled the public taste to the charms of those ethical and critical disquisitions, whether grave or gay, which it had heretofore found sufficiently stimulating; the violent war of parties, which, after a lull of nearly twenty years, was resumed on the accession of George III., made political controversy the only kind of writing that would now go down with the generality of readers; and first Wilkes's famous North Briton, and then the yet more famous Letters of Junius, came to take the place of the Ramblers and Idlers, the Adventurers and Connoisseurs. The North Briton, the first number of which appeared on Saturday, the 5th of June, 1762, was started in opposition to The Briton, a paper set up by Smollett in defence of the government on the preceding Saturday, the 29th of May, the day on which Lord Bute had been nominated first lord of the treasury. Smollett and Wilkes had been friends up to this time; but the opposing papers were conducted in a spirit of the bitterest hostility, till the discontinuance of The Briton on the 12th of February, 1763, and the violent extinction of The North Briton on the 23rd of April following, fifteen days after the resignation of Bute, with the publication of its memorable "No. Forty-Five." The celebrity of this one paper has preserved the memory of The North Briton to our day, in the same manner as in its own it produced several re-impressions of the whole work, which otherwise would probably have been as speedily and completely forgotten as the rival publication, and as the Auditors, and Monitors, and other organs of the two factions, that in the same contention helped to fill the air with their din for a season, and then were heard of no more than any other quieted noise. Wilkes's brilliancy faded away when he proceeded to commit his thoughts to paper, as if it had dissolved itself in the ink. Like all convivial wits, or shining talkers, he was of course indebted for much of the effect he produced in society to the promptitude and skill with which he seized the proper moment for saying his good things, to the surprise produced by the suddenness of the flash, and to the characteristic peculiarities of voice, action, and manner with which the jest or repartee was set off, and which usually serve as signals or stimulants to awaken the sense of the ludicrous before its expected gratification comes; in writing, little or nothing of all this could be brought into play; but still some of Wilkes's colloquial impromptus that have been preserved are so perfect, considered in themselves, and without regard to the readiness with which they may have been struck out,—are so true and deep, and evince so keen a feeling at once of the ridiculous and of the real,—that one wonders at finding so little of the same kind of power in his more deliberate efforts. In all his published writings that we have looked into—and, what with essays, and pamphlets of one kind and another, they fill a good many volumes—we scarcely recollect anything that either in matter or manner rises above the veriest common-place, unless perhaps it be a character of Lord Chatham, occurring, we believe, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Grafton, some of the biting things in which are impregnated with rather a subtle venom. A few of his verses also have some fancy and elegance, in the style of Carew and Waller. But even his private letters, of which two collections have been published, scarcely ever emit a sparkle. And his House of Commons speeches, which he wrote beforehand, and got by heart, are equally unenlivened. It is evident, indeed, that he had not intellectual lung enough for any protracted exertion or display. The soil of his mind was a hungry, unproductive gravel, with some gems imbedded in it. The author of the Letters of Junius made his *début* about four years after the expiration of The North Briton, his first known communication having appeared in the Public Advertiser on the 28th of April, 1767; but the letters, sixty-nine in number, signed Junius, and forming the collection with which every reader is familiar, extend only over the space from the 21st of January, 1769, to the 2nd of November, 1771.* Thus it appears that this celebrated writer had been nearly two years before the public before he attracted any considerable attention;—a proof that the polish of his style was not really the thing that did most to bring him into notoriety; for, although we may admit that the composition of the letters signed Junius is more elaborate and sustained than that of the generality of his contributions to the same newspaper under the names of Brutus, Lucius, Atticus, and Mnemon, yet the difference is by no means so great as to be alone sufficient to account for the prodigious sensation at once excited by the former, after the slight regard with which the latter had been received for so long a time. What, in the first instance at least, more than his rhetoric, made the unknown Junius the object of universal interest, and of very general terror, was undoubtedly the quantity of secret intelligence he showed himself to be possessed of, combined with the unscrupulous boldness with which he was evidently prepared to use it. As has been lately observed, "ministers found, in these letters, proofs of some enemy, some spy,

* The 69th Letter, addressed to Lord Camden, is without a date; and there are other private letters to Woodfall, the printer of The Public Advertiser, the last two of which are dated 10th May, 1772, and 19th January, 1773.

being amongst them."* It was immediately perceived in the highest circle of political society that the writer was either actually one of the members of the government, or a person who by some means or other had found access to the secrets of the government. And this suspicion, generally diffused, would add tenfold interest to the mystery of the authorship of the letters, even where the feeling which it had excited was one of mere curiosity, as it would be, of course, with the mass of the public. But, although it was not his style alone, or even chiefly, that first made Junius famous, it is probably that which more than anything else has preserved his fame to our day. More even than the secret, so long in being penetrated, of his real name; that might have given occasion to abundance of conjecture and speculation, like the problem of the Iron Mask and other similar enigmas; but it would not have prompted the reproduction of the letters in innumerable editions, and made them, what they long were, one of the most popular and generally read books in the language, retaining their hold upon the public mind to a degree which perhaps never was equalled by any other literary production having so special a reference, in the greater part of it, to topics of a temporary nature. It has been remarked, with considerable truth, that power of expression is a surer preservative of a writer's popularity than even strength of thought itself; that a book in which the former exists in a remarkable degree is almost sure to live, even if it should have very little else to recommend it. The style of Junius is deficient in some of the higher qualities of good writing; it has few natural graces, little variety, no picturesqueness; but still it is a striking and peculiar style, combining the charm of high polish with great nerve and animation, clear and rapid, and at the same time sonorous,—masculine enough, and yet making a very imposing display of all the artifices of antithetical rhetoric. As for the spirit of these famous letters, it is a remarkable attestation to the author's power of writing that they were long universally regarded as dictated by the very genius of English liberty, and as almost a sort of Bible, or heaven-inspired exposition, of popular principles and rights. They contain, no doubt, many sound maxims, tersely and vigorously expressed; but of profound or far-sighted political philosophy, or even of ingenious disquisition, having the semblance of philosophy, there is as little in the Letters of Junius as there is in the Diary of Dodington or of Pepys; and as for the writer's principles, they seem to be as much the produce of mere temper, and of his individual animosities and spites, as even of his partisan habits and passions. He defends the cause of liberty itself in the spirit of tyranny; there is no generosity, or even common fairness, in his mode of combating; the newest lie, or private scandal, of the day serves as well, and as frequently, as anything else to point his sarcasm, or to arm us with livid lightning the thunder of declamatory invective that resounds through his pages; indeed, much of the popularity long enjoyed by these letters, as well as of the impression they made when they first appeared, is probably to be attributed to the singular fact that they supply, besides what other matter they may contain, a tolerably abundant *chronique scandaleuse* of the time—that this great public writer, the eloquent expounder and vindicator of constitutional principles and popular rights, is at the same time the chief recorder and preserver, at least in decent language, of the amours of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Irnham, and of the most piquant passages in the lives of Miss Kennedy, Miss Davis, and Nancy Parsons.

The character of Junius was drawn, while the mysterious shadow was still occupying the public gaze with its handwriting upon the wall, by one of the most distinguished of his contemporaries, in a publication which made a considerable noise in its day, but is now very much forgotten:—"Junius has sometimes made his satire felt, but let not injudicious admiration mistake the venom of the shaft for the vigour of the bow. He has sometimes sported with lucky malice; but to him *that* knows his company it is not hard to be sarcastic in a mask. While he walks, like Jack the Giant-killer, in a coat of darkness, he may do much mischief with little strength. . . . . Junius burst into

* See an ingenious and striking article by Mr. De Quincy (Autobiography of an English Opium-eater) in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for December, 1840. Mr. De Quincy, proceeding upon the consideration noticed in the text, places in a new and strong light the identification of Junius with the late Sir Philip Francis, first suggested by Mr. Taylor in his volume published in 1816, and surely as nearly established now as any matter ever was by merely circumstantial evidence. People are still, indeed, to be met with who doubt or disbelieve; but they may be classed, for the most part, with those crotchety old ladies and gentlemen who in our own day, long after the case was clear enough to all persons of any sense or insight, used to go about arguing for the claims of sundry captains, clergymen, and women to the authorship of the Waverley novels, till Scott's own confession silenced them—if, indeed, they were all put down even by that. They are mostly persons capable of attending to only one consideration at a time—such as that Mr. Burke was skilled in imitating the styles of other writers and disguising his own—that Lord George Germaine was a man of a bad, or at least of a warm temper—that William Gerard Hamilton evinced in his single speech a faculty of eloquence which, if he was not the author of the Letters of Junius, nobody can imagine what he did with for many years afterwards; as if fifty such insulated facts or fancies as these could outweigh the long unbroken chain of evidence extending over the whole history of Sir Philip Francis, and corroborated, we may say, in every way, excepting only by his own confession, in which it was possible that it should be corroborated—by many peculiarities of expression common to the letters and the acknowledged writings of their suspected author, by strong general similarity of style, by evident identity of handwriting, nor least of all, by the silence of Francis to his dying day (broken only by a solitary, faint equivocation, still more expressive than silence) under an ascription which, whether he might have regarded it as an imputation or an honour, a man of his temper assuredly never would have submitted to thus tranquilly if it had not been true. His conduct, in fact, amounted to what Scott's also was, acquiescing in and admitting the justice of the common belief—which if any one supposes that either Francis or Scott would have done, that belief being false, we can only say that he appears to us to mistake the whole characters of the men as widely as it is possible to do. If the humiliation and baseness of such an assumption would not have revolted the self-love and pride of a man like Sir Philip Francis at any rate he was not a fool, and the mere risk of detection and deplumation, which might have happened any day, would have prevented him from enduring his false feathers. It was a case for an affidavit in a court of justice, if nothing less strenuous would serve the purpose; but there were many other ways by which, if he could not effectually put down the suspicion, he might at any rate have completely relieved himself from the charge of countenancing or encouraging it. We may remark, by the by, that the identification of the handwriting of Junius and Sir Philip Francis has been lately made more clear and convincing than ever by some comparative specimens published along with the Correspondence of Lord Chatham, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond., 1839. These specimens leave it hardly possible to doubt that the one hand is merely the other disguised.

notice with a blaze of impudence which has rarely glared upon the world before, and drew the rabble after him as a monster makes a show. When he had once provided for his safety by impenetrable secrecy, he had nothing to combat but truth and justice—enemies whom he knows to be feeble in the dark. Being then at liberty to indulge himself in all the immunities of invisibility; out of the reach of danger, he has been bold; out of the reach of shame, he has been confident. As a rhetorician, he has had the art of persuading when he seconded desire; as a reasoner, he has convinced those who had no doubt before; as a moralist, he has taught that virtue may disgrace; and, as a patriot, he has gratified the mean by insults on the high. Finding sedition ascendant, he has been able to advance it; finding the nation combustible, he has been able to inflame it. . . . . It is not by his liveliness of imagery, his pungency of periods, or his fertility of allusion that he detains the cits of London and the boors of Middlesex. Of style and sentiment they take no cognizance: they admire him for virtues like their own, for contempt of order and violence of outrage, for rage of defamation and audacity of falsehood. . . . . Junius is an unusual phenomenon, on which some have gazed with wonder, and some with terror; but wonder and terror are transitory passions. He will soon be more closely viewed, or more attentively examined; and what folly has taken for a comet, that from its flaming hair shook pestilence and war, inquiry will find to be only a meteor formed by the vapours of putrefying democracy, and kindled into flame by the effervescence of interest struggling with conviction; which, after having plunged its followers into a bog, will leave us inquiring why we regard it." Thus wrote, in his ponderous way, Samuel Johnson, in his pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands," published in 1771, in answer, as is commonly stated, to Junius's Forty-second Letter, dated the 30th of January in that year. Junius, although he continued to write for a twelvemonth longer, never took any notice of this attack; and Mrs. Piozzi tells us that Johnson "often delighted his imagination with the thoughts of having destroyed Junius." The lively lady, however, is scarcely the best authority on the subject of Johnson's *thoughts*, although we may yield a qualified faith to her reports of what he actually said and did. He may, probably enough, have thought, and said too, that he had beaten or silenced Junius, referring to the question discussed in his unanswered pamphlet; although, on the other hand, it does not appear that Junius was in the habit of ever noticing such general attacks as this: he replied to some of the writers who addressed him in the columns of the Public Advertiser, the newspaper in which his own communications were published, but he did not think it necessary to go forth to battle with any of the other pamphleteers by whom he was assailed, any more than with Johnson. The great lexicographer winds up his character of Junius by remarking that he cannot think his style secure from criticism, and that his expressions are often trite, and his periods feeble. The style of Junius, nevertheless, was probably to a considerable extent formed upon Johnson's own. It has some strongly marked features of distinction; but yet it resembles the Johnsonian style much more than it does that of any other writer in the language antecedent to Johnson. Born in 1709, Johnson, after having while still resident in the country commenced his connexion with the press by some work in the way of translation and magazine writing, came to London, along with his friend and pupil, the afterwards celebrated David Garrick, in March, 1737; and forthwith entered upon a career of authorship which extends over nearly half a century. His poem of London, an imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal, appeared in 1738; his Life of Savage in a separate form, in 1744 (having been previously published in the Gentleman's Magazine); his poem entitled The Vanity of Human Wishes, an imitation of Juvenal's Tenth Satire, in 1749; his tragedy of Irene (written before he came up to London) the same year; The Rambler, as already mentioned, between March, 1750, and March, 1752; his Dictionary of the English Language in 1755; The Idler between April, 1758, and April, 1760; his Rasselas in 1759; his edition of Shakspeare in 1765; his Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland in 1775; his Lives of the Poets in 1781; the intervals between these more remarkable efforts having given birth to many magazine articles, verses, and pamphlets, which need not be here enumerated. His death took place on the 18th of December, 1784. All the works the titles of which have been given may be regarded as having taken and kept their places in our standard literature; and they form, in quantity at least, a respectable contribution from a single mind. But Johnson's mind is scarcely seen at its brightest if we do not add to the productions of his own pen the record of his colloquial wit and eloquence preserved by his admirable biographer, Boswell, whose renowned work first appeared, in two volumes quarto, in 1790; having, however, been preceded by the Journal of the Tour to the Hebrides, which was published the year after Johnson's death. It has been remarked, with truth, that his own works and Boswell's Life of him together have preserved a more complete portraiture of Johnson, of his intellect, his opinions, his manners, his whole man inward and outward, than has been handed down from one age to another of any other individual that ever lived. Certainly no celebrated figure of any past time still stands before our eyes so distinctly embodied as he does. If we will try, we shall find that all others are shadows, or mere outlines, in comparison. Or, they seem to skulk about at a distance in the shade, while he is there fronting us in the full daylight, so that we see not only his worsted stockings and the metal buttons on his brown coat, but every

feature of that massive countenance, as it is solemnized by meditation or lighted up in social converse, as his whole frame rolls about in triumphant laughter, or, as Cumberland saw the tender-hearted old man, standing beside his friend Garrick's open grave, at the foot of Shakspeare's monument, and bathed in tears. A noble heroic nature was that of this Samuel Johnson, beyond all

Johnson. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

controversy; not only did his failings lean to virtue's side—his very intellectual weaknesses and prejudices had something in them of strength and greatness—they were the exuberance and excess of a rich mind, not the stinted growth of a poor one. There was no touch of meanness in him; rude and awkward enough he was in many points of mere demeanour, but he had the soul of a prince in real generosity, refinement, and elevation. Of a certain kind of intellectual faculty, also, his endowment was very high. His quickness of penetration, and readiness in every way, were probably as great as had ever been combined with the same solid qualities of mind. Scarcely before had there appeared so thoughtful a sage, and so grave a moralist, with so agile and sportive a wit. Rarely has so prompt and bright a wit been accompanied by so much real knowledge, sagacity, and weight of matter. But, as we have intimated, this happy union of opposite kinds of power was most complete, and only produced its full effect, in his colloquial displays, when, excited and unformalized, the man was really himself, and his strong nature forced its way onward without regard to anything but the immediate object to be achieved: in writing, he is still the strong man, working away valiantly, but, as it were, with fetters upon his limbs, or a burden on his back; a sense of the conventionalities of his position seems to oppress him; his style becomes artificial and ponderous; the whole process of his intellectual exertion loses much of its elasticity and life; and, instead of hard blows and flashes of flame, there is too often, it must be confessed, a mere raising of clouds of dust and the din of inflated commonplace. Yet, as a writer, too, there is much in Johnson that is of no common character. It cannot be said that the world is indebted to him for many new truths; but he has given novel and often forcible and elegant expression to some old ones; the spirit of his philosophy is always manly and high-toned, as well as moral; his critical speculations, if not always very profound, are frequently acute and ingenious, and in manner generally lively, not seldom brilliant: indeed, it may be said of Johnson, with all his faults and shortcomings, as of every man of true genius, that he is rarely or never absolutely dull. Even his Ramblers, which we hold to be the most indigestible of his productions, are none of them mere leather or prunello; and his higher efforts, his Rasselas, his Preface to Shakspeare, and many passages in his Lives of the Poets, are throughout instinct with animation, and full of an eloquence which sometimes rises almost to poetry. Even his peculiar style, whatever we may allege against it, bears the stamp of the man of genius; it was thoroughly his own; and it not only reproduced itself, with variations, in the writings of some of the most distinguished of his contemporaries, from Junius's Letters down to Macpherson's Ossian, but, whether for good or for evil, has perceptibly influenced our literature, and even in some degree the progress of the language, onwards to the present day. Some of the characteristics of the Johnsonian style, no doubt, may be found in elder writers, but, as a whole, it must be regarded as the invention of Johnson. No composition at once so uniformly clear and exact, and so elaborately stately, measured, and sonorous, had proceeded habitually from any previous English pen. The pomposity and inflation of Johnson's style abated considerably in his own later writings, and as the cumbering flesh fell off the nerve and spirit increased; the most happily executed parts of the Lives of the Poets offer almost a contrast to the oppressive rotundity of the Ramblers produced thirty years before; and some eminent writers of a subsequent date, who have yet evidently formed their style upon his, have retained little or nothing of what to a superficial inspection seem the most marked characteristics of his manner of expression. Indeed, as we have said, there is perhaps no subsequent English prose-writer upon whose style that of Johnson has been altogether without its effect.

But the greatest, undoubtedly, of all our writers of this age was Burke, one of the most remarkable men of any age. Edmund Burke was born in Dublin, in 1730; but he came over in 1750 to the British metropolis, and he mostly resided in this country till his death, in 1797. In 1756 he published his celebrated Vindication of Natural Society, an imitation of the style, and a parody on the philosophy, of Lord Bolingbroke; and the same year his Philosophical Inquiry into the

Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful. In 1757 appeared, anonymously, his Account of the European Settlements in America. In 1759 came out the first volume of The Annual Register, of which he is known to have written, or superintended the writing of, the historical part for several years. His public life commenced in 1761, with the appointment of private secretary to the chief secretary for Ireland, an office which carried him back for about three years to his native country. In 1766 he became a member of the English House of Commons; and from that date almost to the hour of his death, besides his exertions as a front figure in the debates and other business of parliament, from which he did not retire till 1794, he continued to dazzle the world by a succession of political writings of altogether unequalled brilliancy and power. We can mention only those of greatest note:—his Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents, published in 1770; his Reflections on the Revolution in France, published in 1790; his Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, in 1792; his Letter to a Noble Lord, on his Pension, in 1796; his Letters on a Regicide Peace, in 1796 and 1797; his Observations on the Conduct of the Minority, in 1797; besides his several great speeches revised and sent to the press by himself; that on American Taxation, in 1774; that on Conciliation with America, in 1775; that on the Economical Reform Bill, in 1780; that delivered in the Guildhall at Bristol previous to his election, the same year; that on Mr. Fox's India Bill, in 1783; and that on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, in 1785: those, perhaps the most splendid of all, which he delivered at the bar of the House of Lords, in 1789, on the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, have also been printed since his death from his own manuscript. Burke was our first, and is still our greatest, writer on the philosophy of practical politics. The mere metaphysics of that science, or what we may call by that term for want of a better, meaning thereby all abstract speculation and theorizing on the general subject of government without reference to the actual circumstances of the particular country and people to be governed, he held from the beginning to the end of his life in undisguised, perhaps in undue, contempt. This feeling is as strongly manifested in his very first publication, his covert attack on Bolingbroke, as either in his writings and speeches on the contest with the American colonies, or in those on the French Revolution. He was, as we have said, emphatically a practical politician, and, above all, an English politician. In discussing questions of domestic politics, he constantly refused to travel beyond the landmarks of the constitution as he found it established; and the views he took of the politics of other countries were as far as possible regulated by the same principle. The question of a revolution, in so far as England was concerned, he did not hold to be one with which he had anything to do. Not only had it never been actually presented to him by the circumstances of the time; he did not conceive that it ever could come before him. He was, in fact, no believer in the possibility of any sudden and complete re-edification of the institutions of a great country; he left such transformations to Harlequin's wand and the machinists of the stage; he did not think they could take place in a system so mighty and so infinitely complicated as that of the political organization of a nation. A constitution, too, in his idea, was not a thing, like a steam-engine, or a machine for threshing corn, that could be put together and set up in a few weeks or months, and that would work equally well wherever it was set up; he looked upon it rather as something that must in every case grow and gradually evolve itself out of the soil of the national mind and character, that must take its shape in a great measure from the prevalent habits and feelings to which it was to be accommodated, that would not work or stand at all unless it thus formed an integral part of the social system to which it belonged. The notion of a constitution artificially constructed, and merely as it were fastened upon a country by bolts and screws, was to him much the same as the notion of a human body performing the functions of life with no other than such a separate artificial head stuck upon it. A constitution was with him a thing of life. It could no more be set up of a sudden than a full-grown tree could be ordered from the manufacturer's and so set up. Like a tree, it must have its roots intertwisted with the earth on which it stands, even as it has its branches extended over it. Or rather, the constitution is to him the earth itself—the one solid enduring basis on which alone any rational or useful speculation can be reared. At the least, it is his Bible, the great authoritative text-book of his political religion, which he no more looks for anything to contradict or supersede than the theologian looks for a new revelation. It may be observed that Burke's peculiar faculties did not fit him, any more than his tastes, for nice and subtle inquisition into the essences of things; as may be perceived, to go no farther, from his early work on the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, which, elegant and ingenious as it is, must be deemed a failure in so far as respects its professed object, and the spirit of which, as has been observed, is, on the whole, certainly rather critical than metaphysical.* In the great fields of politics and religion, besides, occupied as they are with men's substantial interests, he regarded inquiries into first principles as worse than vain and worthless, as much more likely to mislead and pervert than to afford instruction or right guidance; and it is remarkable that this feeling, too, though deepened and strengthened by the experience of his after-life, and, above all, exasperated by the events to which his attention was most strongly directed in his latest days into an intense dread and horror of the confusion and wide-spread ruin that might be wrought by the assumption of so incompetent a power as mere

* See art. on Burke in Penny Cyclopædia, vi. 31.

human ratiocination to regulate all things according to its own conceit, was entertained and expressed by him with great distinctness at the outset of his career. It was in this spirit, indeed, that he wrote his Vindication of Natural Society, with the design of showing how anything whatever might be either attacked or defended with great plausibility by the method in which the highest and most intricate philosophical questions were discussed by Lord Bolingbroke. He "is satisfied," he says in his Preface, "that a mind which has no restraint from a sense of its own weakness, of its subordinate rank in the creation, and of the extreme danger of letting the imagination loose upon some subjects, may very plausibly attack everything the most excellent and venerable; that it would not be difficult to criticise the Creation itself; and that, if we were to examine the divine fabrics by our ideas of reason and fitness, and to use the same method of attack by which some men have assaulted revealed religion, we might, with as good colour, and with the same success, make the wisdom and power of God in his Creation appear to many no better than foolishness." But, on the other hand, within the boundary by which he conceived himself to be properly limited and restrained, there never was either a more ingenious and profound investigator or a bolder reformer than Burke. He had, indeed, more in him of the orator and of the poet than of the mere reasoner; but yet, like Bacon, whom altogether he greatly resembled in intellectual character, an instinctive sagacity and penetration generally led him to see where the truth lay, and then his boundless ingenuity supplied him readily with all the considerations and arguments which the exposition of the matter required, and the fervour of his awakened fancy with striking illustration and impassioned eloquence in a measure hardly to be elsewhere found intermingled and incorporated with the same profoundness, extent, and many-sidedness of view. For in this Burke is distinguished from nearly all other orators, and it is a distinction that somewhat interferes with his mere oratorical power, that he is both too reflective and too honest to confine himself to the contemplation of only one side of any question he takes up; he selects, of course, for advocacy and inculcation the particular view which he holds to be the sound one, and often it will no doubt be thought by those who dissent from him that he does not do justice to some of the considerations that stand opposed to his own opinion; but still it is not his habit to overlook such adverse considerations; he shows himself at least perfectly aware of their existence, even when he possibly underrates their importance. For the immediate effect of his eloquence, as we have said, it might have been better if his mind had not been so Argus-eyed to all the various contradictory points of every case that he discussed—if, instead of thus continually looking before and after and on all sides of him, and stopping, whenever two or more apparently opposite considerations came in his way, to balance or reconcile them, he could have surrendered himself to the one view with which his hearers were prepared strongly to sympathise, and carried them along with him in a whirlwind of passionate declamation. But, "born for the universe," and for all time, he was not made for such sacrifice of truth and all high, enduring things to the triumph of an hour. And he has not gone without his well-earned reward. If it was objected to him in his own day that, "too deep for his hearers," he

> "still went on refining,
> And thought of convincing while they thought of dining"—

that searching philosophy which pervades his speeches and writings, and is there wedded in such happy union to glowing words and poetic imagery, has rescued them alone from the neglect and oblivion that have overtaken all the other oratory and political pamphleteering of that day, however more loudly lauded at the time, and has secured to them an existence as extended as that of the language, and to their eloquence and wisdom whatever admiration and whatever influence and authority they may be entitled to throughout all coming generations. The writings of Burke are, indeed, the only English political writings of a past age that continue to be read in the present. And they are now perhaps more studied, and their value, both philosophical and oratorical, better and more highly appreciated, than even when they were first produced. They were at first probably received, even by those who rated them highest and felt their power the most, as little more than mere party appeals—which, indeed, to a considerable extent most of them were, for their author, from the circumstances of his position and of the time, was of necessity involved in the great battle of faction which then drew into its maelstrom everything littlest and greatest, meanest and loftiest—and, as was his nature, he fought that fight, while that was the work to be done, like a man, with his whole heart, and mind, and soul, and strength. But it can hardly be said in prosaic verity, as it has been said in the liveliness and levity of verse, that he "to party gave up what was meant for mankind." He gave up nothing to his party, except his best exertions for the time being, and for the end immediately in view, while he continued to serve under its banner. He separated himself from his party, and even from the friends and associates with whom he had passed his life, when, whether rightly or wrongly, he conceived that a higher duty than that of fidelity to his party-banner called upon him to take that course. For that Burke, in leaving the ranks of the opposition in the year 1790, or rather in declining to go along with the main body of the opposition in the view which they took at that particular moment of the French Revolution, acted from the most conscientious motives and the strongest convictions, we may assume to be now completely admitted by all whose opinions anybody thinks worth regard-

ing. The notion that he was bought off by the ministry—he who never to the end of his life joined the ministry, or ceased to express his entire disapprobation of their conduct of the war with France—he, by whom, in fact, they were controlled and coerced, not he by them—the old cry that he was paid to attack the French Revolution, by the pension, forsooth, that was bestowed upon him five years after—all this is now left to the rabid ignorance of your mere pothouse politician. Those who have really read and studied what Burke has written know that there was nothing new in the views he proclaimed after the breaking out of that mighty convulsion, nothing different from or inconsistent with the principles and doctrines on the subject of government he had always held and expressed. In truth, he could not have joined in the chorus of acclamation with which Fox and many of his friends greeted the advent of the French Revolution without abandoning the political philosophy of his whole previous life. As we have elsewhere observed, "his principles were altogether averse from a purely democratic constitution of government from the first. He always, indeed, denied that he was a man of aristocratic inclinations, meaning by that one who favoured the aristocratic more than the popular element in the constitution: but he no more for all that ever professed any wish wholly to extinguish the former element than the latter. . . . . The only respect in which his latest writings really differ from those of earlier date is, that they evince a more excited sense of the dangers of popular delusion and passion, and urge with greater earnestness the importance of those restraining institutions which the author conceives, and always did conceive, to be necessary for the stability of governments and the conservation of society. But this is nothing more than the change of topic that is natural to a new occasion."* Or, as he has himself finely said, in defending his own consistency—"A man, who, among various objects of his equal regard, is secure of some, and full of anxiety for the fate of others, is apt to go to much greater lengths in his preference of the objects of his immediate solicitude than Mr. Burke has ever done. A man so circumstanced often seems to undervalue, to vilify, almost to reprobate and disown, those that are out of danger. This is the voice of nature and truth, and not of inconsistency and false pretence. The danger of anything very dear to us removes, for the moment, every other affection from the mind. When Priam had his whole thoughts employed on the body of his Hector, he repels with indignation, and drives from him with a thousand reproaches, his surviving sons, who with an officious piety crowded about him to offer their assistance. A good critic would say that this is a master-stroke, and marks a deep understanding of nature in the father of poetry. He would despise a Zoilus, who would conclude from this passage that Homer meant to represent this man of affliction as hating, or being indifferent and cold in his affections to, the poor relics of his house, or that he preferred a dead carcase to his living children."*

A number of other eminent names must be dismissed with the shortest notice. David Hume, who was born in 1711, and died in 1776, and who has gained the highest place in two very

HUME. From a Portrait by Allan Ramsay.

distinct fields of intellectual and literary enterprise, commenced his literary life by the publication of his Treatise on Human Nature in 1739. The most remarkable metaphysical and speculative works which had appeared in England since Locke's Essay were, Dr. Samuel Clarke's Sermons on the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, 1705, in which he expounded his famous *à priori* argument for the existence of a God; Berkeley's Theory of Vision, 1709; his Principles of Human Knowledge, 1710, in which he announced his argument against the existence of matter; his Dialogue between Hylas and Philonous, 1713; his Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher, 1732; his Analyst, 1734; the Earl of Shaftesbury's Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times, first published in the form in which we now have them in 1713, after the author's death; Mandeville's Fable of the Bees, or Private Vices Public Benefits, 1723; Dr. Francis Hutcheson's Inquiry into the Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, 1725; Andrew Baxter's Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, 1730; Bishop Butler's Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel, 1726; and his Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature, 1736. Hume's Treatise, which, as he has himself stated, was projected before he left college, and written and published not long after, fell, to use his own words, "dead-born from the press;" nor did the speculations it contained attract much more attention when republished ten years after in another form

*Art. on Burke, in Penny Cyclopædia, vi. 35.

* Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.

under the title of Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding; but they eventually proved perhaps more exciting and productive, at least for a time, both in this and in other countries, than any other metaphysical views that had been promulgated in modern times. Hume's Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals appeared in 1752, and his Natural History of Religion in 1755; with which latter publication he may be regarded as having concluded the exposition of his sceptical philosophy. Among the most distinguished writers on mind and morals that appeared after Hume within the period to which our present survey extends may be mentioned Hartley, whose Observations on Man, in which he unfolded his hypothesis of the association of ideas, were published in 1749; Lord Kames (Home), whose Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion were published in 1752; Adam Smith, whose Theory of Moral Sentiments was published in 1759; Reid, whose Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense, was published in 1764; Abraham Tucker (Edward Search, Esq.), the first part of whose Light of Nature Pursued was published in 1768, the second in 1778, after the author's death; and Priestley, whose new edition of Hartley's work, with an Introductory Dissertation, was published in 1775; his Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry, the same year; and his Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, in 1777. We may add to the list Campbell's very able Dissertation on Miracles, in answer to Hume, which appeared in 1763; and Beattie's Essay on Truth, noticed in a former page, which appeared in 1770, and was also, as everybody knows, an attack upon the philosophy of the great sceptic.

In the latter part of his literary career Hume struck into altogether another line, and the subtle and daring metaphysician suddenly came before the world in the new character of an historian. He appears, indeed, to have nearly abandoned metaphysics very soon after the publication of his Philosophical Essays. In a letter to his friend Sir Gilbert Elliot, which, though without date, seems, from its contents, according to Mr. Stewart, to have been written about 1750 or 1751, he says, "I am sorry that our correspondence should lead us into these abstract speculations. I have thought, and read, and composed very little on such questions of late. Morals, politics, and literature have employed all my time."* The first volume of his History of Great Britain, containing the Reigns of James I. and Charles I., was published, in quarto, at Edinburgh, in 1754; the second, containing the Commonwealth and the Reigns of Charles II. and James II., at London, in 1757.† According to his own account the former was received with "one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation;" and after the first ebullitions of the fury of his assailants were over, he adds, "what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion: Mr. Millar told me that in a twelvemonth he sold only forty-five copies of it." He was so bitterly disappointed, that, he tells us, had not the war been at that time breaking out between France and England, he had certainly retired to some provincial town of the former kingdom, changed his name, and never more returned to his native country. However, after a little time, in the impracticability of executing this scheme of expatriation, he resolved to pick up courage and persevere, the more especially as his second volume was considerably advanced. That, he informs us, "happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received: it not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." The work, indeed, seems to have now rapidly attained extraordinary popularity. Two more volumes, comprehending the reigns of the princes of the House of Tudor, appeared in 1759; and the remaining two, completing the History, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry VII., in 1762. And several new editions of all the volumes were called for in rapid succession.* Hume makes as much an epoch in our historical as he does in our philosophical literature. His originality in the one department is as great as in the other; and the influence he has exerted upon those who have followed him in the same path has been equally extensive and powerful in both cases. His History, notwithstanding some defects which the progress of time and of knowledge is every year making more considerable, or at least enabling us better to perceive, and some others which probably would have been much the same at whatever time the work had been written, has still merits of so high a kind as a literary performance that it must ever retain its place among our few classical works in this department, of which it is as yet perhaps the greatest. In narrative clearness, grace, and spirit, at least, it is not excelled, scarcely equalled, by anything else in the language; and it has besides the high charm, indispensable to every work that is to endure, of being impressed all over with the peculiar character of the author's own mind, inte-

* Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy, prefixed to Encyclopædia Britannica, p. 206, n. 3. But we do not understand how Mr. Stewart infers from this letter that Hume had abandoned all his metaphysical researches *long before* the publication of his Essays. His Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding, which are those of which Mr. Stewart is speaking, were first published in 1749.

† The common accounts say 1756; but the copy before us, "printed for A. Millar, opposite Catharine-street, in the Strand," is dated 1757.

* In a newspaper of 1764 (The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, for Wednesday, May 9), we find, besides the advertisement of a new edition of the History of the House of Tudor, in 2 vols. small paper, 4to., price 1*l.* 5*s.*, the following announcement, which is curious both as an evidence of the popularity of Hume's work, and as showing that a mode of publication extensively adopted in our own day is no novelty:—"This day is published, printed on a new type and a good paper, the seventh volume, in octavo, price 5*s.* in boards, of the Complete History of England, from Julius Cæsar to the Revolution. With Additions and Corrections. And to the last volume will be added a full and complete Index. By David Hume, Esq.

*** The Proprietor, at the desire of many who wish to be possessed of this valuable and esteemed History, is induced to this *Monthly* Publication, which will not exceed Eight volumes; a volume of which shall be punctually published every Month, for the benefit of those who do not choose to purchase them all at once. Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand; and S. Bladon, in Paternoster Row; and to be had of all the Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland."

resting us even in its most prejudiced and objectionable passages (perhaps still more, indeed, in some of these than elsewhere) by his tolerant candour and gentleness of nature, his charity for all the milder vices, his unaffected indifference to many of the common objects of human passion, and his contempt for their pursuers, never waxing bitter or morose, and often impregnating his style and manner with a vein of the quietest but yet truest and richest humour. One effect which we may probably ascribe in great part to the example of Hume was the attention that immediately began to be turned to historic composition in a higher spirit than had heretofore been felt among us, and that ere long added to the possessions of the language in that department the celebrated performances of Robertson and Gibbon. Robertson's History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen

ROBERTSON. From an Anonymous Portrait.

Mary and of King James VI. was published at London in 1759; his History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V., in 1769; and his History of America, in 1776. Robertson's style of narration, lucid, equable, and soberly embellished, took the popular ear and taste from the first. A part of the cause of this favourable reception is slily enough indicated by Hume, in a letter which he wrote to Robertson himself on the publication of the History of Scotland:—"The great success of your book, besides its real merit, is forwarded by its prudence, and by the deference paid to established opinions. It gains also by its being your first performance, and by its surprising the public, who are not upon their guard against it. By reason of these two circumstances justice is more readily done to its merit, which, however, is really so great, that I believe there is scarce another instance of a first performance being so near perfection."* The applause, indeed, was loud and universal, from Horace Walpole to Lord Lyttelton, from Lord Mansfield to David Garrick.* Nor did it fail to be renewed in equal measure on the appearance both of his History of Charles V. and of his History of America. But, although in his own day he probably bore away the palm from Hume in the estimation of the majority, the finest judgments even then discerned, with Gibbon, that there was something higher in "the careless, inimitable graces" of the latter than in his rival's more elaborate regularity, flowing and perspicuous as it usually is; and, as always happens, time has brought the general opinion into accordance with this feeling of the wiser few. The first volume of Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire appeared in 1776, a few months before the death of Hume, and about a year before the publication of Robertson's America; the second and third followed in 1781; the three additional volumes, which completed the work, not *till* 1788. Of the first volume, the author tells us, "the first impression was exhausted in a few days; a second and third edition were scarcely adequate to the demand;" and a scarcely diminished interest followed the great undertaking to its close, notwithstanding the fear which he expresses in the preface to his concluding volumes that "six ample quartos must have tired, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the public." A performance at once of such extent, and of so sustained a brilliancy throughout, perhaps does not exist in ancient or modern historical literature; but it is a hard metallic brilliancy, which even the extraordinary interest of the subject and the unflagging animation of the writer, with the great skill he shows in the disposition of his materials, do not prevent from becoming sometimes fatiguing and oppressive. Still

GIBBON. From a Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

the splendour, artificial as it is, is very imposing; it does not warm, as well as illuminate, like the light of the sun, but it has at least the effect of a theatrical blaze of lamps and cressets; while it is

* Account of the Life and Writings of Robertson, by Dugald Stewart.

* "Lord Lyttelton," says Hume, in another letter, "seems to think that since the time of St. Paul there scarce has been a better writer than Dr. Robertson."

supported everywhere by a profusion of real erudition such as would make the dullest style and manner interesting. It is remarkable, however, that, in regard to mere language, no one of these three celebrated historical writers, the most eminent we have yet to boast of, at least among those that have stood the test of time, can be recommended as a model. No one of the three, in fact, was of English birth and education. Gibbon's style is very impure, abounding in Gallicisms; Hume's, especially in the first edition of his History, is, with all its natural elegance, almost as much infested with Scotticisms; and, if Robertson's be less incorrect in that respect, it is so unidiomatic as to furnish a still less adequate exemplification of genuine English eloquence. Robertson died at the age of seventy-one, in 1793; Gibbon, in 1794, at the age of fifty-seven.

Many other historical works, some of them very ably executed, and forming valuable additions to our literature, also appeared within the present period, the most remarkable of which are, Lord Lyttelton's History of the Life of King Henry II. (1764-7), a prolix and ill-arranged but elaborate and sensible performance, founded throughout on original authorities, and, from the detailed and painstaking investigations it contains of many fundamental points, still forming perhaps the best introduction we possess to the study of the English constitution; Sir David Dalrymple Lord Hailes's admirable Annals of Scotland from the accession of Malcolm Canmore to the accession of the House of Stuart (1776-9); Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland from the Dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II. until the sea-battle of La Hogue (1771-3), to which a third volume was afterwards added carrying down the narrative to the capture of the French and Spanish fleets at Vigo, a publication the importance of which consists in the original papers it contains, procured from the French Foreign Office and from King William's private cabinet at Kensington; James Macpherson's History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover, with Original Papers (1775); Gilbert Stuart's Historical Dissertation concerning the Antiquity of the British Constitution (1767); his View of Society in Europe in its Progress from Rudeness to Refinement; or, Inquiries concerning the History of Laws, Government, and Manners (1777); his History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland (1780); and his Historv of Scotland from the Establishment of the Reformation till the Death of Queen Mary (1782); all displaying both research and acuteness, but the two last-mentioned deformed by the author's violent personal animosity against Robertson, for the purpose of confuting certain of whose statements and views they were mainly written; Whitaker's History of Manchester (1771-5), which is in truth a general investigation of the Celtic and Roman antiquities of Britain, conducted, however, with more learning and ingenuity than sound judgment; Warner's History of Ireland (1763-7); Leland's History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II. (1773), a well-written general sketch, by the translator of Demosthenes and Æschines, and the author of The Life of Philip of Macedon, published in 1758; Henry's History of Great Britain, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Death of Henry VIII. (1771-4-7-81-85, a sixth volume having been published in 1793, after the author's death, under the superintendence of Malcolm Laing, Esq.), a work valuable for the numerous facts it contains, illustrative of manners and the state of society, which are not to be found in any of our previous general historians, but chiefly meritorious as having been our first English history compiled upon that plan; Granger's curious Biographical History of England (1769-75); Dr. Adam Ferguson's Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), and his History of the Progress and the Termination of the Roman Republic (1783), both very able works, the produce of independent thought as well as of accurate scholarship; Watson's History of Philip II. of Spain (1776), designed as a sequel to Robertson's Charles V., the continuation of which to the death of Philip III., begun by Watson, was completed and published in 1783, after his death, by the late Dr. William Thomson; Orme's accurate and perspicuous History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745 (1763-78); Holwell's Interesting Historical Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal, and the Empire of Hindostan (1765-7-71); Anderson's Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce (1764); Tytler Lord Woodhouselee's Plan and Outlines of a Course of Lectures on Universal History (1783). To these titles may be added that of Home Lord Kames's Sketches of the History of Man (1773), which, however, although it presents a highly curious collection of arranged facts, or what the author believed to be such, is in the main rather disquisitional and theoretic than historical in the proper sense.

Besides his metaphysical and historical works, upon which his fame principally rests, the penetrating and original genius of Hume also distinguished itself in another field, that of economical speculation, which had for more than a century before his time greatly engaged the attention of inquirers in this country.* There are many ingenious views upon this subject scattered up and down in his Political Discourses, and his Moral and Political Essays. Other contributions, not without value, to the science of political economy, for which we are indebted to the middle of the last century, are the Rev. R. Wallace's Essay on the Numbers of Mankind, published at Edinburgh in 1753; and Sir James Steuart's Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy, which appeared in 1767. But these and all other preceding works on the subject have been thrown into the shade by Adam Smith's celebrated Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, which, after having been long expected, was at last given to the world in the be-

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., vol. iii. p. 724, and iv. p 863

ginning of the year 1776. It is interesting to learn that this crowning performance of his friend was read by Hume, who died before the close of the year in which it was published; a letter of his to Smith is preserved, in which, after congratulating

ADAM SMITH. From a Medallion by Tassie.

him warmly on having acquitted himself so as to relieve the anxiety and fulfil the hopes of his friends, he ends by saying, "If you were here at my fireside, I should dispute some of your principles. . . . But these, and a hundred other points, are fit only to be discussed in conversation. I hope it will be soon; for I am in a very bad state of health, and cannot afford a long delay." Smith survived till July, 1790.

A few other names, more or less distinguished in the literature of this time, we must content ourselves with merely mentioning:—in theology, Warburton, South, Horseley, Jortin, Madan, Gerard, Blair, Geddes, Lardner, Priestley; in critical and grammatical disquisition, Harris, Monboddo, Kames, Blair, Jones; in antiquarian research, Walpole, Hawkins, Burney, Chandler, Barrington, Steevens, Pegge, Farmer, Vallancey, Grose, Gough; in the department of the belles lettres and miscellaneous speculation, Chesterfield, Hawkesworth, Brown, Jenyns, Bryant, Hurd, Melmoth, Potter, Francklin, &c.

In the mathematical and physical sciences the most eminent names are, Black (the discoverer of latent *heat*), Cavendish (the discoverer of the composition of water), Benjamin Franklin (the most important of whose services to science, however, belong to the preceding period);* Priestley, Herschell (the discoverer of the planet Uranus), Maskelyne, Horseley, Vince, Maseres, Charles Hutton, James Hutton (the author of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth), Cullen, Brown (the founder of the Brunonian System of Medicine), Drs. John and William Hunter, the anatomists, Pennant, the zoologist, &c. Under this head may also be noticed the several government voyages of discovery conducted by Commodore Byron, 1764-1766 (in the course of which he discovered the Duke of York's Island and the Isles of Danger); by Captain Wallis, 1766-1768 (in which he discovered the Island of Otaheite); by Captain Carteret, 1766-1769; by Captain Cook, accompanied by Mr. Green, the astronomer, and Dr. Solander and Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, the naturalist, 1768-1771 (in which the transit of Venus over the sun was observed at Otaheite, 4th June, 1769, and New South Wales was discovered, and New Zealand re-discovered); by Captain Cook, 1772-1775 (in which he discovered New Caledonia); and by Captain Cook, 1776-1780 (in which the great navigator discovered the Sandwich Islands, and lost his life there, at Owhyhee, on the 14th of February, 1779).

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 785.

The reign of George III. is marked as an epoch in the history of the Fine Arts by the birth and establishment of the English School of Painting.

In reviewing the earlier history of painting, our attention is drawn to the late introduction of this art into England on its revival in the fifteenth century, and we are led to trace its progress among us in the hands of foreigners, to observe its tardy naturalization on our soil, and to record the degraded state into which it had fallen before it showed any symptoms of native growth.* If we investigate the circumstances which led to these results, and produced the passive feeling through which we were content with showing a taste for those productions which the other nations of Europe actively cultivated, we may perhaps find it a task of some difficulty to distinguish causes from effects. The enthusiastic reception which has always awaited talent of a high order in England, the success of Rubens, Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller, and the avidity with which our princes and nobles exchanged their wealth for the works of the great masters, sufficiently testify that the arts were not repressed by any apathy or indifference on the part of those on whom the first duty of patronage devolved; but the political and moral condition of England previously to the sixteenth century had kept us unacquainted with art during its infancy, and, when it at length visited us in its maturity, it was as the luxury of the few, and not as the enjoyment of the many. It resulted necessarily, from the incapacity of the native artist to reach unprepared the high standard by which art was suddenly appreciated, that all valuable patronage should fall to the share of foreigners, and that the encouragement extended to foreigners should paralyse the exertions of native artists, and that these circumstances, acting and re-acting in a vicious circle, should confine both art and the knowledge of art within the narrow limits to which they were restricted during the whole reign of the House of Stuart. In one point of view the arts flourished greatly in England during that period, but we had learned to depend upon foreign aid, and at its conclusion the general de-

* See the Chapters on the History of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts, in the several Books of the Pictorial History of England.

cline of the arts throughout Europe left us without external or internal resource.

Under the first sovereign of the House of Hanover the art seemed to be threatened with extinction in England—but the degradation to which it was reduced was not without an ultimate advantage. English artists were forced upon the public, and the common level upon which the professors of art were placed on the death of Kneller not only opened a field of competition hitherto unknown, but, as the many are more easily satisfied than the few, a more general disposition for the possession of works of art became excited. The abler artists might be losers by the change, but the deterioration of the public taste was more than compensated by its vast extension at this particular juncture.

Worse the public taste could certainly not become: portrait was the only style of painting which survived, and the only recognised style of portrait was the imitation of Kneller, and, as he was a difficult master to imitate, the only resemblance to his works effected by the great mob of his followers was an exaggeration of his faults. As he worked with rapidity, all the artists valued themselves upon painting fast—where he was free, they were slovenly—if his drawing was square, theirs was clumsy—his draperies were slight, theirs shapeless. Their taste was as defective as their execution. "They have got a set of postures," writes one well qualified to appreciate them, "which they apply to all persons indiscriminately, the consequence of which is, that all their pictures look like so many signpost paintings;—if they have a history or a family-piece to paint, the first thing they do is to look over their commonplace-book containing sketches which they have stolen from various pictures; then they search their prints over, and pilfer one figure from one print, and another from a second, but never take the trouble of thinking for themselves."* Yet even at this time English art was not absolutely devoid of a redeeming quality. "The English painters," says a French author who wrote in 1755, "are naturally colourists. Their manner is large and simple, and consequently partakes of grandeur; they colour the portraits of females especially with great purity, but they are slovenly in their details."

In this condition of the art at home, and the impossibility of any new infusion of vigour from abroad—for in Italy even the shade of what had once been great had passed away—it is evident that nothing but a bold resistance to old prejudices could save it from annihilation. Hogarth had failed to stem the torrent (he had not, to be sure, steered very adroitly), and those few who presumed to think for themselves were obliged to ruminate in the shade, when happily the right man appeared at the right time. The commencement of the reign of George III. found Reynolds in the full blaze of his reputation, and his career, which extended beyond the period now under consideration, effected a total revolution in the arts of his country.

Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was a native of Plympton, and was born in 1723. At the age of eighteen he was placed under Hudson, with whom he remained two years; a feeling of jealousy on the part of the latter is said to have caused this early separation, but it is probable that the pupil had by that time learned all the master could teach. It is certain that he had acquired a considerable reputation not only in his native country, but in London, previously to the year 1749, when he departed for Rome. "In that temple of the arts," says his biographer, Northcote, "his time was diligently and judiciously employed in such a manner as might be expected from one of his talents and virtue. He contemplated with unwearied attention and ardent zeal the various beauties which marked the style of different schools and different ages. It was with no common eye that he beheld the productions of the great masters. He copied and sketched in the Vatican such parts of the works of Rafaelle and Michel Angelo as he thought would be most conducive to his future excellence, and by his well-directed study acquired, whilst he contemplated the best works of the best masters, that grace of thinking to which he was principally indebted for his subsequent reputation as a portrait-painter."

He returned to England in 1752, and the first reception of his works speaks volumes on the perversion of taste with which he had to combat, and which he had the glory of combating so successfully. The artists were of course the foremost to denounce the heresy against the established and orthodox mode of portrait-painting which was implied in the boldness and freedom of his conceptions and the brilliancy of his colouring. His old master, Hudson, was the first to exclaim. Having looked for some time at a portrait which Reynolds had painted, and seeing probably nothing of his own manner left, he cried out, "By G—, Reynolds, you don't paint so well as you did!" Ellis, a face-maker who had studied under Kneller, remonstrated on his imprudence: "Ah! Reynolds, this will never do: why, you don't paint the least like Sir Godfrey!" The painter argued the point with his senior, who at length walked out of the room in astonishment, exclaiming, "Shakspeare in poetry, and Kneller in painting,—damme!"

But his rivals soon sank before him; his merits were too transcendent to remain in doubt. The appearance of a native painter qualified to stand, if not among the first, yet among the first class, of the greatest masters, roused the best feelings of those who had the ability to appreciate him, and inspired perhaps for the first time among those who had the means and influence a strong and patriotic desire for the encouragement of native art. With a talent as dazzling as it was solid, he enlisted the potent aid of fashion in his favour, and, with a tact not inferior to his talent, he seized upon his advantages to assume a direction over the public taste; and the benefit to the arts was incalculable.

In 1758 Reynolds was in the full tide of success.

His portrait of Commodore Keppel had at this time raised him to the highest point of reputation. It is undoubtedly one of the finest portraits ever produced, and rises to the dignity of history. It is on such works as this that Burke is justified in pro-

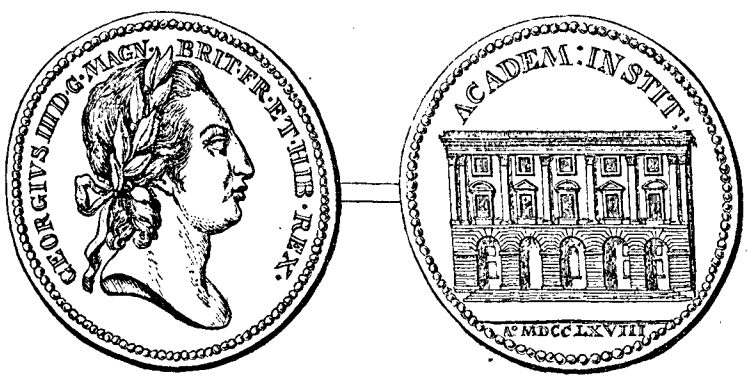
SIR J. REYNOLDS. From a Picture by *Himself*.

nouncing that "in portrait-painting Reynolds does not appear to be raised on that platform, but to descend upon it from a higher sphere." Some of the most celebrated of his female portraits were produced in 1765.

"The portraits of Reynolds," it has been well said, "are equally numerous and excellent, and all who have written of their merits have swelled their eulogiums by comparing them with the simplicity of Titian, the vigour of Rembrandt, and the elegance and delicacy of Vandyke. Certainly, in character and expression, and in manly ease, he has never been surpassed. He is always equal, always natural, graceful, unaffected. His boldness of posture and singular freedom of colouring are so supported by all the grace of art, all the sorcery of skill, that they always appear natural and noble; over the meanest head he sheds the halo of dignity: his men are all noblemen, his women all loveliness, and his children all simplicity; yet they are all like the living originals. He had the singular art of summoning the mind into the face, and making sentiment mingle in the portrait. He could completely disguise all his preconceived notions of academic beauty from his mind —be dead to the past—and, living only for the present, enter into the character of the reigning beauty of the hour with a truth and happiness next to magical. The influence of Reynolds on the taste and elegance of the island was great and will be lasting. The grace and ease of his compositions were a lesson for the living to study, while the simplicity of his dresses admonished the giddy and the gay against the hideousness of fashion. His works diffused a love of elegance, and united with poetry in softening the asperities of nature, in extending our views, and in connecting us with the spirits of the time. His cold stateliness of character and his honourable pride of art gave dignity to his profession; the rich and the far-descended were pleased to be painted by a gentleman as well as a genius."*

The year 1768 is remarkable for the foundation of the Royal Academy. The exhibition of pictures

* Allan Cunningham, Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE FOUNDING OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY. The Reverse exhibits the Apartments of the Academy in Somerset House.

commenced in 1759 had been maintained by the Society of Artists which had established it, but the association had failed in its professed objects, and its growth into an academy had been frustrated, it is probably no injustice to believe, by the indisposition of the members to submit to any one of their number being placed at their head. The high pinnacle on which Reynolds now stood above all competition removed this obstacle. The academy being again proposed, several of the leading artists who had held back from the former association concurred in the design; Reynolds was unanimously chosen president, and it was on this occasion that his majesty, who encouraged the establishment of the academy both by his influence and the aid of the privy purse, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

The establishment of academies has been called "a symptom of art in distress," and that art in England had recently emerged from a state of ex-

treme distress is not to be denied. The favourable effect of such establishments on the cultivation of art has been fiercely disputed; but, if the arts attained their high and palmy state in Greece and Italy without the intervention of academies, it was under circumstances without parallel in later times; and to compare the past and present as regards the probable influence of academies would be simply to argue the whole *quæstio vexata* why the arts should spontaneously flourish at one period and decay at another. It is not to be doubted that the first and indispensable requisite toward establishing that transcendent state of art which existed in Greece and Italy is, that it should be a national feeling, that the national eye should be fixed on art, and that it should be kept in view by associating itself with the wants, the habits, and the manners of at least the educated classes of society. In seeking therefore to advance the arts, it is of importance to attract the attention of the public to the subject in general, and in this point of view associations cannot fail to be highly beneficial. Rafaelle was as much the creation of the period in which he was born as the great works of the Roman school are the creation of Rafaelle. That an academy would have been superfluous in his time is no argument against its value in other days. The establishment of academies for the encouragement of arts has been the care of all the modern governments of Europe, and it is little to the credit of England to have been among the last to follow the example.

The Royal Academy associated together most of the artists who enjoyed any reputation, and the oblivion which has overtaken many of the names of this selection, though of a date comparatively so recent, may show that the founders were compelled not to be too fastidious in filling their ranks. The names of Catton, Carlini, Newton, Moser, Richards, Toms, and Penny, may be altogether new to the reader, nor is there anything in their works or history to review, unless that the last-named was appointed Professor of Painting, and read lectures of which it is only said that they were well received. Baker, Chamberlain, Cotes, Hone, Dance, and Wale are now equally obscure. The first was a flower-painter and a creditable artist, judging by his presentation picture at the Royal Academy. Chamberlain had a reputation in producing strong likenesses, the most vulgar qualification of a portrait-painter.* Cotes enjoyed a share of royal patronage, and his crayon drawings have been praised by Walpole. Hone's name is remembered through an indecent squabble with the president.† Dance merged the arts in a large fortune, and a baronetcy, under the name of Sir Nathaniel Holland. Wale figured as a history-painter, and few artists have left a more numerous progeny. Of the quality of his works there is nothing to be said which may not be better omitted. He was employed on drawings for book-plates, and the demand for such works as those on which he was engaged indicates how extensively an appetite for pictorial illustration had been aroused throughout all classes, and how imperfect was still the taste which such supplies were calculated to satisfy. The reader may refer to Southwell's Family Bible, and Russel's History of England, both published in 1777, for specimens of the ability of this Royal Academician and of the popular art of the day, and may be surprised, if he extend his inquiry, to find them among the best of their class.

The names of several foreigners of reputation appear in the original list of the Royal Academy. Those of Cipriani and Bartolozzi are inseparably connected, and the union of their talents has rendered them celebrated throughout Europe. Giovanni Baptista Cipriani was a native of Florence, and settled in England after studying two or three years in Rome. He executed few large pictures, but his drawings are innumerable, and were perhaps the most popular of the time. He excelled in poetical subjects, and displays in an eminent degree fertility of invention, graceful composition, and a most seductive elegance of form. Francesco Bartolozzi was also a native of Florence, and came to England in 1764. No engraver's works are better known or more widely spread; he executed an immense number of plates in every style, and in every style he excelled. In his line engravings there is a richness and harmony which have never been surpassed; but he failed in his transcripts of the works of the old masters. He was himself too much the master, and impressed a character of his own upon what he copied. Angelica Kauffmann was also an original member of the Academy. She was a native of the Grisons, and came to England in 1765, preceded by a brilliant reputation acquired in Italy, although she had there painted nothing but portraits. The numerous historical and poetical compositions which she executed during a stay of seventeen years in this country are well known, but a new generation has not confirmed the estimation in which she was held, for, although her claims to graceful design and harmonious colouring are not to be disputed, yet her style is weak, vapid, and strongly mannered. She nevertheless maintained her reputation at Rome to the end of her life. Dominic Serres, a native of Gascony, was marine-painter to the king, and a good artist. His principal work is Lord Howe's Engagement off Gibraltar. Francesco Zuccarelli was much patronized by George III., and set a very indifferent fashion in landscape when we possessed

* There is some very sound criticism on painting in general, and on the painters of this period in particular, where it might be little expected—amidst the buffoonery of Peter Pindar's Odes to the Royal Academy. Wolcot was a good judge of art, and was never misled by contemporary reputations. He thus flatters Mr. Mason Chamberlain:—

"Thy portraits, Chamberlain, may be
A likeness, far as I can see;
But, faith! I cannot praise a single feature:—
Yet, when it so shall please the Lord
To make his people out of board,
Thy pictures will be tolerable nature."

† "And now for Mr. Nathan Hone:
In portrait thou 'rt as much alone
As in his landscapes stands th' unrivall'd Claude:—
Of pictures I have seen enough,
Most vile, most execrable stuff,
But none so bad as thine, I vow to God!"

very superior talent of our own. Many of his works are at Windsor. John Zoffany, a native of Frankfort, acquired great celebrity by his theatrical scenes and portraits, painted with a truth of expression which has fixed upon canvass the evanescent talent of Garrick and other great actors. He was a good colourist, though somewhat feeble. The Tribune at Florence, and the portraits of the Royal Academicians, are among his best and most important works.

Among the founders of the Royal Academy who stand forth in the first rank by the side of Reynolds, the second place must be conceded to Benjamin West. That this artist occupies a respectable station in the class of historical painters is not to be denied; but he was greatly overrated during his life, and his reputation now pays the penalty of undeserved neglect. It is difficult to conceive circumstances more adverse than those under which the early propensities of West broke forth. Buried in the obscurity of the New World, where no external impression of the arts could possibly affect him—brought up in a persuasion which treats them as vanity, if not abomination—West, born an American and a Quaker, surmounted these new and formidable obstacles, accomplished in 1760 the object which had been the hope of his life, and proceeded to Rome for the prosecution of his studies. Here his talent at once displayed itself, for, though ignorant of drawing, he produced a portrait of which the colouring was at once admitted to be excellent. He remained in Italy until he had attained a proficiency which opened to him the academies of Florence, Parma, and Bologna, and with these honours arrived in England in 1763 on his way to his native land. But the enthusiasm aroused in England by the position which Reynolds had secured for his country in the scale of European art offered a fair field for the exercise of historical painting, and the first efforts of West met with a success which awakened his ambition and tempted him to proceed in the course which his inclinations pointed out. To Dr. Drummond, archbishop of York, he was indebted for an introduction to George III. There was something congenial between the monarch and the painter, and their long intercourse of above forty years was attended with a personal esteem amounting to friendship. The first work he executed for the king was that fine composition the Departure of Regulus. The Academy was founded while this work was in progress, and the royal patronage under which that institution came to life may be partly attributed to the new-born influence of West.

His next great work was the Death of General Wolfe.* Its history is a striking illustration of the state from which the public taste had not yet emerged. It will scarcely be believed that condemnation awaited this admirable work because it was not treated *classically*—that is to say, because the characters were not represented in the Greek or Roman costume. It had been thought essential to the dignity of historical painting to reduce it to the level of French tragedy, in which no word or expression is admissible which is not conventionally deemed *heroic*. The lovers of old art "complained of the introduction of boots, buttons, and blunderbusses, and cried out for naked warriors with bows, bucklers, and battering-rams." Even Reynolds, forgetting how many prejudices he had himself overturned, was startled at the innovation, and urged the painter in deference to the public taste to adopt the costume of antiquity, as more becoming the greatness of the subject than the modern garb of Europe. West was obliged to argue upon the impropriety of this mode of representing an event which happened in the year 1759, in a region unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and upon the necessity of the painter abiding by the same truth which gives laws to the historian, if his works are to be understood by posterity. When the picture was completed Reynolds candidly retracted his opinion. Another revolution was effected, and another step gained in the establishment of an English school. When Barry, who had studied the antique until he denied the existence of anything excellent in the whole range of modern art, attempted to recal the *classical* style in treating the same subject, he found that the public taste had taken the road of common-sense. The multitude, who knew the regiments engaged, and the cut of their uniforms, were astonished at a combat of naked men; and the fine sentiment which the painter had thrown into the expression was far from sufficient to redeem the absurdity.

The life of James Barry forms a remarkable contrast with the successful career of his contemporary West. After a residence of five years at Rome he returned to England with a firm resolution to bring back the world to a pure taste in historical painting; and, as he possessed unbounded enthusiasm, he hungered and thirsted, not only figuratively but literally, to establish a school which should embody only what is dignified and sublime. The first works he exhibited on his arrival in London were, Venus rising from the Sea, and Jupiter and Juno; the former allowed on all hands to be

BARRY. From a Portrait by Himself.

* Engraved in Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 610.

an exquisite production, and the latter possessing great majesty, the quality at which the painter principally aimed. But, as it has been well observed, these subjects excited no sympathy, no fresh emotion: what were Jupiter and Juno to the public of 1773? The great artists of Greece and Italy wrought in the spirit of their age and country; they sought at home for subjects of high character and yet familiarly known: but the heathen gods on Barry's canvass appealed to no popular sympathy, to no national belief, to no living superstition. The great painters of Italy did one thing, and Barry did another: they, like the Greeks before them, set their imaginations to work upon subjects for which there was a market. Religion called art to her aid, and the greatest of Romish divines never illustrated her legends with the spirit and grandeur of this auxiliary. To this view of the subject Barry shut his eyes, and fared accordingly. Those who disliked his Jupiter and Juno dwelt upon imperfect drawing and defective colouring. In a work appealing directly to public feeling half the talent would have obtained high praise.* On the other hand, the subjects chosen by West contributed to his success no less than his ability in treating them. A series of paintings executed for his royal patron, in illustration of the history of Edward III., were followed by a scheme for representing the progress of revealed religion. Thirty-five subjects were selected—eighteen from the Old Testament and the remainder from the New; a work more varied, more extensive, and more noble in its nature than was perhaps ever undertaken by any other painter; and a magnificent oratory or chapel-royal was planned for their reception. West undoubtedly considered himself, and was considered by others, to be capable of successfully executing this mighty project in the true spirit of the great masters. That he could perform it *cleverly* is perhaps the utmost that posterity will be inclined to allow;—good taste and propriety are the characteristics of his scriptural works. The human form is represented academically—his groups are arranged with skill—his colouring is varied and harmonious; but the stiffness of art is always apparent, and under a pleasing exterior there is little vitality: his expression is monotonous as his imagination was cold. His best scriptural works are those of a quiet and subdued character; in these he often attains great excellence. Perhaps his greatest strength lay in subjects of a more familiar cast. His Battle of La Hogue has been pronounced the best historical picture of the English school; but he sometimes surpasses himself in subjects of the very highest energy, especially in his sketches: that for Death on the Pale Horse reaches the point of sublimity, though some portion of that rare quality has evaporated in developing the picture on a larger scale.†

* Allan Cunningham's Life of Barry.

† Peter Pindar, after censuring West for irreverent treatment of a Scripture subject, in terms more irreverent, thus concludes:—

"West, I must own thou dost inherit
Some portion of the painting spirit;
But trust me—not extraordinary things—
Some merit thou must surely own
By getting up so near the throne,
And gaining whispers from the best of kings."

* Allan Cunningham.

The cause of historical painting, to which for some years so successful a course seemed to lie open, was however doomed to receive a fatal check. The leading artists, who were anxious to see some fruits from their labours which should form a lasting memorial of themselves and an example to posterity, proposed from their own resources to carry out the unfinished design of Sir Christopher Wren, and to decorate the empty panels of St. Paul's with the paintings for which the great architect had intended them. The plan was approved by the king and the dean, but the Bishop of London objected, and unhappily prevailed, and an opportunity for the advance of high art was lost which will never be retrieved. Upon the failure of this design the Society of Arts offered their works for the use of the historical painters; but Barry alone was so much oppressed by his enthusiasm as to resort to this mode of venting it, and at the time when he made to the society the magnificent offer of decorating their house at his own expense he is said to have possessed but sixteen shillings in the world.* He had by this time published his "Inquiry into the real and imaginary Obstructions to the Progress of the Arts in England;" and he now, as he says, thought himself bound, in duty to the country, to art, and to his own character, to try whether his abilities would enable him to exhibit the proof as well as the argument. From these lofty aspirations resulted the series of paintings on the Progress of Human Improvement, in the great room of the society in the Adelphi. These works were begun in 1777 and completed in 1783.

To Wilson and Gainsborough, both among the founders of the Academy, belongs the glory of founding the school of landscape, which has conferred such high honour on Great Britain. The name of Richard Wilson has become one of the most illustrious in modern art. He began life as a portrait-painter, and, although his performances in that class are forgotten, he must have distinguished himself among his wretched contemporaries, since he was employed, in 1748, to paint some of the royal family. On visiting Italy in the following year he discovered his *forte*. During six years he gave himself to the study of landscape, and, on his return to England, confirmed, by the exhibition of his Niobe, the reputation he had acquired abroad.

The works of Wilson attain the highest rank of art. "He had," says his best biographer, "a poet's feeling and a poet's eye: he selected his scenes with judgment, and spread them out in all the fresh luxury of nature. He had caught the hue and character of Italian scenery, and steeped his spirit in its splendour. His landscapes are fanned with the pure air, warmed with the glowing suns, piled with the ruined

temples, and sparkling with the wooded streams and tranquil lakes, of that classic region." What Reynolds effected for portrait Wilson did for landscape in the English school—with equal genius, but with far different fortune. He went forward in advance of the age, but failed to draw the age with him. He exhibited his unrivalled productions to the eyes of his countrymen in vain. His View from Kew Gardens was returned by the king: it was probably deficient *in* matter of fact, for he delighted to paint from his imagination, under the influence of historical and poetical associations, and of this class is the larger portion of his finest works. "He is now," says Fuseli, "numbered with the classics of the art, though little more than the fifth part of a century has elapsed since death delivered him from the apathy of cognoscenti, the envy of rivals, and the neglect of a tasteless public; for Wilson, whose works will soon command prices as proud as those of Claude, Poussin, and Elsheimer, resembled the last most in his fate, and lived and died nearer to indigence than ease."* His life was, indeed, a distressing picture of genius struggling with neglect; but he saw his future renown, and once said to Sir William Beechy, "You will live to see great prices given for my pictures, when those of Barret will not fetch one farthing." George Barret, also one of the original academicians, who was a respectable painter, and nothing more,† grew rich by his pencil, while Wilson was starving. Time has confirmed the view of their respective merits entertained by the few who could discriminate high art. Wilson died in 1782, aged 69.

Thomas Gainsborough painted both portrait and landscape, and it is difficult to say in which class his works do him most honour. His heart was in the latter: in those rustic scenes which display a mixture of both he stands without a rival. Gainsborough was emphatically the pupil of nature. The woods of Suffolk were his early study, and in this school he became a confirmed painter at twelve years old. The marked feature of his works is their genuine English feeling. The homeliness of our scenery, the character of our peasants, the effects of our atmosphere, are reflected with the truth and frankness of nature on the canvass of Gainsborough; and to him is due all the merit of opening the rich mine of materials for art in which our own country and climate so surpassingly abound, which has been since worked with such industry and success, and which still remains inexhaustible. Like Reynolds, he is eminently successful in catching the graces of children; but the one painted them in the drawing-room, the other on the common and by the road-side; and the two painters are as happy in the contrast as in the resemblance. The best works of Gainsborough will maintain an honourable place by the side of those of any school of art. But he was extremely unequal, and too many of his pictures, both landscape and portrait, bear the marks of hurry and inattention. Two of his most celebrated productions are in the collection of the Marquess of Westminster, and are known as The Blue Boy and The Cottage Door. The former was painted by Gainsborough as a *tour de force*, to prove that he could conquer the difficulty presented by the mass of blue colour which occupies the centre of the picture. In the latter the landscape and the group which enlivens it contend for mastery, and are both of the highest order. Gainsborough was born in 1727, and died in 1788.

In estimating the professors of modern art there are three points of view in which their works may be placed:—First, as to their intrinsic value in reference to the nature they profess to follow, whether moral or physical, whether in her loftier or her humbler moods; secondly, in comparison with what has been attained by the old masters; thirdly, with regard to the place they hold among contemporary productions. Reynolds, Wilson, and Gainsborough may be tried by the severest of these tests and not be found wanting. West fails only as he lacked judgment to measure his own powers. But there are others among the contemporaries of Reynolds who enjoyed high living reputations, and not undeservedly. What Walpole calls "the herd of painters in oil" of course followed in the wake of the President with such effect as usually attends the servility of imitation.* But the success of that great man had also taught a better lesson, and those who had the ability imitated him in studying nature and thinking for themselves. The name of John Opie will always be eminent in British art, for the vigour and originality of his works, both in portrait and history: these qualities and truth of expression and colouring have stamped a high value on his productions. "He saw Nature in one point of view," says West, "more distinctly and forcibly than any painter that ever lived. What he saw he painted in the most masterly manner, and he varied little from it." He was, in fact, deficient in the power to elevate and refine common nature, and the absence of dignity and poetical feeling are the defects of his works. Opie was a native of Cornwall, of humble origin, and was

* "——old red-nosed Wilson's art
Will hold its empire o'er my heart,
By Britain left in poverty to pine;
But, honest Wilson, never mind,
Immortal praises thou shalt find,
And for a dinner have no cause to fear.
Thou start'st at my prophetic rhymes,
Don't be impatient for those times,
Wait till thou hast been dead a hundred year."
Peter Pindar.

† "Believe me, Barret, thou hast truth and taste;
Yet sometimes thou art apt to be *unchaste:*
Too oft thy pencil or thy genius flags,
Too oft thy landscapes bonfires seem to be,
And in thy rustling clouds methinks I see
A resurrection of old rags." *P. Pindar.*
Any further description of Barret's style in some of his works would be superfluous.

* "Sir Joshua's happy pencil hath produced
A host of copyists, much of the same feature,
By which the art hath greatly been abused.
I own Sir Joshua *great*, but Nature *greater;*
——— the President, to Nature true,
Doth mark her form, and all her haunts pursue;
Whilst half the silly brushmen of the land
Contented take the nymph at second hand—
Imps, who just boast the merit of translators,
Horace's *servum pecus*—imitators." *P. Pindar.*

brought into notice by Dr. Wolcot in 1781. The breadth and energy of his style, and his vivid representation of individual nature, acquired for him a sudden popularity which seemed for a moment to shake the throne of the President himself. But he speedily experienced the caprice of public taste, and his matured performances were neglected in comparison with the first bold but defective efforts of his pencil. In George Romney the President encountered a more formidable rival. He was a native of Westmoreland, and, coming to London in 1762, a moment at which British art was in high favour, his merit soon procured him patrons and friends, and his success is said to have excited the enmity of Reynolds. Romney, however, considered portrait as a pursuit unworthy of him, and left a liberal professional income derived from that source to prosecute his studies at Rome. In 1775 he returned to England, and, for a time, had clearly the ascendency over Reynolds.* He was fortunate in his literary connexions: his merits were chaunted by the popular poets of the day;† and at a later period Flaxman, who owed a debt of gratitude to the artist, expatiated on his talents with enthusiasm. He undoubtedly possessed and displayed a mind of extraordinary powers. The ideas expressed in his historical and poetical compositions, of which he has left a prodigious number, are original and striking; but the power of conception, however vigorous, is insufficient to make a great painter, unless accompanied by the ability to embody it in a work of art; and in this Romney seems to have been unaccountably deficient. Few of his works were ever completed out of scores which were begun on canvass; but he still did enough to secure a lasting and honourable place for his name.‡ His portraits possess great dignity, but he has none of the grace and ease and refined taste of his rival; and there is a degree of coarseness in his handling which is especially displeasing. Romney died in 1802.

In the year 1784 the death of Allan Ramsay opened to Reynolds the appointment of principal painter to the crown. Ramsay was the son of the Scottish poet: he was a painter of the old school, but much superior to the time in which he was educated. Hogarth satirised the style of his draperies by representing one of his royal full-lengths with a plumb-line hung against it. His colouring is extremely feeble. Such as he was, he effectually intercepted the rays of court patronage from Reynolds during his lifetime.

Before the close of the period now under consideration, several painters who have since worthily supported the credit of the British school presented themselves as candidates for public applause; but we may leave for the present those who flourished in what may be called the second generation of the Royal Academy, and conclude with the mention of a few of the earlier artists of minor reputation who must not be totally omitted.

To Paul Sandby is generally attributed the merit of founding the school of water-colour painting, which would alone confer on Britain a proud title to original excellence in the annals of art. It is true that he never advanced beyond the *tinting*, to which the old style of water-colour drawing is confined; but his claim to this high distinction is not the less founded, since he was the first to show the capability of the material to produce finished landscapes, and to establish a reputation by the practice. Independently of this circumstance, his works are valuable. He was a thorough master of drawing, and all his productions bear the impress of an original mind.—Joseph Wright, well known as Wright of Derby, was a portrait-painter, and acquired much reputation by his effects of fire and candlelight.—John Mortimer possessed a fertile genius, a lively imagination, and many of the requisites to form a great painter; but his talents were lost in idle and dissipated habits, and he died in the prime of life in 1779. His designs are numerous, and were once extremely popular. His favourite subjects were banditti, smugglers, &c., of which his representations are vigorous, but exaggerated in their action and expression.—George Smith of Chichester, and William Smith of Derby, though feeble artists, are both worthy of mention, as having been among the first who explored and represented the landscape of their native country; the former has had the good fortune to be perpetuated on copper by our most eminent engravers.—George Stubbs and Sawrey Gilpin were animal-painters; the former distinguished himself greatly by his knowledge of the horse, and was a good artist, but failed in his attempts at landscape.* It is barely just to name in this place a painter who has so well illustrated British history as John Singleton Copley. This eminent artist was born at Boston, in America, in 1737, and was indebted to himself alone for a proficiency which extended his fame to England in 1760. From the establishment of the Royal Academy he was a constant exhibitor in London, which he visited in 1774, on his way to Italy. In the following year he settled permanently in England, and was elected a member of the Academy in 1783. His Death of the Earl of Chatham, and Death of Major Pierson, rank with the best historical compositions of the English school.

The history of Sculpture during the present period may be shortly dismissed. It is true that

* Lord Thurlow used to say—"In my time there were two factions—the Reynolds faction and the Romney faction."

† Cumberland, in some verses addressed to Romney on his going abroad, distinguishes as "the great in art," Reynolds, Cotes, Dance, Gainsborough, Mortimer, Humphrey, Stubbs, Wright, Zoffany, and West!

‡ A list of fifty or sixty of Romney's historical and poetical works is given in his Life by Allan Cunningham. There is a large collection of his sketches in the Fitzwilliam Collection at Cambridge.

* "'Tis said that nought so much the temper rubs
Of that ingenious artist, Mr. Stubbs,
As calling him a horse-painter—how strange
That Stubbs the title should desire to change!
Yet doth he curses on th' occasion utter,
And, foolish, quarrel with his bread and butter;
For after landscape, gentlemen and ladies,
This very Mr. Stubbs exceeding mad is—
So quits his horse, on which the man might ride
To Fame's fair temple, happy and unhurt," &c. &c.
P. Pindar.

Banks, Bacon, and Nollekins had established their reputation, and Flaxman had shown himself in the exhibition-room before the year 1785; but most

ROUBILIAC. From a Portrait by Adrien Carpantier.

of the principal works of those artists are of subsequent date, and will be more conveniently noticed in a future chapter. Between the reign of the French school and the ascendency of a new race of artists who knew not Roubiliac, the throne of sculpture was filled by Joseph Wilton, one of the founders of the Royal Academy; and it is something to record, that the genial rays of public favour had at last fallen on an Englishman. Wilton was the first of our national sculptors who went through a regular course of academic education. His early studies were made at Paris, under Pigalle; and in 1747 he went to Rome, where he remained eight years, copied many of the antique statues in marble, and gained the gold medal of the Roman Academy. On his return to England he obtained the appointment of state-coach carver to the king; and the machine which still rolls twice a-year to the door of the Parliament-house is decorated with his productions.

His first public monument was that of General Wolfe, at Westminster—an ambitious heap of marble, showing little invention, taste, or skill, and destitute of the refinement which redeems the French school, from which it is an offset. His next was the Statue of Admiral Holmes, also at Westminster. Here he is *classical*, upon the approved principle of dressing his hero in the ancient costume, as it was then understood. It might be supposed that consistency at least should be a necessary ingredient in a *travestie* of this kind, but Wilton makes his Roman warrior lean on a cannon. Bad as all this may be, there was no one at the time to do, or even to suggest, better; and his Monument of the Earl and Countess of Mountrath,—a jumble of seraphim and cherubim, urns, clouds, wreaths of glory, and an effulgence of marble rays of light,—is applauded by a contemporary critic as a work of "beauties exceeding description." The name of Sir William Chambers is associated with that of the sculptor in this performance. With such ability, however, as he possessed, Wilton obtained the principal patronage of the country, both public and private; and as he realized a fortune by his profession, and was a man of liberal mind and polished manners, he exercised considerable influence in the arts. He prudently retired from the

SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS. From a Portrait by Sir J. Reynolds.

field as competitors of greater talent threatened to supplant him, but accepted the office of Keeper of the Royal Academy, in which he died in 1803, at the age of eighty-one. Whatever may be the deficiencies of Wilton as an artist, the preference he obtained was probably a just one: of what his contemporaries were capable of doing, a specimen is to be found in the monument of Admiral Tyrrell, occupying the third compartment of the south aisle of Westminster Abbey, bearing the date of 1766 and the name of W. Read, who seems to have been ambitious of applying to the sister art the principles of scene-painting. Such an indescribable enormity was perhaps never perpetrated in the name of sculpture before or since.

The name of another native sculptor, William Tyler, appears in the original list of Royal Academicians. He executed the Monument of General Lawrence, at Westminster—insipid and commonplace enough, but with fewer sins against good taste than most works of the period.

The subject of Architecture during the reign of George III. is one which it will be necessary to treat under a more extended view than is afforded by the period of twenty-five years now under consideration. We shall therefore take a future opportunity to bring the history of this branch of the fine arts at once to the end of the eighteenth century, and conclude for the present with some notice of the progress of Engraving.

In line engraving, our native artists had hitherto been decidedly surpassed by the French; but, during the present period, this art, as applied to landscape and history, was brought, in the hands of Woollet and Strange, to a degree of perfection it had never yet reached, and which has never since been equalled. The finished style of landscape engraving in which the English school have since arrived at a degree of general excellence which throws every other into the shade, was in fact originated at this time by Francis Vivares, a native

of Montpellier, the first artist who ever attempted to render the landscapes of the great masters with the spirit and character of the originals. He passed his whole life in England, and his works are numerous and well known. But, although he arrived at great excellence, especially in his treatment of Claude Lorraine, he was speedily surpassed by our countryman William Woollet, whose landscapes perhaps reach the utmost perfection to which the art of engraving can arrive. In those after Wilson he has identified himself with the very mind and feeling of the painter. In historical engraving he was scarcely less successful. His Death of General Wolfe, after West, is one of the most admirable works the graver ever produced. In the class of history after the old masters, Woollet must, however, yield to Sir Robert Strange, who stands pre-eminent in his engravings after Titian, Guido, and Correggio. In the softness and delicacy of his flesh he has never been approached. Strange was a native of the Orkney Islands, and passed many years in Italy studying the paintings which he so ably illustrated. His works consist of about fifty plates, chiefly after the great Italian schools. His celebrity is universal. He was a member of the academies of Rome, Florence, Bologna, and Paris, and was knighted in 1787. He died in 1792. John Browne and William Byrne followed in the footsteps of Woollet. The first, who was an assistant of that able artist, engraved several landscapes after the old masters in a very superior style. William Byrne is especially known by his series of engravings after the drawings of Thomas Hearne, the antiquary. This is the first of that high class of topographical works which have since been so profusely multiplied, and hold so distinguished a place in English art. At the period under consideration, the study of English antiquities and the taste for illustrating them was beginning to spread, but we had few draughtsmen by whom these subjects were understood, and there had not been time for the art of engraving them to reach the high general tone which now marks the most *insignificant* publications of this description. The voluminous publications of Captain Grose, of which the illustrations would not be tolerated in the present day, may be cited as a rather superior specimen of their class at this time. The work of Hearne and Byrne is a splendid exception among works of this description in the last century. Byrne had studied in France, and was a pupil of the celebrated Wille. Edward Rooker also engraved many landscapes after Wilson and Paul Sandby; but the chief excellence of this artist lay in his architectural views. His style is extremely bold and effective, with a remarkable breadth of light and clearness in the shadows. Thomas Major engraved in all classes. He was a pupil of Pine and Gravelot, and afterwards studied in Paris. Many of his works are after the old masters, especially those of the Dutch and Flemish schools; but he sometimes practised successfully in a higher class, and the Good Shepherd, after Murillo, is one of his best works. His style is extremely firm and neat. He also excelled in die-sinking, and, on the occasion of the great seal being stolen, produced a substitute in twenty-four hours. Major was principal engraver to George III. until his death in 1799. Charles Grignon, a native of France, settled in London in 1750. He engraved many historical works, and his best are masterly performances. He was extensively employed on book-plates. The works of this description which bear his name are very numerous, and in most instances little worthy of an artist of his eminence. We have already alluded to this class of art in mentioning the designs of Wale, an immense number of which were engraved by Grignon, or his journeymen. James Basire must also be mentioned as the engraver of many large plates; and Joseph Strutt, as distinguished for his illustrated literary works, especially on the subject of English antiquities, rather than for his proficiency as an artist, although his works are by no means deficient in neatness of execution.

The breadth and brilliancy of the style of Sir Joshua Reynolds rendered his works no less favourable to the art of mezzotint than those of his predecessor Sir Godfrey Kneller, and the finest of his portraits have been engraved in this manner with the most perfect success. Of these transcripts of the works of our great painter, a large number are the productions of James M'Ardell, one of the ablest artists who ever practised in this style of engraving. His thorough feeling of the peculiar beauties of his originals is shared by John Raphael Smith, a son of Smith of Derby, and Valentine Green, both artists of the highest merit in the style they professed. The latter has also engraved some of West's principal compositions. Thomas and James Watson were excellent engravers of the same class.

The name of Paul Sandby must be again mentioned, as having carried to great perfection the method of engraving in aquatint, then lately invented at Paris. For many years this art was much practised in popular works, and especially for coloured engravings, but the introduction of lithography for these purposes has now in a great measure superseded it.

From the period now under notice may be dated the commencement of that revival of theart of Engraving on wood which has had so important an effect on the productions of the press in later years. Wood-engraving, while deserving a place among what are distinctively termed the *fine* arts, derives its principal interest from its application to the illustration of books; and its history is therefore intimately connected with that of typography. In former times, indeed, when the division of labour in the useful arts was far less perfect than at present, the art of wood-engraving, as well as many other processes now considered foreign to his business, appears to have been frequently practised by the printer himself; a circumstance which may account for the extremely rude character of the

illustrative cuts in many early printed books. While several of the artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who practised engraving as well as painting, executed woodcuts of superior character as works of art, and not a few of those used merely as book illustrations display considerable merit, it is evident that in many old books in which they occur, they are used rather as a kind of index to the text than with any pretension to a display of artistic skill.*

It is probable that the art of wood-engraving was brought into this country almost as early as *that of printing*; as several of Caxton's works, commencing with the second edition of the "Game and Playe of the Chesse," which is supposed to have been printed about 1476, are adorned with woodcuts. It has been thought that these, or some of them, were of foreign execution, but Mr. Chatto† considers that their coarseness leaves little reason to doubt the possibility of their all being of home production, while to some of them he has no hesitation in attributing a British origin. This writer states, in a subsequent page, that there can be little doubt that wood-engraving was practised in England by native artists during Holbein's residence in this country (about 1526-54), although he very much questions if it were followed by any as a distinct profession; it being probable that in many cases the woodcuts appearing in books printed in this country were executed by the printers themselves.‡ He further observes,§ that the woodcuts in the edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments, published in 1576, were all undoubtedly *designed* and engraved in England. From about this time to the early part of the seventeenth century, while the art was rapidly declining in other countries, the woodcuts met with in English books improve in character, and ornamental title-pages displaying considerable skill frequently occur.‖ During the seventeenth century many woodcuts of extremely rude character were published, especially in the pamphlets printed about the time of the civil war, being probably executed by persons who merely took to engraving as an occasional employment; and such engravings as may be attributed to professed wood-engravers give but a poor idea of their skill. Between 1650 and 1700 the art sunk to its lowest ebb, not only in this country, but on the continent also; but, as Mr. Chatto observes, "although wood-engraving had fallen into almost utter neglect by the end of the seventeenth century, and continued in a languishing state for many years afterward, yet the art was never lost, as many persons have supposed; for both in England and in France a regular succession of wood-engravers can be traced from 1700 to the time of Thomas Bewick. The cuts which appear in books printed in Germany, Holland, and Italy during the same period, though of very inferior execution, sufficiently prove that the art continued to be practised in those countries."* Howel's 'Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ,' which was published in 1712, contains many woodcuts that attest the very low state of the art at that time. The manner in which these are executed "sufficiently indicates," according to the work above quoted, "that the engraver must have been either self-taught, or the pupil of a master who did not understand the art." The blocks have evidently been engraved after the manner of copper-plate engraving; the lines by which the forms are given being cut into the surface, so as to appear white in the print, instead of being left in relief, and printing black. It appears probable that these cuts were executed by Edward Kirkall, who is perhaps better known as a copper engraver,† and who is supposed to have also engraved woodcuts for some other works published soon afterwards. In 1722 appeared Croxall's edition of Æsop's Fables, illustrated with a great number of cuts of very superior execution to those in the "Medulla," but probably done by the same hand. It has been asserted that these were cut upon metal after the manner of wood-engraving; but this appears highly improbable, as the difficulty of the process would have been much greater than that of cutting on wood. These cuts, many of which are copied from the copper-plate embellishments of a French edition of the Fables, are scarcely inferior to some of the earliest cuts of Bewick.

The art which had thus been suffered to fall into discredit, and almost into disuse, was revived chiefly through the talents of Thomas Bewick, who was born in 1753, at Cherry-burn, about twelve miles west of Newcastle. His father possessed a small land-sale colliery in the vicinity of his resi-

* This view of the subject is curiously illustrated by the following passage, extracted verbatim from the Bookseller's Address to the Reader, prefixed to the sixth edition of Howel's "Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ—The Ancient and Present State of England;" published in 1712.

"The Cutts added in this Edition are intended more for use than shew.

"The Utility consists in these two Particulars:—1. To make the better Impression on the Memory. 2. To shew more readily when the Notable Passages in our History were Transacted; which without the knowledge of the Names of the Persons, are not to be found out, by even the best Index's. As for Example, In what Reign was it that a Rebellious Rout, headed by a vile Fellow, made great Ravage, and appearing in the King's Presence with Insolence, their Captain was stab'd upon the Spot by the Lord-Mayor? Here without knowing the Names of some of the Parties, which a World of People are ignorant of, the Story is not to be found by the Index, but by the help of the Cutt, which catches the Eye, is soon discover'd. We all have heard of the Piety of one of our Queens who suck'd the Poyson out of her Husband's Wound, but very few remember which of them it was, which the Cut presently shews. The same is to be said of all the rest, since we have chosen only such things as are NOTABILIA in the History to Describe in our Sculptores.

"And if it be objected, That the Graving is in Wood, and not in Copper, which would have been more Beautiful; we Answer, that such would have been much more Expensive too. And we were willing to save the Buyer's Purse; especially since even the best Engraving would not better serve the Purposes above-said."

† Treatise on Wood Engraving; with Illustrations by John Jackson, p. 233, &c.

‡ Id. p. 453.

§ Id. p. 510.

‖ Treatise on Wood Engraving, p. 518. Gerard Leigh's "Accedence of Armorie," published, we believe, in 1591, contains several cuts of armorial bearings, executed in a very respectable style, probably by a foreigner in England. The quaint old author says, on folio 112, "If I should say here as I might, there could I have occupied only for bordures 50 escocheons, but that the printer thinketh that they would make the booke too deare, I am constrained to leaue off, *and because my cutter is gone beyond the Sea.*"

* Treatise on Wood Engraving, p. 529.

† Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 760.

dence, and it is said that Thomas occasionally worked in the pit when a boy. He received a respectable education, and, having displayed some talent in drawing, was apprenticed, in 1767, to Mr. Beilby, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, an engraver, who was employed chiefly in engraving brass door-plates, clock-faces, &c.; although he also executed copper-plates for books whenever they were offered to him. Such a business did not offer much opportunity for the cultivation of Bewick's artistic talents; but about 1768 he was employed to cut some diagrams on wood for the Treatise on Mensuration published soon after by Dr. Charles Hutton, then a schoolmaster at Newcastle; and from that time he devoted his attention especially to wood-engraving. In 1775, the year after the expiration of his apprenticeship, Bewick received a premium of seven guineas from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c., for a wood-cut of the Huntsman and Old Hound; which was subsequently printed in an edition of Gay's Fables published at Newcastle in 1779.* About 1776 Bewick came to London, but he returned to Newcastle in the following year, and entered into partnership with his former master. Thenceforward he devoted himself almost exclusively to wood-engraving, in which he instructed his younger brother John. The Bewicks engraved the wood-cuts for editions of Gay's Fables, 1779, and Select Fables, 1784, both of which were published by Saint, of Newcastle. These cuts indicate their improvement in the art, but are very inferior to those in the subsequent works of these engravers. Bewick's celebrated History of Quadrupeds, by which his reputation was established, was not published until 1790, although the engravings were commenced in 1785. As the founder of a new school of English wood-engravers, the name of Bewick deserves all the honour that has been given to it; but, as may be seen from the details here given respecting the history of wood-engraving in England before his time, he has no claim to the *re-invention* of the art, which has often been attributed to him; its practice never having ceased, although it had become so degenerate as scarcely to deserve the name of an art. It is even supposed that Bewick himself was employed, during his short visit to the metropolis, by a wood-engraver named Hodgson; but on this point he was far from being communicative, and he appeared not reluctant to receive the credit of re-invention, which seems to have been given to him in ignorance. We shall have occasion to return to the subject of Bewick's improvements in the next Book; but meanwhile it is worthy of remark, as showing that the art of engraving on wood was not so neglected before his time as many have supposed, that in 1764 the Society of Arts gave premiums of fifteen and ten guineas respectively to persons named Watts and Deacon for specimens of wood-engraving; and also that two other persons, William Coleman and Thomas Hodgson, were rewarded for engraving on wood or type-metal (which of these substances is not stated by our authority), in the same year that Bewick obtained the premium mentioned above. In 1776 and 1777 similar prizes were again obtained by William Coleman.*

Music had, in its two most important branches, made such rapid advances at the time when George III. mounted the throne,—our cathedral music had attained so high a degree of excellence, and the sacred musical drama, or oratorio, had so nearly reached the point of perfection,—that any further progress, till after the lapse of a considerable period, was not, according to the usual mode of calculating, to be expected. But in the church some most worthy disciples of the true English school were found to sustain its credit, and, if these did not actually follow their predecessors *passibus æquis*, they at least upheld, and nobly, the dignity of their art, and added some very valuable contributions to the rich stock left by those who had gone before them.

Among the successors of the great masters alluded to were James Kent,† who in 1773 published Twelve Anthems, which possess so much melody and gracefulness, though not obtained at the expense of becoming and necessary gravity, that they continue in daily use in all our *ecclesiastical* choirs;—James Nares, Mus. Doc.,‡ who gave to the world, in 1778, "Twenty Anthems, in Score, for one, two, three, four, and five Voices;" in which science, taste, and a strikingly correct adaptation of sound to sense are features too prominent to escape notice, and keep these works constantly before our cathedral congregations; and a second volume of whose compositions, containing a complete Service and six other anthems, was printed at his death by his son (the late Archdeacon of Stafford);—William Hayes, Mus. Doc.,§ author of several excellent anthems composed for Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford; nineteen of which, together with an entire Service, were published after his death;—Jonathan Battishill,‖ a composer of some very good anthems, four of which appear in Page's *Harmonia Sacra*, and are justly admired; but his habits forbade his making the most use of the genius so

* We are indebted for most of these particulars to the Treatise on Wood Engraving quoted above; in which is given a fac-simile of the cut alluded to. It is also given with a Memoir of Bewick, published in the Penny Magazine for 1841, pp. 260 and 268. The title, "The Huntsman and Old Hound," is as it appears in the Treatise, but the cut alludes, we presume, to the fable of "The Hound and the Huntsman," in which the former is described as

"*Young*, pert, and ignorant of game."

The fable of "The *Old* Hound" is not among those of Gay.

* Dossie's Memoirs of Agriculture and other Œconomical Arts, vol. iii. p. 428; and Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c., vol. ii. pp. 125, 131.

† Organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards of Winchester Cathedral. He died in 1776.

‡ Organist, composer, and Master of the Children of the Chapels Royal. He also produced much good secular music. He died in 1783.

§ Professor of Music to the University of Oxford. He gained in 1763 three of the gold medals given by the "Noblemen's Catch Club;" and was the author of the pungent "Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression." He died in 1777.

‖ Organist of Christchurch, Newgate-street. He composed many songs for the theatres, which were once popular; also a glee, for which the gold medal of the Catch Club was given. He died in 1801.

liberally bestowed on him by nature;—Thomas Saunders Dupuis, Mus. Doc.,* who furnished many admirable Services and anthems for the use of the Chapels Royal; two volumes of which were printed after his death, by his pupil, John Spencer, Esq.;† who did not, however, in every instance exercise the best judgment in selection;—Samuel Arnold, Mus. Doc.,‡ who was also an active contributor to the Royal Chapel: his Services and anthems are numerous, and evince great fertility of invention governed by a refined taste; though some few of them are thought, by the partisans of the severe style, too airy for the church;—Benjamin Cooke, Mus. Doc.,§ who produced some excellent services and anthems for the use of Westminster Abbey;—and Edmund Ayrton, Mus. Doc.,‖ composer of two complete Services and several anthems for the Chapel Royal; all displaying the hand of a master, and of the most orthodox school.

The Italian Opera continued to be frequented by the people of fashion, but was generally carried on to the injury of those embarked in its management, and contributed but little to the improvement of the national taste. It is a curious fact, and illustrative of the degree of judgment in music then possessed by the upper classes, that, during the period now under review, a period of twenty-five years, but two operas by composers whose names are known to the present generation were brought out at the King's Theatre, and of these operas not more than three pieces are now ever performed.

An event of some importance in the history of English music took place in the early part of the reign of George III;—the opera of *Artaxerxes*—which is really an opera, the dialogue being all in recitative—freely translated from Metastasio's *Artaserse*, by Thomas Augustine Arne,¶ and by him set to music, was produced in 1763. This admirable work, which has stood the severest of all tests, that of time, is now as much admired as when it had the charm of novelty to recommend it: admired, too, by judges not only far superior to the majority of those by whom it was first heard, but who have, unavoidably, estimated it by comparison with all the great works, of every school, that followed it. The *Love in a Village* of the same composer, as well as his almost numberless other compositions, prove that *Artaxerxes* was not a concentrated and solitary effort of strength, but only the first great trial of power. The English opera, however, did not depend for support on Arne alone: Thomas Linley,* a charming composer in various styles; Dibdin, who will be noticed hereafter; Jackson (of Exeter),† one of the brightest ornaments of the truly English school; and Arnold and Shield, both of whom, however, as connected with the theatre, belong more to the next than the present period:—these all contributed most ably and successfully to maintain the character of our dramatic music, which in tenderness and beautiful simplicity was not surpassed by that of any nation, though it may have been excelled in other qualities. Nevertheless, opera was by no means a prominent feature in our theatrical amusements till a much later period than that we have here reached; it hardly held a second place; therefore the degree of excellence which it attained indicates more clearly the merit of its composers, who succeeded so well with comparatively so little encouragement.

In 1761 a convivial society was formed by a party of noblemen and gentlemen, under the title of "The Catch Club," which much influenced and improved the English taste in music, and brought to perfection, if it did not almost originate, that species of vocal composition, the Glee, which so peculiarly belongs to this country.‡ The members met at dinner, at the Thatched House Tavern, once a-week, and, after their repast, performed catches and glees, assisted by invited or engaged singers by profession. In 1763 the club was extended in number, and divided into subscribing and professional members, the former bearing all the expenses, the latter contributing their talents. In the same year it was determined to give annually gold prize-medals, of ten guineas value each, for the best glees, canons, and catches. Hence arose that active, energetic, and laudable spirit of competition which proved the source of the most original, beautiful, and ingenious vocal compositions that the art has at any time or in any place produced. Among those who, up to the period at which we have arrived, were most successful in this truly harmonious rivalry, and secured themselves niches in the temple of Fame, must be named Samuel Webbe,§ Benjamin Cooke, Mus. Doc.,‖ Stafford Smith,¶ the Earl of Mornington, William Hayes, Mus. Doc.,** and John Danby.††

But an institution still more influential, in its effect on music generally, rose up in the year 1776, under the name of "The Concert of Ancient

* Organist and composer to George III., and considered the best organist of his day, especially as an *extempore* performer. He died in 1796.

† Nephew and son-in-law of George, fourth Duke of Marlborough.

‡ Organist and composer to George III., and organist of Westminster Abbey. He was a most voluminous composer, and to his ready and elegant pen we are indebted for many of our best English operas. He died in 1802.

§ Organist and Master of the Choristers of Westminster Abbey. His numerous glees and canons are masterpieces of their kind; and he was one of the most profound theorists of his day. He died in 1793.

‖ Gentleman and Master of the Children of the Chapel to George III. A grand anthem composed by him for a full orchestra was performed at St. Paul's Cathedral on the Thanksgiving-day for the peace of 1783, and subsequently published in score. He died in 1808.

¶ Afterwards created Doctor in Music.

* Linley the elder, father of the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. Sheridan, and composer of one of the finest madrigals that exist.

† His elegies for three and four voices, and his many duets and songs, abound in originality of thought and beautiful melody. His literary productions will presently be noticed.

‡ The institutors of this useful, celebrated, and now long-established club, were the Earls of Eglinton and Sandwich, Hugo Meynell, Esq., Lieutenant-General Rich, Major-General Barrington, the Hon. John Ward, the Earl of March, and Richard Phelps, Esq. These were immediately joined by the Duke of Kingston, the Marquesses of Granby and Lorn, the Earls of Rockford, Orford, and Ashburnham, the Viscounts Weymouth, Bolingbroke, &c. &c.

§ A teacher of music; a learned and very accomplished man From the year 1766 to 1784 inclusive he gained twenty-two of th Catch Club medals.

‖ See Note in preceding column.

¶ Gentleman of the Chapel to George III. and IV.

** See Note, p. 634.

†† Organist of a Catholic chapel.

Music;" the object of which was, the preservation and performance of "such solid and valuable productions of the old masters as an intemperate rage for novelty had too soon laid aside as superannuated." It was originally suggested by the Earl of Sandwich, and "supported with spirit and dignity by the concurrent zeal and activity of other noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank, who united with his Lordship in the undertaking, till 1785, when it was honoured by the presence of their majesties, whose constant attendance gave it an elevation and splendour which perhaps no establishment of this kind ever enjoyed before."* These concerts, for which the best performers, both vocal and instrumental, native and foreign, were engaged upon very liberal terms, succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the founders, and not only rescued from dusty shelves and the ravages of worms the fine, noble compositions of the older masters—of the English and other madrigalists, of Purcell, Handel, Leo, Graun, Pergolesi, &c., but drew attention to, and revived a taste for, these productions throughout all England.

Out of this institution sprang the far-famed "Commemoration of Handel," which originated in a conversation among the directors of the Ancient Concert, who communicated their design to George III., under whose sanction, and aided by professors of the first rank, they carried their project into effect.† The performances, five in number, took place in the months of May and June, 1784, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, handsomely fitted up by Mr. Wyatt, the eminent architect, for the occasion. The royal family, nearly all the nobility, the bishops, deans, foreign ministers, &c., attended. The music was Handel's exclusively; the band consisted of 513 performers, conducted by Joah Bates, Esq., an amateur, but highly skilled in music. The profits accruing, which amounted to upwards of 7000*l.*, were allotted to the Royal Society of Musicians and the Westminster Hospital —6000*l.* to the former, and 1000*l.* to the latter.‡

The fame of this commemoration reached the most distant parts of Europe. Catherine of Russia noticed it through her ambassador. A medal was struck on the occasion; in gold for the royal family, for certain crowned heads, and the directors; in silver for the performers, each of whom received one, as well as a copy of the Account of the Performances, written by Dr. Burney, and published, with many plates, in a handsome quarto, by the Royal Society of Musicians. The effect of this commemoration was the diffusion in all the provinces of a taste for sacred music of the highest class, which was soon evinced by the music-meetings that almost immediately took place in many of the large towns, and by the formation of choral societies in nearly every place of importance in England.

Nearly all the composers who at all distinguished themselves during the first five-and-twenty years of the reign of George III. have now been mentioned. We may add two *dilettanti*, the Earl of Kelly and the Rev. W. Felton, both of whom wrote for a full orchestra—the one producing overtures, the other concertos in the manner of Handel. Dr. Burney speaks in the most flattering terms of the overtures; and of the concertos, which are published in score, it may fairly be stated that they exhibit much musical knowledge, a flow of melody always agreeable and sometimes new, and an elegant taste. The Earl of Mornington has been alluded to as a glee-writer; to his skill in this branch his published works bear indisputable testimony. His compositions for the church are little, if at all, known: we have seen two of them, and, grounding our opinion on these, have no difficulty in believing that his talent was as great for sacred as for secular music.

The writers on music during this period, though not numerous, rank high in the literary world; and two of them are almost as well known in every region where letters and science are cultivated as in their native country. "The General History of the Science and Practice of Music, by Sir John Hawkins" appeared, in five quarto volumes, in 1776. The first of the four quarto volumes of "A General History of Music, by Charles Burney, Mus. Doc., F.R.S.," was published at the same time, the last thirteen years after. "Between the two rival histories," says a biographer of Hawkins, in *The Harmonicon*, "the public decision was loud and immediate in favour of Dr. Burney. Time has modified this opinion, and brought the merits of each work to their fair and proper level, adjudging to Burney the palm of style, arrangement, and amusing narrative; and to Hawkins the credit of minuter accuracy and deeper research, more particularly in parts interesting to the antiquary and to the literary world in general." Hawkins's work was unfairly attacked by a critic who was supposed to have an interest in decrying it, while Burney's was eulogised by many friends connected with the press, and assailed by none. The style of Hawkins certainly is stiff and inelegant; that of Burney easy and graceful. The one is grave, and sometimes severe; the other lively and tolerant. Hawkins ended just at the period when some thought that musical history begins to be interesting; Burney continued his account—but in a very brief, and indeed hurried, manner—to the moment when his last page was written. Both works are now found in every good library, and much information and entertainment may be derived from each; but general, unprofessional readers more often take up Hawkins than Burney; and all will be bound in candour to admit that the

* Burney's History of Music, iv. 683.

† The names of those under whose active and able management this celebrated commemoration took place deserve to be recorded in the history of the progress of the fine arts in Great Britain. The directors were the Earls of Exeter, Sandwich, and Uxbridge, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and Sir Richard Jebb. The assistant-directors were Drs. Cooke, Arnold, and Ayrton; Messrs. Simpson, Dupuis (afterwards Dr., organist and composer to the King), Jones (organist of St. Paul's Cathedral), Aylward (Professor at Gresham College), and Parsons (afterwards Sir William, master of his Majesty's band of musicians).

‡ These performances were annually repeated till 1791, and at each yearly recurrence the band was augmented, till at last it exceeded one thousand in number.

labours of the latter were much abridged by having the rival history on his table while writing his three last volumes.

In 1773 appeared a second edition of *A Dissertation on Poetry and Music*, by John Brown, D.D. (better known by his "Estimate"), in which the author strives to show that music, dance, and poetry were united in the savage state of man, have been separated by civilization, and ought to be re-united. He very successfully proves that the modern opera is the legitimate and immediate offspring of the ancient tragedy, differing from it only in proportion as music has advanced from a simple to a complex art. His critical observations on modern music are entitled to more attention than professors have bestowed on them: they are marked by the purest taste and the most discriminating good sense.

In the same year Dr. Burney published his Journals of two Musical Tours, the one in France and Italy, the other in Germany, the Netherlands, and Holland, made for the purpose of collecting additional materials for his History of Music. They furnish much interesting information on the subject, conveyed in a very lively, agreeable manner; and the few remarks they offer that are unconnected with the primary, and indeed sole, object of the writer, prove him to have been an unprejudiced, discerning traveller. Dr. Burney's "Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey,"* was published just in time to bring it under view in this place. It may be considered as an almost necessary Supplement to his History of Music.

Dr. Beattie's "Essays on Poetry and Music," in so far as they concern the latter, are the reflections of a philosopher and critic on a subject with which he was practically but little acquainted. Hence he expected more from the art, as an art, than the rules by which it is governed allow it to perform. But, making due allowance for this, his notions of the true object of music, of the mode in which it should be united to poetry, and of its influence on the mind, agree with those of most enlightened persons who have seriously pursued the same inquiry.

In the "Thirty Letters on various Subjects, by William Jackson" (of Exeter), are three on musical subjects, which show that he was no less skilful in criticism than in composition; that he understood the *rationale* of the art, could write on it and explain its principles, as well as practise it and exhibit its effects.

The "Essays Historical and Critical on English Church Music," published in 1782, by the Rev. William Mason, the well-known poet, are the production of one who understood music well, was a composer, and on whom, as Precentor of York Cathedral, the duty devolved to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject on which he treats, to state objections, and to suggest ameliorations. His task is admirably executed in four familiarly written, argumentative, convincing essays, which, in agreeable language, point out clearly an easy road to improvement, both in the composition and performance of our cathedral music.

* In one volume 4to., with many plates after designs by Cipriani Smirke, and Edward Burney, engraved by Bartolozzi and others.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

THE manners of a nation, the daily and yearly routine of the lives of its citizens, are an essential part of its history. The conduct of the government is the attempt of certain functionaries to serve the country; it is the history of an important class, but only of a class. The discoveries in science, the achievements in art and literature, are the elevation to which some great minds have raised themselves above the rest. But the story of the habitual occupations and amusements which by their continual recurrence serve to fill up the time of the private persons composing the community is the picture of the nation in all its individuality. The constitutional history of a country is an outline sketch—its great deeds in arts and arms are occasional gigantic exertions in which it transcends itself—the familiar history of the daily life of its citizens is the colouring and light and shade of the picture, and indispensable to the knowledge of the actual appearance and character of the community which lived within the edifice of the constitution and achieved these exploits.

The assertion may seem paradoxical that the task of historic delineation increases in delicacy and difficulty as we approach our own times, and yet it is strictly true. How this should be so is easily seen in treating of the constitution, the course of state policy, and the domestic revolutions of a nation. Bold outlines of these great topics have from time to time been sketched by master hands which, though not implicitly to be relied upon, serve as clues to guide us through the many details of chronicles, archives, and state-papers. But when we approach the history of our own times we are deprived of these guides at the very moment that the excess of details accumulates to an extent that threatens to crush us beneath the heap of our own wealth. In the department of manners there comes to be added to the impossibility of viewing and distinctly apprehending all that offers, and the consequent difficulty of seizing the most important and characteristic traits, the uncertainty arising out of the fine gradations of difference by which the manners of any two contiguous periods fade into each other. The change is so incessant that it is unsafe almost to assume that the manners of one year correspond exactly with those of its successor, and at the same time so minute that there is a hazard of fatiguing, and, what is more dangerous, confusing the reader by dwelling upon microscopical differences.

To estimate aright the peculiarities of British manners during the period that elapsed between the accession of George III. and the termination of the American war, it will be necessary to present in considerable detail the most graphic illustrations that can be gleaned from the writings of contemporaries of the daily life of individuals of various ranks in society, both in the metropolis and the provinces. The arrangement adopted, with a view to prevent confusion among these selections, will be best explained and justified by reminding the reader of the relations which then existed between the different provinces of the empire, and of the most prominent circumstances which contributed to the division of the community into distinct classes, and influenced the temper and opinions of the nation.

England and Scotland were immediately subject to the same legislature and the same executive government. But the ecclesiastical and civil law, and the judicial and church organization of the two countries were to a marked degree different. The character impressed upon the English nation by the legal forms which the habitude of centuries had made second nature to its citizens differed materially from that of the Scotch. The tone communicated to the national mind in England by the influence of the doctrine and discipline of the dominant church was widely different from that which prevailed in Scotland. The revolution produced in social relations by the increase of commercial and manufacturing enterprise and wealth was much further advanced in England than in Scotland. Turning to Ireland, we find it during this period ostensibly under the direct administration of a local court, cabinet, and parliament, subordinate it is true to the central government of Great Britain, yet possessed of sufficient power to impress a distinct national character upon the inhabitants of that island. The church and law courts of Ireland, with their systems of ecclesiastical and civil law, were in the main the same as in England, but for the mass of the people they existed only in name. For the citizens of Cork, Dublin Londonderry, and a few rural districts, they were realities; but in by far the greater part of Ireland

the bulk of the inhabitants were without the pale both of the law and the church recognized by the state. Trade and commerce were even less advanced in Ireland than in the Lowlands of Scotland. The identity of race (if such it was) between the native Irish and the inhabitants of the Scotch Highlands had not been productive of an identity of character. To this the widely different soils and scenery of the countries they inhabited must have contributed both directly and indirectly, but far more the continued influence of the great chiefs in the latter with their destruction or conversion into mere English noblemen in the former, and the different progress of the church reformation in the two countries. Community of administrative and legislative government was rapidly making England and Scotland one country; the raising of the Highland regiments had reconciled the Scotch Highlanders to the British standard; but Ireland had still all the paraphernalia of a separate nation, and her military adventurers were more tempted to engage in a continental than in the British service. The islands in the British channel had each its own constitution and laws, and their language was different from that of Britain. It was not, as we have seen,* till June, 1765, that the royal standard was hoisted in the Isle of Man. The different provinces of the British islands were still far from being fused into a homogeneous nation either as regarded language, religion, laws, or government.

The consequence of this was the existence of sharply contrasted differences of national character in different parts of the empire to an extent which the present almost uniform similarity would certainly lead no one to expect to find at an epoch so little remote. Something analogous to this unknit, immatured state of the comparatively matured constitution which has since developed itself out of that chaos exerted its influence in the minor subdivisions of the larger districts which have just been traced. Besides the metropolis, which, as the great centre of commercial activity, the seat of government and legislation, and of the supreme legal tribunals, drawing towards it all the most active and ambitious spirits, and keeping up a constant pulsation of anxious and busy crowds journeying towards it or returning from it, was the main agent in stamping a common national character on all the heterogeneous provincial characters, there were scattered throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, other subordinate centres of the higher civilization. In Ireland, Dublin as the seat of the vice-regal government, of parliament, and the courts of law, had a powerful influence in giving the tone to the aristocratic society of that country. In Scotland, Edinburgh as the seat of the courts of law and the place of meeting for the General Assembly of the church, exercised a similar influence. In all the three kingdoms the universities, in addition to their influence over the educated classes as the seats of scientific education, contributed powerfully to give a local tone to manners in the country in their immediate neighbourhood. We occasionally catch glimpses of a similar influence exercised by the episcopal courts in the great sees of England and Ireland. The influence of noble families in the vicinity of their mansions, from the changed structure of society, was rapidly disappearing, and the influence now exercised by wealthy outports and gigantic seats of manufacturing industry was only beginning to be felt.

These are the leading causes which contributed to keep alive a picturesque diversity of local manners in the empire. The predominant source of the diversity which arises out of the distinction of ranks was, as in all countries and in all ages, the economical condition of the country, the amount and distribution of its accumulated property. The thoughts and passions of men can only be fairly developed in a society in which a sufficient number possess property enough to raise them above the depressing necessity of seeking, by precarious daily toil, the means of each succeeding day's subsistence, and by holding out to the less fortunate the prospect of such a condition, to excite in them the wish and effort to attain it likewise. The grand distinctions of society are, into those who from youth upwards have been so accustomed to the possession of wealth that they can with difficulty conceive the feelings of the poor; those who, though not nursed in the lap of affluence, see or think they see it within the reach of their enterprise or industry; and those who live on in hopeless poverty, aspiring to nothing beyond provision for the immediate future. There are no classes in nature; what we call by that name are mere arbitrary distinctions made by the mind to facilitate comprehension. The different classes of society fade into each other by insensible gradations, and individuals characterised by materially discrepant features must be included in each of them. In the highest class of society are included the old aristocracy, titled and untitled, and the new families with which its ranks are incessantly recruited from the learned professions, the army, and the acquirers of great wealth—the possessors of rank and fortune and those who have only the good luck to be related to them. The middle class contains a still more numerous and incongruous assortment of varieties. And the lower classes include all those who depend for support upon mere mechanical labour, from the intelligent artisan to him whose revolting labour hardens and brutalizes the man; the utterly uneducated class that hovers between the followers of honest industry and those who live by violence and rapine; and all who, from want of energy, intelligence, or high moral principle, have, from the more fortunate classes, drifted down among the Parias of society. The manners of a nation, or the tone of society which prevails in it, depend mainly upon the proportions those different classes bear to each other. It depends upon the proportion which the sharers in the national wealth bear to the destitute, whether steady, humane, orderly

* See ante, p. 566.

habits, tastes, and sentiments shall predominate, or fierce coarse manners, and a national temper oscillating between the intoxication of passion and apathy. The existence of an aristocratic class, whether legally privileged or not, seems to be indispensable to the existence of that dignity and refinement of manners which is caught from the habit of mingling in a society mainly devoted to the pursuit of pleasure, from familiarity with the productions of art and literature, and from early initiation into the practical art of government. On the other hand the existence of a middle class, wealthy, intelligent, and numerous enough to teach its members to pride themselves in a sturdy consciousness of their own importance, even when their devotion to mere money-making pursuits embues them with the egotism of minds immersed within the circle of a narrow experience, seems requisite as a counterpoise to prevent the dignified elegance of aristocratic manners from degenerating into empty strut and effeminacy. What has been already stated in previous chapters regarding the stored-up capital of Britain, its acquired skill in the mechanical arts, its progress in art, science, and literature, and the distribution of property and information among the different classes of society, will have prepared the reader to estimate that balance of numbers and influence among them which stamped their peculiar character on the manners of the period now under review.

These considerations seem to prescribe the following as the most natural and advantageous distribution of the facts comprehended under a history of manners. First, a statement of the most prominent peculiarities of the manners of the metropolis, commencing with those of the highest class, proceeding to those of the middle and lower classes, and winding up with a brief indication of the reaction of the manners and habits of those classes upon each other; second, a statement of the peculiarities of the manners of provincial England; third, of those of Scotland; and fourth, of those of Ireland; the topics falling under each of the three latter heads being arranged in the same manner as those belonging to the subject of metropolitan manners. A brief recapitulation, indicating the broad massive features of national manners, composed by these details, and the amount and character of their difference from those of the age which preceded them, will close the review.

The last trace of the feudal nobleman seems to have disappeared in England before George III. ascended the throne. The metropolis had become the head-quarters of the nobility: their power and influence depended upon their footing at court, not upon their authority over their tenantry. Their permanent establishments were in London, or at such a distance as the excellence of the roads in the vicinity of the metropolis rendered of easy and agreeable access; their country mansions were places of occasional retirement for the purpose of recreation, or paying such attentions to their neighbours as might be necessary to keep up their electioneering influence; their household arrangements had in consequence been organised on quite a different footing from what had prevailed among the old nobility of England, a change to which the growing centralization of power in the general government, the increased force and improved discipline of the army, and the increased strength and organization of the police had likewise contributed. Trains of armed dependants were no longer necessary to afford security, and could not confer political power. The nobility and gentry had by these changes been placed more upon a *footing* of equality, and the custom of placing young gentlemen of good families on the domestic establishment of a nobleman, with a view to their education, had fallen into disuse.

The inmates of an aristocratical family, *titled or* untitled, holding household appointments not of a menial character had become few in number. The chaplain kept his ground throughout the greater part of this period: his office, at least during the earlier part of the period, was not always a sinecure. In a notice of the death and funeral of the Duke of Newcastle, in the Annual Register for 1768, it is stated that his chaplain read prayers in the family thrice a-day. From a passage in one of Horace Walpole's letters to Lord Hertford we learn that the Duke of Northumber-

Horace Walpole. From a Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

land had two chaplains on his establishment. In some instances, as for example in that of the Earl of Bath, the office of librarian appears to have been filled by a clergyman. A private secretary of good connexions and university education seems to have been thought a necessary part of the establishment at least of those who aspired to take a part in the government or legislature of the country. The steward was only an occasional visitor in town, his duties detaining him for the most part in the country; but in the establishment of noblemen and gentlemen of large estates he seems to have been recognised as in rank the equal, and

only from wealth the superior, of those whom we have just enumerated. In 1765, however, we find the steward of the Duke of Bridgewater in parliament. Along with these we find traces of an *unofficial* class of genteel dependants whose character and avocations are traced with a dash of satire by Goldsmith in his Vicar of Wakefield. "I was admitted," the vicar's son is made to say, "to his table upon the footing of half friend, half underling. My business was to attend him at auctions, to put him in spirits when he sat for his picture, to take the left hand in his chariot when not filled by another, and to assist at tattering a *kip*, as the phrase was, when we had a mind for a frolic. Beside this I had twenty other little employments in the family. I was to do many small things without bidding; to carry the corkscrew, to stand godfather to all the butler's children, to sing when I was bid, to be never out of humour, always to be humble, and, if I could, to be very happy." This is overcharged, no doubt; and in grave families graver employments would be found for this class of retainers, but their existence is beyond a doubt.

The menial portion of the household had, however, come to be the preponderating ingredient. The associates of members of the aristocracy, drawn into closer contact in the metropolis than when they were scattered over the country, were those of their own rank: servants were only required for the discharge of menial duties. The difference between a nobleman's and a private gentleman's domestic establishment consisted more in the number, than in the offices, of the servants. We accidentally learn that the Duchess of Bedford had a "groom of the chambers," and the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Northumberland a "master of the horse." The housekeeper, the butler, the master's confidential valet and the lady's maid, the footman, the coachman, postillions and grooms, and the porter were the domestics retained for show; those employed in the drudgery of the house, with the exception of the principal cook, were of a lower caste. From a circumstance mentioned in the proceedings in the action at the instance of Lord Carmarthen for a divorce from his lady, it appears that the confidential valet was occasionally employed in extending leases, and other instances warrant the inference that this post was no uncommon introduction to the office of a sub-stewardship. Several circumstances conspire to produce an impression that in this department of a gentleman's establishment the old practice survived of underpaying the retainers and allowing them to compensate themselves by extortions exercised under the countenance of their master's name. The abolition of the custom of vails was effected by means of a tedious struggle which lasted during the first ten years of the reign of George III. It happened that about the same time the offence of extorting money by threats conveyed in incendiary letters was carried to an alarming height. Of the letters which have been preserved, some of which may be seen in the chronicle of the Annual Register for 1760 and 1761, a good many were addressed to gentlemen who took a prominent part in the attempt to abolish the practice of giving vails. One of these, addressed to Sir Francis Dashwood, incidentally mentions the amount of wages given to upper servants:—"When that you go to dine you go hout hand neare leaves won farthen, nor wont let your servants tak one farthen; for if you don't leave of you sarten shall have a dose of leden pills, and tha hare vere hard to digest; for if servants has but nine pownds tha cannot ceep a wife and famile, for you must build wark howses and cep them, &c." There were other gratuities to servants, high and low, as appears from an incident that occurred during the Duc de Pequigny's visit to Woburn in 1764, mentioned in one of Horace Walpole's letters to Lord Hertford:—"After this he had a pique with the duchess, with whom he had been playing at whisk. A shilling and sixpence were left on the table which nobody claimed. He was asked if it was his, and said No. Then they said, let us put it to the cards: there was already a guinea. The duchess, in an air of grandeur, said, as there was gold for the groom of the chambers, the sweeper of the room might have the silver, and brushed it off the table." The still more unwise and discreditable practice of allowing domestics to levy a per centage on the money paid to tradesmen was not so easily abolished, some traces of it having survived till our own day. John Weskett was executed at Tyburn in 1765 for a robbery which he had committed the previous year in the house of Lord Harrington, whose porter he was at the time. "Weskett had been told," it is said in the published account of the trial, "by his lordship's steward, that money had been received to pay bills. When the steward was asked in court how he came to give him this intelligence, he answered, that it was to apprise him of tradesmen receiving their money, that he might get from them what noblemen's porters have by the tyranny of custom under the name of *perquisites;* and that he likewise told Weskett that he would take care the tradesmen should come to the house to be paid to ensure the levying of the tax." It was customary for many of these servants only to remain in the house of their employer during the day and to board and sleep elsewhere. This absence of domestic observation and control, combined with the encouragement of a mendicant and rapacious spirit, and a swaggering propensity encouraged by the reflection that their masters were only in part their paymasters, produced the consequences that might have been anticipated. The facts disclosed on the trial of Weskett showed that the means of indulging their luxurious tastes contracted while in place were often procured when out of place by robbery. Their habitual conduct, so long as they were privileged frequenters of the gallery of the theatre, and their deportment in the riots at Ranelagh, occasioned by the attempt to abolish vails, are proofs of their habitual insolence even to their

employers. Garrick's "High Life Below Stairs" seems to have been scarcely a caricature of the servants of people of fashion during the early part of this reign.

From the private letters of Walpole, Gibbon, and others, that have been published, we glean some indications of the hours kept by the fashionable world. From a playful description given by the first mentioned of a retarded dinner at Northumberland House, in April 1765, it appears that five o'clock was the dinner hour of extreme fashion at that time, and three the customary hour even with people of rank. He mentions that the coaches of the company came for them at seven, which indicates the hour at which people rose from a late dinner. At eleven he says he declined going into the drawing-room on the plea that he was engaged to supper: this ascertains the usual hour at which that meal, then a regular and social one, was taken. The common breakfast hour was nine, ten, or eleven. Walpole's enumeration of one day's engagements shows into how nearly equal portions the dinner hour divided the day:—"I had been at the Duke of Cumberland's levee; then at the Princess Amelia's drawing-room; from thence to a crowded House of Commons [which commenced sitting then at two P.M.]; to dinner at your brother's; to the opera; to Madame Seillern's; to Arthur's [the fashionable club]; and to supper at Mrs. George Pitt's." Combining the hints contained in this list with those we find in the description of the dinner at Northumberland House, we are led to conclude that seven o'clock was the hour at which the opera commenced, and that it was customary to go to evening parties between its termination and the hour of supper.

The example set by the court had a tendency to render the entertainments of the aristocracy less formal and less expensive than in the preceding reign. Walpole notices the familiar and easy deportment of George III. at his first levee, as contrasting strongly with the stiffness and coldness of his predecessor; and the same writer retails much of the gossip occasioned by the plain and economical habits of the new sovereign. Still there was much state and display on particular occasions—in celebrating marriages, christenings, and birthdays—and not less pomp was displayed in the gloomy ceremonies of funerals. In 1763 the queen surprised her husband on his birthday with a splendid illumination and "a cold supper of upwards of a hundred dishes with an illuminated dessert." The Duke of Richmond celebrated the same occasion by "a grand masquerade-ball with music, the vocal parts being performed by many of the nobility in masquerade. The dessert was remarkably elegant, as were the fireworks played off in the garden and from barges on the river." Next year the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Northumberland expressed his loyalty in the same manner. "A grand illumination, designed by the Earl and Countess of Northumberland as a compliment to his majesty's birthday, was exhibited in the evening. The garden was decorated with ten thousand lamps, and four hundred were fixed to the balustrades descending by the steps, which had a most beautiful effect. Two bands of music were provided—one in the great gallery, which was illuminated with an extraordinary degree of splendour, the other in the garden; each answered the other alternately. The company consisted of fifteen hundred persons of the first distinction." This style of entertainment was also affected by people of less wealth. Walpole, in a letter to General Conway (May 21, 1763), has an account of one given by Miss Chudleigh, better known as the Duchess of Kingston, but at that time a maid of honour to the Princess Dowager of Wales:—"Oh, that you could have been at her ball t'other night! History could never describe it and keep its countenance. The queen's real birthday, you know, is not kept; this maid of honour kept it—nay, while the court is in mourning, expected people to be out of mourning: the queen's family really was so, Lady Northumberland having desired leave for them. A scaffold was erected in Hyde Park (Miss Chudleigh resided at Knightsbridge) for fireworks. To show the illuminations without to more advantage, the company were received in an apartment totally dark, where they remained for two hours. . . . . The fireworks were fine, and succeeded well. On each side of the court were two large scaffolds for the virgin's (Miss C.'s) tradespeople. When the fireworks ceased a large scene was lighted in the court, representing their majesties, on each side of which were six obelisks, painted with emblems and illuminated; mottoes beneath in Latin and English. . . . . The lady of the house made many apologies for the poorness of the performance, which she said was only oil-paper, painted by one of her servants; but it was really fine and pretty. Behind the house was a cenotaph for the Princess Elizabeth, a kind of illuminated cradle: the motto, 'All the honours the dead can receive.' This burying ground was a strange codicil to a festival: and, what was more strange, about one o'clock in the morning this sarcophagus burst out into crackers and guns. The Margrave of Anspach began the ball with the virgin. The supper was most sumptuous." Such showy displays were not reserved for occasions of public festivity—honours paid to crowned heads alone. The same indefatigable chronicler of these trifles, which illustrate the tastes of an age, mentions a similar gala at Northumberland House, in honour of the Marquess of Tavistock and his bride; and another at the same place to receive a brother of the queen:—"Not only the whole house but the garden was illuminated, and was quite a fairy scene. Arches and pyramids of lights alternately surrounded the enclosure; a diamond necklace of lamps edged the rails and descent, with a spiral obelisk of candles on each hand; and dispersed over the lawn were little bands of kettle-drums, clarionets, fifes, &c., and the lovely queen came without a card. The birthday was far from being

such a show; empty and unfine as possible." The name given to such a feast of lanterns seems to have been *festino*.

The names by which the entertainments in private houses were designated convey no idea of their distinguishing characteristics. There is some-

A FESTINO. From a Print by J. BICKHAM. 1765.

thing, however, in these names that indicates the habitual tone of feeling among the class that frequented them: drums, routs, and hurricanes express a robustious vivacity in the people who could invent and use them, contrasting strongly with the tone which prevailed at that time among their French neighbours. They bespeak either a kind of fierceness in the pursuit of pleasure, beneath which that evanescent enjoyment could scarcely fail to be crushed, or a desperate effort to stimulate by strong applications a jaded appetite: most probably the true inference is, that both states of mind contributed to give vogue to the entertainments so strangely denominated;—the young and inexperienced precipitated into them by passion; the dulled and worn-out minds of those long familiar to such scenes making desperate efforts to revive feelings which no more arose spontaneously within them.

The most common amusements prepared for the company at these entertainments were music, dancing, and cards. Masques are mentioned in the account of the *festino* given by the Duke of Richmond in celebration of the king's birthday in 1763, and a masquerade at the Duchess of Bolton's in 1781 is alluded to by Horace Walpole. Frequent notices occur of concerts in the private parties of the nobility and gentry, especially during Passion-week. A few touches from the delicately malicious pen of Horace Walpole will convey a more accurate notion of the tone and appearance of one of these assemblies than the most laboured description, and supply at the same time incidental still-life pictures of furniture and bijouterie. Writing to the Earl of Hertford in 1764, he says—"We had last night a magnificent ball at Lady Cardigan's; three sumptuous suppers in three rooms. The house, you know, is crammed with fine things—pictures, china, japan, vases, and every species of curiosity. These are much increased even since I was in favour there, particularly by Lord Montague's importations." What follows is a ball on a less magnificent scale; and the ludicrous exaggeration of the writer's real disinclination to give a ball himself affords us a peep behind the scenes—a glimpse of the domestic discomfort which purchased the fairy elegance of a few hours:—"We had last Monday the prettiest ball that ever was seen at Mrs. Ann Pitt's, in the compass of a silver penny. There were one hundred and four persons, of which number fifty-five supped. The supper-room was dispersed with tables and benches, back to back, in the manner of an ale-house. The idea sounds ill, but the fairies had so improved upon it, had so *be-garlanded*, so *sweetmeated*, and so *desserted* it, that it looked like a vision. I told her she could only have fed and stowed so much company by a miracle, and that when we were gone she would take up twelve basketsful of people. The Duchess of Bedford asked me before Madame de Guerchy if I would not give them a ball at Strawberry? Not for the universe! What! turn a ball, and dust, and dirt, and a million of candles into my

charming new gallery! I said I could not flatter myself that people would give themselves the trouble of going eleven miles for a *ball*—(though I believe they would go fifty). 'Well, then,' said she, 'it shall be a *dinner*.'—'With all my heart, I have no objection; but no *ball* shall set its foot within my doors.'" A ball at the Duchess of Queensberry's, in 1764, by the same hand, though chiefly interesting as a sketch of what is called a character, is at the same time illustrative of general manners: "Last Thursday the Duchess of Queensberry gave a ball, opened it herself with a minuet, and danced two country-dances; as she had enjoined every body to be with her by six, to sup at twelve, and go away directly. . . The only extraordinary thing the duchess did was to do nothing extraordinary; for I do not call it very mad that, some pique happening between her and the Duchess of Bedford, the latter had this distich sent to her:—

> Come with a whistle, and come with a call;
> Come with a good-will, or come not at all.'

I do not know whether what I am going to tell you do not border a little upon Moorfields. The gallery where they danced was very cold. Lord Lorn, George Selwyn, and I retired into a little room, and sat comfortably by the fire. The duchess looked in, said nothing, and sent a smith to take the hinges of the door off. We understood the hint, and left the room, and so did the smith the door. This was pretty legible."

Corroborative of the suspicion expressed above that the grotesque names of fashionable assemblies at this period are indicative of a superabundance of passionate energy, and a poverty of intellectual resources, is the excess to which the pursuit of gaming was carried. Loo was the prevailing game at the commencement of the reign: Walpole laughs at the mania for it in his usual strain. He mentions one noble lady at whose house there had been deep play during the evening preceding the night on which she was brought to bed, and proposes that the child should be called *Pam-e-la*. He himself, however, did not escape the infection: he was a favourite of the Princess Amelia, and a constant member of her table for limited loo at all parties where she was present, of her brother's (the Culloden Duke of Cumberland's) table for unlimited loo when she was not. Though a moderate gamester, he mentions having won at one sitting a sufficient sum to defray the expense of one year's additions and alterations at Strawberry Hill. Towards the close of the period at present under review *Faro*, or *Pharaoh*, for a short time gained the ascendency. On the 6th of May, 1781, Walpole writes from Strawberry Hill—"I came hither to-day to get from Pharaoh, for which mine is a rage. I doted on it above thirty years ago;* but it is not decent to sit up all night now with

* Allusion is here made to his Parisian experience. Writing to Lord Hertford, while that nobleman was ambassador at Paris, he says—"There was a time when I was a match for Madame de Mirepoix at Pharaoh to any hour of the night, and I believe did play with her five nights a week till three and four *in the morning*;—but till eleven o'clock to-morrow morning—oh! that is a little too much even at loo!"

A Ball. From the Frontispiece to Thompson's Country Dances. 1778.

boys and girls. The banker *à la mode* has been demolished. He and his associate, Sir —— ——, went early t'other night to Brookes's before Charles Fox and Fitzpatrick, who keep a bank there, were come. But they soon arrived, attacked their rivals, broke their bank, and won about 4000*l*. 'There,' said Fox, 'so should all usurpers be served.' He did still better, for he sent for his tradesmen and paid as far as the money would go." On the 31st of the same month he writes—"My prophecy on the short reign of *faro* is verified already. The bankers find that all

the calculated advantages of the game do not balance pinchbeck *parolis* and debts of honourable women. The bankers, I think, might have had a more generous reason—the very bad air of holding a bank; but this country is as hardened against *la petite morale* as against the greater." *Faro*, however, was not extinct: on the 12th of June he writes—"Princess Amelia was at Marlborough House last night, and played at *faro* till twelve." Gibbon, in a letter to Mr. Holroyd (afterwards Lord Sheffield), giving an account of the rejection of a proposal to mitigate the severity of the Test Act by the House of Commons, furnishes evidence that the gambling spirit which prevailed among the higher ranks at the beginning and close of this period animated them throughout:—"By the by, Charles Fox" (who, along with others not remarkable for perfect correctness of conduct, had voted against the motion) "prepared himself for that holy war by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise of hazard; his devotion costing him only about 500*l.* per hour; in all, 11,000*l.* Gaby lost 5000*l.* This is from the best authority. I hear, too, but will not warrant it, that W. H., by way of paying his court to T. C., has lost this winter 12,000*l.*" It has been Fox's fate to be quoted not only as one of the most striking examples of this infatuation, but as its principal historian. Mr. Croker says, in a note to his edition of Boswell's Life of Johnson—"Lord Lauderdale informed me that Mr. Fox (a great authority on this as well as on more important subjects) told him that the deepest play he had ever known was between the year 1772 and the beginning of the American war. Lord Lauderdale instanced 5000*l.* being staked on a single card at faro."

This subject conducts us by a natural transition from the private entertainments of the higher ranks to their public amusements. These may be divided into two classes—the gaieties in which they contrived to exclude all not belonging to their own class from participation; and those to which other classes obtained admission, and where they were physically mingled for the time in the ranks of the aristocracy, though cold politeness on the part of the latter debarred any familiarity.

The fashionable clubs were one of the devices by which the gay world sought to erect a barrier against the pressure of *parvenus*. In the time of the Tatler and Spectator coffee-houses in the vicinity of St. James's seem to have been haunts in which the courtly were tolerably secured against encroachment. The men of good family, with the gentlemen of the sword and the learned professions, literary men, and the more distinguished actors, their prescriptive appendages, discriminated as they then were by the marked difference of dress, kept even the wealthy citizens at bay. Not long after this, however, the club at White's Chocolate-house, now Arthur's, appears to have been established somewhat on the same footing that the fashionable clubs of the present day continue to exist upon. The wines, &c., seem to have been the property of the club, each member paying to the general fund for what he himself consumed. A passage in the Memoirs of Mrs. Pilkington throws some light upon the manners of this club; the date is a few years antecedent to the opening of our present period, but not sufficiently remote to deprive the anecdote altogether of value as an illustration; besides, several of the actors survived for many years the accession of George III.:—"As I wanted to make interest with the great, I took a lodging in St. James's-street, exactly opposite to White's Chocolate-house. . . . The next day, as I was sprinkling some flower-pots which stood on very broad leads under the dining-room window, Colonel Duncombe, the Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Winchelsea stood filling out wine and drinking to me; so I took up the pen and ink full in their view, and, as I was not acquainted with any of them except the colonel, I sent over these lines:—

Your rosy wine
Looks bright and fine,
But yet it does not cheer me:
The cause I guess
Is surely this,
The bottle is not near me.

You show that sight
To give delight,
If I may truly judge ye:
But would ye move
My wit or love,
I beg, Sir, I may pledge ye.

Lord Winchelsea bade the colonel send me all the wine in the house: 'Ah! (said the colonel) that might injure her health, but I will send her one bottle of Burgundy to cheer her spirits.' Accordingly the waiter brought it; the noblemen all gathered to the window; so he filled me out a glass, which, making them a low reverence, I drank and retired." The growing decorum of the reign of George III. put an end to this publicity of gallantry; but there is ample evidence in various private letters which have been published, and in the character of the wit in the most successful *jeux d'esprit* preserved in the "Foundling Hospital for Wit" (Debrett, 1786), that the tone of conversation which this incident leads us to attribute to the gentlemen who figure in it prevailed throughout the whole of the period we have now in hand. What has been said above on the subject of gaming shows the extent to which it was carried in these resorts. Early in the present reign Horace Walpole and some of his associates were at the trouble to emblazon satirical coats of arms for the two clubs at White's, in which the dice-box makes a prominent figure, and to circulate an engraving of them. The principal clubs of this period were Arthur's, White's, Brookes's, Boodle's, and Almack's. A few of them contracted a political tinge, but the greater number continued mere resorts for the leisure of such as were received into the company of the upper classes.

A similar exclusive character was conferred upon subscription-balls. The most celebrated locale of these amusements at the commencement of the new reign was in Soho, and at that time

the establishment was presided over by Mrs. Cornely. In 1765 were opened for the first time the rival rooms of Almack, the name of which has since become a synonyme for the exclusive assemblies of the fashionable world. Horace Walpole writes on the 14th of February in that year:—"The new assembly-room at Almack's was opened the night before last, and, they say, is very magnificent, but it was empty: half the town is ill with colds, and many were afraid to go, as the house is scarcely built yet. Almack advertised that it was built with *hot* bricks and boiling water: think what a rage there must be for public places if this notice, instead of terrifying, could draw anybody thither. They tell me the ceilings were dropping with wet;—but can you believe me when I assure you the Duke of Cumberland was there—nay, had had a levee in the morning, and went to the opera before the assembly! There is a vast flight of steps, and he was forced to rest two or three times. If he dies of it—and how should he not?—it will sound very silly when Hercules or Theseus asks him what he died of, to reply, 'I caught my death on a damp staircase at a new club-room.'" An attempt seems to have been made at the first opening of the Pantheon, in Oxford-street, to keep it an exclusive Ranelagh. Gibbon writes to Mr. Holroyd from Boodle's Club in February, 1772—"The Pantheon, whence the *gentlemen proprietors* exclude all beauty unless unspotted and immaculate (tautological this, by the by). *The gentlemen proprietors*,* on the other hand, are friends and patrons of the leopard beauties. Advertising challenges have passed between the two factions, and a bloody battle is expected on Wednesday night. *Apropos*, the Pantheon, in point of ennui and magnificence, is the wonder of the eighteenth century and of the British empire." Walpole's account of "a subscription-ball for the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick at Carlisle House, Soho, made *chiefly* by the Dukes of Devonshire and Grafton," lets us know how these affairs were managed in his day:—"The ball last night was most magnificent: one hundred and fifty men subscribed at five guineas each, and each had three tickets. All the beauties in town were there—that is of rank—for there was no bad company. The Duke of Cumberland was there too, and the hereditary prince so pleased, and in such spirits, that he staid till five in the morning." Gibbon mentions a subscription masquerade at the Pantheon which cost the subscribers 5000*l.*, and of which the historian of the "Decline and Fall" writes in rather languid spirits the morning after the show. He calls it "above par" in point of magnificence, and "below par" in point of humour.

The places of resort and amusement at which the aristocracy were elbowed by those whom they contrived to exclude from their select assemblies were, the Opera, the Theatres, the Academy's exhibition, Ranelagh, Vauxhall; and, notwithstanding the attempt to preserve it for their own exclusive enjoyment, the Pantheon. It was about this time that lectures—such as those of Sheridan on oratory—became a fashionable amusement. The lectures of Sheridan are those of which we have the most specific accounts; but some passages in the conversation of Dr. Johnson recorded by Boswell seem to imply that even then the practice of popular lecturing had been carried to a considerable extent. Of the Opera, indeed, it may be doubted whether it ought not to have been classed with the places of entertainment exclusively reserved for the upper classes. The high prices, the foreign character of the entertainment, and the circumstance of the *entrepreneur* being supported by a large guarantee-fund, in the form of a subscription, kept its frequenters tolerably segregated from the vulgar: there was, however, chiefly among the cathedral foundations an accomplished musical public in England, not belonging to the middle classes, and to them the Opera was sufficiently attractive to render it in some sort a neutral ground for the high and middle classes to meet upon. The furor for the Opera and its singers scarcely amounted to the same pitch of extravagance as when a lady is recorded to have exclaimed, "One God, one Farinelli!" the enthusiasm, however, still ran pretty high. The following paragraph appears in one of the periodical papers for March, 1765:—"Signor Manzoli, the Italian singer at the Haymarket, got no less, after paying all charges of every kind, by his benefit last week than 1000 guineas. This, added to a sum of 1500 which he has already saved, and the remaining profits of the season, is surely an undoubted proof of British generosity. One *particular* lady complimented the singer with a 200*l.* bill for a single ticket on that occasion." A new opera by Bach, produced in 1765, was so crowded that there were ladies standing behind the scenes during the whole performance. A visit of the royal family to the Opera in January, 1764, attracted "a crowd not to be described; the Duchess of Leeds, Lady Denbigh, Lady Scarborough, and others, sat on chairs between the scenes: the doors of the front boxes were thrown open, and the passages were all filled to the back of the stairs; nay, women of fashion stood on the very stairs till eight at night." The audience was occasionally boisterous; we learn from a letter of Horace Walpole, that on one occasion "the dancers were not only hissed, as truly they deserved to be, but the gallery, *à la Drury Lane*, cried out 'Off! off!'" A scene which occurred in the pit of the Opera, at the time that the public mind was excited on account of the dismission of military officers for voting against government on the questions arising out of the arrest of Wilkes, conveys the idea of a considerable degree of *grossièreté* among the upper ranks:—"Last Saturday Lord Cornwallis and Lord Allen came drunk to the Opera: the former went up to Rigby in the pit, and told him in direct words that Lord Sandwich

* Perhaps a misprint for *the gentlemen non-proprietors.*

was a pickpocket. Then Lord Allen, with looks and gestures no less expressive, advanced close to him, and repeating this again in the passage, would have provoked a quarrel if George West had not carried him away by force. Lord Cornwallis, the next morning, in Hyde Park, made an apology to Rigby for his behaviour, but the rest of the world is not so complaisant."

The *frequent riots* which occurred in the theatres during this period indicate a turbulent and domineering temper pervading society. The tyrannical manner in which the performers were obliged to sacrifice every manly feeling is discreditable to the society which could enforce such abject submission. This observation of course applies to the heterogeneous crowd assembled within the walls of the theatre, rather than to the class of society whose manners are the immediate subject of remark: it does not, however, appear that the boxes were less turbulent or overbearing on such occasions than other parts of the house. The works of art in which society takes pleasure reflect light upon its intellectual character, tastes, and moral habits. The dramatic productions of this period which were successful at their first performance, and retained possession of the stage, although, as possessed of more vitality than the common run of such productions, they must be supposed to be above par in point of literary merit, must still have such a resemblance to their less successful rivals as we remark in the features of men and women of genius to their more stolid relations. This age, though not distinguished by one of those dramatic authors who occur only once in the annals of a nation's literature, had authors of merit in this line sufficient to vindicate their contemporaries from the charge of wanting taste or contentedly patronising mere inanity. Omitting works of the very highest class, the comedies of Goldsmith and Sheridan are entitled to rank with any that have come after them. The most important feature in these plays, however, as serving to reflect light on the character of the age, is their superior purity to those of our earlier dramatists. Although the best of the old free-speaking comedies still kept the stage, the grossest of their pruriencies were from time to time weeded out by the hands of Garrick and others, and the new plays were, with perhaps the exception of some of Foote's, free from licentious words and actions. This fact, when viewed in combination with the salaciousness of no inconsiderable a portion of the printed wit of the day, is important as serving to mark the exact stage in the transition from the broad licence of the days of Charles II. to the preciseness, bordering perhaps upon excess, of our own, which that time had attained. The age had become so sensible of the ugliness of indecent conversation, that it was ashamed to hear repeated aloud in public what it could read, and confess to have read, without shame in the closet: although not startled by the fainter images of sensual vice which words can convey, it shrunk from their embodiment on the stage.

At the Opera and the theatres the boxes enable each party to keep itself aloof from others; at the other places of public resort, enumerated above, the company is more confusedly mixed. The few exhibitions of paintings, precursors of the Academy, received considerable encouragement, and the Academy's exhibitions were triumphantly successful. "On Monday," writes Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, or May-day, 1703, "if I am told truth, were received at the door 190*l.* for the admission of 3800 spectators. Suppose the show open ten hours and spectators staying one with another each an hour, the room never had fewer than 380 jostling against each other." On the 8th of the same month he resumes the subject:—"The exhibition prospers so much that Sir Joshua says it will maintain the academy: he estimates the probable amount at 3000*l.*" Ranelagh and Vauxhall were heirlooms from the preceding age. A lively account given by Horace Walpole, in one of his Letters, of a visit paid to Vauxhall by Lady Caroline Petersham and a party of which he was one, conveys a tolerably accurate impression of the manners of the frequenters of these places at the commencement of the reign of George III., and some incidental notices in the Memoirs of Mary Robinson afford the same service for the close of the present period. Walpole's heroines are curiously characterised by defiance of vulgar opinion: strong in their nobility, they seem to regard the gaze and comments of the vulgar no more than a man might the curiosity of monkeys. Walpole and his party mustered on the mall in St. James's Park, then took boat, "paraded some time up and down the river, and at last debarked at Vauxhall:" "there," he continues, "if we pleased, we might have had the vivacity of our party increased by a quarrel; for a Mrs. Loyd, who is supposed to be married to Lord Haddington, seeing the two girls following Lady Petersham and Miss Ashe, said aloud, 'Poor girls, I am sorry to see them in such bad company.' Miss Sparre, who desired *nothing* so much as the fun of seeing a duel,—a thing which, though she is fifteen, she never has been so lucky as to see,—took due pains to make Lord March resent this; but he, who is very lively and agreeable, laughed her out of this charming frolic with a great deal of good humour. Here we picked up Lord Granby, arrived drunk from Jenny's Whim, where, instead of going to old Strafford's catacombs to make honourable love, he had dined with Lady Fanny, and left her and eight other women and four other men playing at brag. He would fain have made over his honourable love on any terms to Miss Beauclerk, who is very modest, and did not know what at all to do with his whispers and his hands. He then addressed himself to the Sparre, who was very well disposed to receive both, but the tide of Champagne turned, he hiccuped at the reflection of his marriage (of which he is wondrous sick), and only proposed to the girl to shut themselves up and rail at the world for three weeks. If all the adventures don't conclude as you expect in

the beginning of a paragraph, you must not wonder, for I am not making a history, but relating one strictly as it happened, and I think with full entertainment enough to content you. At last we assembled in our booth, Lady Caroline in the front, with the vizor of her hat erect, and looking gloriously jolly and handsome. She had fetched my brother Orford from the next box, where he was enjoying himself with his *petite partie*, to help us to mince chickens. We minced seven chickens into a china dish, which Lady Caroline stewed over a lamp with three pats of butter and a flaggon of water, stirring and rattling and laughing, and we every minute expecting to have the dish fly about our ears. She had brought Betty the fruit-girl with hampers of strawberries and cherries (June) from Rogers's, and made her wait upon us, and then made her sup by us at a little table. The conversation was no less lively than the whole transaction. In short the whole air of our party was sufficient, as you will easily imagine, to take up the whole attention of the garden, so much so that from eleven o'clock till half-an-hour after one we had the whole concourse round our booth: at last they came into the little gardens of each booth on the side of ours, when Harry Vane took up a bumper and drank their healths, and was proceeding to treat them with still greater freedom. It was three o'clock before we got home."

The adventure at Vauxhall narrated by Mrs. Robinson brings the scene before us:—"The night was warm and the gardens crowded; we supped in the circle which has the statue of Handel in the centre. The hour growing late, or rather early in the morning, our company dispersed, and no one remained except Mr. Robinson, Mr. Fitzgerald, and myself; suddenly a noise was heard near the orchestra; a crowd had assembled, and two gentlemen were quarrelling furiously. Mr. Robinson and Fitzgerald ran out of the box, I rose to follow them, but they were lost in the throng, and I thought it most prudent to resume my place, which I had just quitted, as the only certain way of their finding me in safety. In a moment Fitzgerald returned. 'Robinson,' said he, 'is gone to seek you at the entrance-door; he thought you had quitted the box.' . . . I took his arm and we ran hastily towards the entrance-door on the Vauxhall road. Mr. Robinson was not there; we proceeded to look for our carriage; it stood at some distance. I was alarmed and bewildered. Mr. Fitzgerald hurried me along. 'Don't be uneasy, we shall certainly find him,' said he, 'for I left him here not five minutes ago.' As he spoke he stopped abruptly: a servant opened a chaise door, there were four horses harnessed to it; and by the light of the lamps on the side of the footpath I plainly perceived a pistol in the pocket of the door that was open. I drew back. Mr. Fitzgerald placed his arm round my waist, and endeavoured to lift me up the step of the chaise; the servant watching at a little distance. I resisted, and inquired what he meant by such conduct; his hand trembled excessively while he said in a low voice, 'Robinson can but fight me.' I was horrified beyond all expression: I made him loose his hold, and ran towards the entrance-door. Mr. Fitzgerald now perceived Mr. Robinson. 'Here he comes!' exclaimed he with an easy *nonchalance;* 'we had found the wrong carriage, Mr. Robinson; we have been looking after you, and Mrs. Robinson is terrified beyond all description.'" But supercilious people of rank, like Lady Petersham, and adventurers like Mrs. Robinson and her husband, were not the only frequenters of Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and the Pantheon. From Boswell's Life of Johnson we learn that the two latter were favourite haunts of the author of the Rambler. To the assertion that there was not half-a-guinea's worth of pleasure in seeing Ranelagh, he replied—"But there is half-a-guinea's worth of inferiority to other people in not having seen it." We have seen above that Gibbon found the Pantheon rather dispiriting.

While the upper and middle classes were brought into physical collision in public places, another common ground upon which they might meet on better terms was springing into existence. "About this time," says Boswell in 1781, "it was much the fashion for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by a desire to please. Those societies were denominated *blue-stocking* clubs, the origin of which title being little known, it may be worth while to relate it. One of the most eminent members of those societies was Mr. Stillingfleet, whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings. Such was the excellence of his conversation that his absence was felt as so great a loss that it used to be said, 'We can do nothing without the blue stockings;' and then by degrees the title was established." Mrs. Montagu was installed the Blue Queen. The blue-stocking parties—now a familiar name—were then a novelty. Miss Monkton, afterwards Countess of Cork, used, we are told, "to have the finest *bit of blue* at the house of her mother, Lady Galway." But it is in Pennington's Memoirs of Mrs. Carter that we find the most detailed account of a blue-stocking *soirée* about the year 1778. "Mrs. Vesey had the almost magic art of putting all her company at their ease without the least appearance of design. There was no formal circle to petrify an unfortunate stranger on his entrance; no rules of conversation to observe; no holding forth of one, to his own distress and the stupifying of his audience; no reading of his works by the author. The company naturally broke into little groupes, perpetually varying and changing. Nor was it absolutely necessary even to talk sense. There was no bar to harmless mirth and gaiety: and, while perhaps Dr. Johnson in one corner held forth on the moral duties, in another two or three young people might be talking of the fashions and the Opera; and in a third Lord Orford (then Mr. Horace Walpole) might be amusing a little group

with his lively wit and intelligent conversation. Now and then perhaps Mrs. Vesey might call the attention to some circumstance of news, politics, and literature of peculiar importance; or perhaps to an anecdote or interesting account of some person known to the company in general." These parties furnish a natural transition by which to pass from the manners of the aristocracy to those of the middle classes of society.

The portion of the population designated by this sufficiently vague denomination increases in numbers, and exercises more influence in contributing to give a tone to society, according as a nation advances in wealth and general civilization. It has been said to comprehend in Great Britain "the poorer gentry, lawyers, medical men, inferior clergy, literary men, merchants, artists, manufacturers, notaries, shopkeepers." The line of demarcation, as has been already observed, between the middle and upper classes is difficult to draw in practice, and it will be seen hereafter that the line which separates the former from the lower classes is still more difficult to detect. In the gross, however, the distinction between the upper and middle classes is still pretty strongly marked, and in the period at present under review the contrast was even harsh. The difference between the tone of Lord Chatham's letters addressed to Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, or General Conway, and those addressed to Mr. Beckford or Mr. Sawbridge, shows how powerful the feeling of *caste* still was. It is difficult to determine whether the *morgue aristocratique* is expressed with more unconscious intensity in those letters of Horace Walpole to his correspondents of the upper classes in which he sneers at the citizens, or in one or two addressed to the Rev. Mr. Zouch and others, in which he patronisingly affects to waive his rank. A title was not necessary to render a man a member of the aristocracy; but birth was nevertheless the only mode of initiation into its freemasonry. The class treated with civility by the aristocracy, yet kept in constant remembrance of its inferiority by a cold civility of manner, presented, as might be inferred from the diversified pursuits of the individuals composing it — from their incompatible tastes prompting them to segregate themselves into a number of isolated coteries—and from the constant intermingling of the individuals belonging to different sections, rendered inevitable by business pursuits, a strange medley of incongruous associates alternately attracting and repelling each other.

A list of the friends and familiar associates of Dr. Johnson furnishes a lively idea of the variety of characters who might have been mixed together at this time in the ordinary intercourse of middle-class society: some of them properly belong to the upper classes, yet, as they mingled with those of which we are now speaking on a familiar footing, they could not be omitted without leaving the picture incomplete. There were of this foreign admixture,—Lord Orrery, Lord Lucan, a bishop or two, Mr. Topham Beauclerk, and some others of the same class. Then came Mr. Thrale, a brewer, but a man of Oxford education, and a member of parliament; and Mrs. Macaulay, sister of Mr. Sawbridge; the leading booksellers and printers; Sir Joshua Reynolds, Nollekins, Burney, Hawkins, Burke, Garrick, Goldsmith, and other artists and authors; Warren Hastings, Lord Clive, and other fortunate adventurers from the East Indies; lawyers and clergymen; Dr. Bathurst and several of the most eminent physicians; Mr. Ryland, a merchant on Tower-hill; Mr. Diamond, apothecary in Cork-street, Burlington-gardens; Mrs. Gardiner, "wife of a tallow-chandler on Snow-hill, not in the learned way, but a worthy good woman;" his humble friend Levett, and others of this lowest class of the middle classes. A few traits of some individuals of those subdivisions of the middle classes, selected from Boswell and other contemporary authorities, will supply an idea of the diversity of cultivation and habits which must have pervaded so miscellaneous an assortment.

Of the class to which the Thrales, Sawbridges, and Beckfords belonged, Mrs. Burney informed Boswell that she heard Dr. Johnson say, "An English merchant is a new species of gentleman." Mr. Croker questions the accuracy of the assertion, and instances "the merchants of Tyre, 'who were princes,' the Medici of Florence, the Greshams of England." The difference of opinion seems to have arisen from the ambiguity of the word merchant, which does not accurately describe the class to which Johnson referred. The merchant-princes of Tyre are still represented in our days by the Arab merchant who guided Denham and his companions across the African desert to Bornou, the brave, grasping, intelligent adventurer of a semi-barbarous nation, who, in pursuit of gain, mingles with still more barbarous tribes, and, in order to guard his property and person, must combine with the speculating talents of the merchant, the versatility, promptitude, and resolution of the warrior and diplomatist. The Medici were varieties of the same class existing in a more highly civilised but anarchical society; and the old English merchant, as far as was possible in a powerful and settled monarchy, approached to the character of the Medici. The great merchants in this acceptation of the word have always belonged more to the aristocracy than to the unprivileged classes. The men referred to by Johnson, although not exclusively English, have been more numerous and influential here than in any other country. They are the great capitalists where wealth has been accumulated by prosecuting a mechanical trade upon a large scale. Wealth has a necessary tendency to give a certain elevation of character to its possessor; men are soon satiated with, or destroyed by, mere sensual indulgence, and the wealthy man is driven by his craving for enjoyment to seek it in parade and ostentation, or in intellectual pursuits. In the case of a hereditary aristocracy familiarity with the art of ruling, in the case of great merchants the extent

and variety of their speculations, develope some of the highest intellectual powers. In the case of a fortune attained by mere mechanical pursuits conducted on a large scale this is not necessarily the case: such pursuits may make men, though even this not necessarily, able chemists, and masters of physical science, but they do not make liberal and high-minded men. They have a tendency to keep them mere citizens in the disparaging sense in which the word is used by older English writers. And, in proportion as the accumulation of wealth in such hands renders them of consequence among the mercantile classes, have they a tendency to vulgarise these classes.

Thrale's family was a favourable specimen of this class. His business had been established by his father, who, according to Boswell, "was most remarkable for the liberality with which he used his riches." "He gave his son and daughters," says this writer, "the best education. The esteem which his good conduct procured him from the nobleman who had married his master's daughter made him be treated with much attention; and his son, both at school and at the university of Oxford, associated with young men of the first rank. His allowance from his father after he left college was splendid—not less than a thousand a-year. This, in a man who had risen as old Thrale did, was a very extraordinary instance of generosity. He used to say, 'If this young dog does not find so much after I am gone as he expects, let him remember that he has had a great deal in my own time.' The son, though in affluent circumstances, had good sense enough to carry on his father's trade, which was of such extent, that I remember he once told me, he would not quit it for an annuity of ten thousand a-year: 'Not,' said he, 'that I get ten thousand a-year by it, but it is an estate to a family.'" Mr. Thrale, as appears from the notices of him that occur in the biographers of Johnson, was a man who retained to the last a considerable degree of the literary tastes he acquired at the university, but who was at the same time addicted to the pleasures of the table to a degree that even his strenuous activity as a huntsman could not counteract. His lady, without the solid learning which Johnson attributed to her, was accomplished and clever. Their residence at Streatham differed in no visible respect from the residence of an independent gentleman of literary habits. The ladies' town parties were on the footing of the blue-stocking *conversazione*; Johnson took credit to himself for inducing Mrs. Thrale, who did not allow cards at her assemblies, to substitute light collations instead of mere talk. But the Barrettis, Piozzis, and others of that class, who formed such a large ingredient of the parties, lead to the inference that, with all their wealth, the Thrales were obliged to court the society of those who on the strength of their talents and amusing powers were admitted to a precarious familiarity with the great, in order to raise their entertainments above the mere citizen character. The difference between the line of their society and that in which Horace Walpole moved is easily discernible.

The glimpses which Boswell's memoirs afford us of the interior economy of the booksellers, Dilly and Davies, give us some notion of the manners of the substantial citizen. The Dillys seem to have been wealthy, and in consequence their private residence, though attached to their place of business, is so completely kept distinct from it, that the visiters are not reminded of the conjunction. In their house, however, we are frequently reminded that we are within Temple-bar, and that the distinction between the regions of the east and west of that barrier, so emphatically dwelt upon by Richardson, still existed. When Johnson, after inquiring who different persons at a party at Dilly's were, adds, as his eye rested upon Wilkes, "and the gentleman in lace?" we feel at once the visible distinction which still existed between the resident at the court-end of the town and the citizen. At Davies's house the connexion with business is more obtrusive: the dinner parlour communicates with the shop by a glass door. And this custom we learn from a variety of sources was almost universal among even wealthy retail dealers.

The bookseller, however, is not a fair specimen of the tradesman; his literary connexions have an influence on his tastes and habits. Of the class of shopkeepers who might have accumulated from 6000*l.* to 10,000*l.* Johnson speaks with great asperity; and their manners are a favourite topic of ridicule with the wits of the time. That there was considerable temptation to speak of them in this strain is probable enough; yet even the sarcasms against them are at times indicative of something that might have commanded, if not respect, at least encouragement. The numerous boarding-schools around London for the education of the daughters of this class were a favourite topic with the sarcastic. In their ridicule of the mistakes of a class seeking for the first time to secure the advantages of education even for its female members, they forgot that the mere recognition of the advantages of a cultivated mind was a step in advance, and that it is the universal destiny of man to blunder into the knowledge of what is true. Envy at the superior wealth of the citizen—a contemptible chagrin at feeling the "toe of the peasant gall the kibe of the courtier"—not unfrequently lent point and energy to the sarcasm. The misdirected effort which provoked the satire, and might as frequently be prompted by mere vanity as a better motive, and the satire which frightened the blunderers out of a wrong path, were the mere explosion of spleen; and yet between them good was accomplished. The extent, however, to which the want of intellectual culture, and the consequent exposure to the temptations of mere sensual pleasure, prevailed among this subordinate class of *nouveaux riches* can only be appreciated by those whose reading has extended to the records of the consistorial court of the period. There are incidents mentioned there which lend probability to the

dullest and grossest piece of profligacy in the theatrical literature of the age of Charles II.

The grades of the middle class hitherto noticed are those to the members of which the predicate of steadiness is more especially applicable. They are the individuals who, born in a numerous society, have all their life been exposed to its prying gaze, and have never emerged from it into other relations. The fear of censure was with them a substitute for high principle: the routine habits of their life rendered conformity to the opinions of the world easy to them. In competent circumstances, their temptations to glaring departures from honourable dealing were trifling or infrequent. But many were constantly adopted into this body who had not been born in it, and who in their earlier career had acquired marked peculiarities of character. Men who, like Johnson, had walked the streets all night with Savage for want of a lodging to retire to—or slept on bulkheads with Derrick before he succeeded Nash as *arbiter elegantiarum* at Bath—could never subside entirely into the smooth citizen. The military or civilian adventurer from the East—the slave-drivers from the West,—retained even in London much of the habits they acquired while toiling for a fortune. The portrait painter, one half the merit of whose success consists in pleasing his sitters, contracted a courtly urbanity. The actor has in all ages been a chartered libertine: allowed even in the city to lead without serious censure a scrambling life, alternately in luxury and destitution. It was such ingredients as these that mainly contributed to ruffle occasionally the stagnant surface of city life.

Regarding the family arrangements of the middle classes of the metropolis at this period, there is little to remark. The more opulent affected a retinue of servants approaching to that maintained by the less wealthy nobility. Among those in moderate circumstances male servants were rare. One marked change, however, had occurred in the relations of masters and servants since the close of the preceding century. In the Memoirs of Pepys, during his first struggles against poverty, we are struck with the familiar footing on which his servants seem to have stood with him and his wife. Turning to the trial of Colonel Turner (*anno* 1664), we find statements made by the witnesses which show that this nearer approach to equality than our manners warrant was general among the substantial citizens of the time.* This free intercourse had entirely disappeared before the accession of George III.: no trace of it is to be found in the correspondence of Richardson. We have seen on the one hand that the domestic attendants of the aristocracy had become in a great measure mere menials; on the other we find that the distance between the middle classes and their domestics had increased. A change in the distinctions of society rather than an equalisation of ranks is indicated by these facts. Society was not resolving itself into one undistinguished heap, but was becoming classified into different divisions from what had previously prevailed. Nobles and commons were as decidedly kept apart as ever; but a habit was gaining ground of viewing them as mere subdivisions of the great class of proprietors, as distinguished from the working classes, including menial servants. This division of society approaches to that made by Johnson into educated and uneducated, when he remarked that no man who wore a sword and hair-powder would be found ignorant of Latin. The effects of this change were not felt—the change itself was scarcely noticed—till the next period, when the views which obtained currency about the time of the French revolution called attention to it.

The public amusements of the middle classes were merely those already mentioned as forming a neutral ground on which they mingled with the aristocracy—the theatres, Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and the Pantheon; auctions, lectures, &c. Among the upper ranks there was an equality between the sexes in their pursuit of pleasure beyond the limits of their family abode. Among the middle classes the men allowed themselves a wider range of public amusements than they did to the women. The habits of the females of the middle classes for many years after the accession of George III. were very domestic. Much of the leisure of the males was spent in taverns, and devoted to their clubs. The practice of females of unquestioned virtue visiting taverns, which, according to Walpole, was once common among women of rank, was becoming obsolete; but an assertion of Johnson's, reported by Boswell, that no tavern-keeper would refuse admission to a well-dressed man and woman, shows that it had not entirely ceased. A pleasing meeting of the kind, of a date not long preceding our period, in which the Doctor himself played a prominent part, is recorded by Sir John Hawkins, in a grumbling strain that renders the story more piquant. "One evening, at the (Ivy-lane) club, Johnson proposed to us the celebrating the birth of Mrs. Lennox's first literary child, as he called her book, by a whole night spent in festivity. Upon his mentioning it to me, I told him I never sat up a whole night in my life; but, he continuing to press me, and saying that I should find great delight in it, I, as did all the rest of our company, consented. The place appointed was the Devil Tavern, and there, about the hour of eight, Mrs. Lennox and her husband, and a lady of her acquaintance, as also the club, and friends to the number of near twenty, assembled. The supper was elegant, and Johnson had directed that a hot apple-pie should make a part of it, and this he would have stuck with bay-leaves, because, forsooth, Mrs. Lennox was an authoress, and had written verses; and further he had prepared for her a crown of laurel, with which, but not till he had invoked the Muses by some ceremonies of his own invention, he encircled her brows. The night passed, as must be imagined, in pleasant conversation and harmless mirth, intermingled at different periods with the refreshments of coffee and tea. About five Johnson's face shone with meridian splendour,

* See English Causes Célèbres, i. 86—129.

though his drink had been only lemonade; but the greater part of the company had deserted the colours of Bacchus, and were with difficulty rallied to partake of a second refreshment of coffee, which was scarcely ended when the day began to dawn. This phenomenon began to put us in mind of our reckoning; but the waiters were all so overcome with sleep, that it was two hours before a bill could be had, and it was not till near eight that the creaking of the street door gave signal for our departure." In another of Johnson's tavern scenes, we find two women and a clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Maxwell, who tells the anecdote:—"Two young women from Staffordshire visited him when I was present, to consult him on the subject of Methodism, to which they were inclined. 'Come,' said he, 'you pretty fools, dine with Maxwell and me at the Mitre, and we will talk over that subject;' which they did, and after dinner he took one of them upon his knee and fondled her for half an hour together."

Before quitting the subject of the metropolitan middle classes, one feature in their manners during this period must be noticed, on account of the important influence it subsequently exercised over the whole of society. The middle classes are far more than either of the extremes of society dependent upon their characters: many among them trade upon a good character as a capital. Individuals of the upper classes may defy censure; individuals of the lower classes escape it in the crowd. The members of the middle classes are exposed to notice, and not powerful enough to disregard what is said or thought of them. When the middle classes are not numerous, society is divided into two sections widely different in their feelings and habits, but each unchecked by the opinion of the other. It is only when the progress of wealth and industry in a nation has created a numerous and powerful middle class that such a thing as "public opinion" can be said to exist. It has its origin among the middle classes, and extends its influence from them upwards to the aristocracy, who, however reluctantly, feel themselves awed and kept in check by a new power—the censure of a body whose freedom they may dislike, but cannot despise. Its power over the lower orders is in morals as great as that of the example of the higher classes in matters of fashion is over the whole of society. This public opinion is from the beginning a sturdy, healthy, moral influence, akin to the reflecting and industrious habits of the portion of the community from which it springs. In England it had from the times preceding the Commonwealth been characterised, it may be, to some extent by a precisian, but at the same time by a deeply reverential, spirit. Towards the close of the reign of George II. it began to contract a greater degree of refinement and decorum. In the correspondence of Richardson we see one of the centres from which this increased delicacy emanated. There was about Richardson much of the littleness of the woman, but also much of her subtle discrimination of character. He seems to have laboured under a morbid desire to examine the mind of every person, more especially of every woman, with whom he came into correspondence, as with a microscope. The effeminacy of his character seems to have driven him to seek refuge from the more robustious intellects of his own sex in the society of women. From them he contracted a delicacy of expression which, to judge by his Pamela, was not natural, and in return he set them to puzzle out the casuistry of domestic manners with as much zeal as himself. His own writings and those of Mrs. Chapone, not to mention others of his pupils, took a strong hold on the public mind. Another of the patriarchs of strict decency in language as well as propriety in conduct was Watts. Dr. Johnson had a high-toned sense of delicacy, and advocated it on all occasions with his own relentless energy. The increasing chastity of stage representations during this period, already adverted to, is one among many proofs of the extent to which a greater respect for decorum in word and deed had pervaded the middle classes. The blue-stocking assemblies of Mrs. Vesey and Mrs. Montague were one channel through which this new spirit was conveyed to the upper classes; the dignified clergy were another. What is sometimes called in these days the chivalrous spirit, but what is something of a far higher nature, emanated not from the court, but from the middle classes—that acknowledgment of the moral beauty of purity in word and thought which lends the last finishing grace to the chivalrous spirit of which the aristocracy set the first example.

In order to make the peculiar characteristics of the lower classes during this period perfectly intelligible we must recall the reader's attention to the utter want of an efficient police at the beginning of the reign of George III. We use the word police with the continental latitude, as implying not only all arrangements for the prevention, detection, and punishment of crime, but also all which have for their object the preservation of cleanliness in large and crowded cities, and the removal of everything that has a tendency to endanger the public health. There was, at the period of which we are now speaking, literally no police in the British metropolis. The force of constables and watchmen, even in the city, was little better than a by-word for its inefficiency: in the liberties, and in the city and liberties of Westminster, matters were still worse. It was only in the year 1763 that Sir John Fielding procured a very inadequate horse-patrol of eighty persons well mounted and armed to be placed upon the several roads near the metropolis. The consequence was that in the early part of the reign of George III. not only robbery, but murder and abduction were no uncommon occurrences in the streets of the metropolis. The toll-houses which marked where the streets ended and the roads commenced were insecure: in July, 1763, the toll-man of Mary-le-bone turnpike was found murdered in the toll-house; and, attempts being at the same time made upon other toll-houses, the trustees of turnpikes were obliged to increase the number of toll-ga-

therers, furnish them with arms, and strictly enjoin them not to keep any money in the toll-houses after eight o'clock at night. In 1760 an apothecary was attacked in Red Lion-street, Holborn, by two ruffians with fire-arms, who forcibly carried him to Blackmary's-hole, but released him on discovering that he was not the person they were in search of. About the same time a passenger was shot by footpads in Holborn at an early hour in the evening, and the murderers appear to have escaped. In 1777 the Neapolitan ambassador was robbed in his carriage in Grosvenor-square by four footpads who escaped. In 1778 a gang of smugglers attempted to pass over Surrey Bridge between twelve and two in the morning. Information having been previously given of their intention to the excise, a sergeant and twenty-two dismounted horse grenadiers were stationed to intercept them. When the smugglers, who were thirty-two in number, discovered that they were surrounded, they formed in two lines, placing their loaded horses in the rear, and, rushing upon the bayonets of the soldiers, made good their retreat. Several were wounded on both sides. Not long after a large deposit of smuggled goods was discovered in the Fleet prison: the smugglers by means of ladders had conveyed them over the wall, and the prisoners secreted them, receiving remuneration for the service.

The medical police was as inefficient as the criminal police. The Strand and St. James's-street were cleared of obstructions and paved on an improved system in 1765; but it was long before the reform extended to the rest of London. Narrow winding thoroughfares, with insufficient drainage, encumbered by the rubbish of builders, polluted the atmosphere, furnished a labyrinth in which thieves and robbers easily evaded pursuit, and often occasioned fatal accidents to passengers. About Chancery-lane, in the streets adjoining Smithfield, and similar neighbourhoods, one is not surprised to read of large receptacles in which pigs were fattened on the most loathsome garbage, poisoning the neighbourhood with their miasma. "The kennels of Southwark," said Dr. Johnson during his Scottish Tour, "run blood two days in every week." But even the districts inhabited by the gay and luxurious world were not exempt from the nuisance. In the Chronicle of the Annual Register for 1761, it is stated — "A great many pigs were lately seized by the churchwarden, overseers, and constables in the parish of St. George's, Hanover-square, and sold under the act which makes all pigs forfeited that are bred, fed, or kept in the houses or backsides of the paved streets, or within fifty yards of the same," &c. The newspapers of the time are filled with accounts of houses falling from decay in the most crowded parts of the metropolis, and of unoccupied houses in which wretched creatures are found dead, having crawled there to die.

Amid this inefficiency of the servants of the law, and this squalor, the organisation of the criminal portion of the lower orders was carried to a high pitch. The resorts of the profligate stretched in various lines from one extremity of the metropolis to the other. The Sanctuary in Westminster was one nucleus, Whetstone-park in Holborn another, the purlieus of the Tower a third. The two former were connected by a chain of streets and courts, chiefly inhabited by outcasts, Hedge-lane, St. Giles's, Seven Dials, &c. From St. Giles's a line of communication was formed with the Tower, along Wych-street, to Whitefriars, the Fleet, and onwards in that direction. Marylebone, the northern extremity of Gray's-inn-lane, and several places in Southwark were equally notorious. In one of these dens might be found a school where juvenile criminals were instructed in the art of picking pockets, gaining admission into shops while the dealers were seated in their back-parlours, or effecting an entry at night through the thin part of the walls below the windows. In another was the rendezvous of an association of men and boys, the business of the latter being to steal, of the former to be near at hand, and, if any of their juvenile associates were caught, to cut the person over the eyes who laid hold of him. The very substitutes that were resorted to in order to supply the want of an organised police gave occasion to new crimes. Rewards were offered for the apprehension and conviction of criminals, with a view to create a volunteer police. Men destitute of employment, small shop-keepers verging towards bankruptcy, discarded lawyers' clerks, and copyers for law-stationers, all whose "means were in supposition," were thus tempted by the prospect of making occasionally a good round sum by a lucky hit. "I keep a shop in Wych street, and sometimes catch a thief," was the answer returned by the principal witness in a case of highway robbery when questioned as to his profession. Thief-catching after this irregular fashion became a trade with many; and a series of trials revealed to the public, that it was a common thing for these hunters after the price of blood to tempt their victims to commit the crime for which they afterwards procured their conviction and a reward.

The honest, well-meaning portion of the poorer classes are necessarily brought into frequent contact with the dishonest class in every large city. When their wages are steady and large, the former have less temptation to adopt the nefarious courses they see pursued by others: when the police is well organised, vigilant, and efficient, they are deterred from doing it; when education is diffused among them, their good resolutions are strengthened by the tastes they acquire. From all these three preservatives against dishonesty, in the case of persons strongly tempted to it by natural indolence and familiarity with the sight of it, the poorer classes of the metropolis derived at this time little assistance. Police, we have seen, there was none. The only classes who received high steady wages were the Spitalfields weavers, the apprentices and journeymen of incorporated trades, and the coal-heavers and other labourers who were themselves incorporated. The apprentices and journeymen can scarcely be viewed as belonging to the

working classes: they were future members of the middle classes in a state of probation. The wealthy tradesmen had not then so completely taken possession of the London trades as to render the capitalists and operatives permanently distinct classes. The Spitalfields weavers belonged to the class, now become so important from its numbers, then just starting into existence—that of the skilled artisan who has no prospect of ever storing up enough of capital to become his own master. They had been placed in a situation enabling them to earn more money than others of their class, but under circumstances that precluded their indulging the hopes of the middle classes. The coal-heavers, &c., were from their avocations and associates a robust, uncultivated race. There was little of education even among these, the only sections of the lower classes where it could well be looked for. The aimless and excessive violence of their trades' unions, then for the first time heard of, show on how low a stage of intelligence they stood. Among the remainder of the honest poor, wages were in one sense high, but precarious. For the education of all this dense mass no provision was made. That class had drifted out of the cognizance of the church: the charity and free schools of earlier times were organised on too narrow a scale for their use. Sunday-schools were an invention of the latter part of this period, and did not come into play till the next. The Methodists were the only teachers of the poorer classes of the metropolis, and persevering and in some respects dexterous teachers they were. Their organisation into classes and bands placed the conduct of every member in the focus of inspection of a circle of acquaintances. Their rigid exaction of the practice of self-examination was favourable to the acquirement of a habit of self-control. The formation of deposit-funds to be advanced as loans to members starting in life enabled not a few to emerge into the middle classes. The great defect of the Methodist teachers was their uninstructed and not unfrequently rude and ignorant enthusiasm. Methodism among the upper classes was extravagant enough, but still preserved some degree of decorum: among the uneducated its antics were such as only not to neutralise its good influences. All systems of morality are sure in the end to produce mischief which set out with neglecting the control of reason and substituting passion and imagination in its place. Even those whose minds are strengthened and refined by intellectual discipline, though they may bear up for a time, almost invariably end in folly and crime when they give up the reins unconditionally to enthusiasm: but it works wild work among the rude and ignorant. The following passage is quoted not as a picture of methodism, but as a picture of what it became among the poorer classes of the metropolis, and by becoming failed to benefit them. It is from the autobiography of Lackington the bookseller, himself once a Methodist:—"The more ignorant preachers, having very contracted ideas of real religion and manly virtue, of course supply the want of it with a ridiculous fuss about trifles, which passes with the ignorant for a more sanctified deportment; and hence arises much of the mischief which has been so justly charged on the Methodists. For, by making the path to heaven so very narrow, many, despairing to be ever able to walk in it, have thrown off all religion and morality and sunk into the abyss of vice and wickedness. Others have their tempers so soured as to become lost to all the tender connexions of husband, wife, father, child, &c., really believing that they are *literally* to *hate* father, mother, &c., for Christ's sake. Some have been so infatuated with the idea of mortifying the flesh, that their strict perseverance in it has been productive of the most serious consequences; two instances of which occurred lately in one family in the City Road. The mistress was deprived of her senses, and the maid *literally* fasted herself to death. . . . . A man who preached very often in Smithfield and Moorfields did not wholly depend on the operations of the holy Spirit, but latterly seldom began to preach till he was nearly drunk. But the good man, happening several times to exert himself rather too much, had nearly tumbled headlong out of his portable pulpit: these accidents the mob uncharitably ascribed to the liquor he had drunk, and with mud, stones, dead cats, &c., drove him off every time he came, until at last our preacher took his leave of them with saying, 'that he perceived it was in vain to attempt their conversion, as he saw God had given them over to the hardness of their hearts.' But, although this holy man deserted them, yet other spiritual knights-errant were not wanting, so that a little time before the heaps of stones which lay in Moorfields were removed for the purpose of building on the spot I have seen five or six in a day preaching their initiation sermons from these elevated situations, until they could collect a sufficient sum of money to purchase pulpits. You must know that many of the lazy sort of the community set up stalls in Moorfields to buy and sell apples, old iron, &c. Several of these having heard many such edifying discourses as they sat at their stalls, and observing the success which that kind of preachers met with, boldly resolved to make trial of their spiritual gifts on the heaps of stones, and have now totally abandoned their stalls and are gone forth as ambassadors of heaven." Many incidents recorded in the journals of the day confirm this account. The teaching of the Methodists among the poor was not the instruction of men who were masters of their subject: it was at best the aimless talking of those who, in their exultation at being furnished with a new idea, ran immediately to communicate it to their associates. It neither conveyed information, nor taught the art of self-control, nor communicated refinement;—on the contrary, from the riotous quarrels it provoked, it often helped further to brutalise the mob. The poorer classes in the metropolis, thus abandoned, untaught, with precarious means of subsistence, and unchecked by the watchfulness of a police, to a close and constant view of vice, were

unfavourably circumstanced for acquiring steady moral habits.

Their ranks too were constantly recruited about the beginning of the period by a class of desperadoes who occupied a sort of midway position between the honest and dishonest. During the war in which Great Britain was engaged at the death of George II. numerous licences had been issued to privateers. The service in vessels provided with *letters of marque* can be regarded in no better light than licensed piracy—taking service with buccaneers, whose crimes are winked at by a government so long as they are directed exclusively to impoverishing its enemies by plundering their subjects. The records of the Admiralty Court show that these licences were not unfrequently taken out by abandoned adventurers whose purpose was to make them a pretext for robbing indiscriminately hostile and neutral vessels; but even under the most favourable circumstances the occupation blunted men's dislike of plunder and violence. The peace threw numbers of these men loose upon society, and along with them numbers of soldiers and sailors who had served in the regular army. A large proportion of this burden on the community found its way to the metropolis; some with, some without, money; all devoid of habits of regular industry; boon companions for the most part, and not over-scrupulous. Some were drawn off from time to time to supply the vacancies in the regular army: great numbers were enlisted for the service of the East India Company, and others were laid hold of by the crimps, whose business it was to supply the plantations with indentured servants. Along with them, young men, the sons of citizens, who, attracted by the frank manners of the discharged soldiery, had become their associates, were often inveigled. The government recruits were lodged in large numbers in the Savoy: the others were deposited in private lock-houses, the keepers of which, not having the sanction of the constituted authorities, kept more jealous watch. Attempts to escape excited the sympathies of the mob, and brought it into occasional collision with the officers of the law. The habit of resisting them in such cases accustomed men to regard resisting them on other occasions as venial also. The enmity between them and the dishonest portion of the community was thus more widely spread, and a general hostility was entertained towards the feeble police.

A few examples of the direction which this feeling took seem to furnish a not inappropriate introduction to a notice of the mobs of the period—no unimportant portion of a history of the manners of the classes now under consideration. In the Annual Register for 1765 it is emphatically stated, in the notice of the election of Stephen Theodore Jansen, Esq. to be chamberlain of the city of London, that "he was the first sheriff for a long time that ventured to see justice executed at Tyburn, even in cases that seemed to require it most, without the aid of a military force." In 1763 we learn from the same work that, "as soon as the execution of several criminals, condemned at last sessions at the Old Bailey, was over at Tyburn, the body of Cornelius Saunders, executed for stealing about 50*l.* out of the house of Mrs. White, in Lamb-street, Spitalfields, was carried and laid before her door; where, great numbers of people assembling, they at last grew so outrageous that a guard of soldiers was sent for to stop their proceedings; notwithstanding which they forced open the door, fetched out all the salmon-tubs, most of the household furniture, piled them on a heap and set fire to them, and, to prevent the guards from extinguishing the flames, pelted them off with stones, and would not disperse till the whole was consumed." Next year a similar scene was enacted:—"The criminal, condemned for returning from transportation at this sessions, and afterwards executed, addressed himself to the populace at Tyburn, and told them he could wish they would carry his body and lay it at the door of Mr. Parker, a butcher in the Minories, who it seems was the principal evidence against him; which being accordingly done, the mob behaved so riotously before the man's house that it was no easy matter to disperse them. In lighter matters the easily assembled and excited commonalty of London seems to have been animated with a reckless self-willed spirit of contradiction. Nothing delighted it so much as to take the punishment of a pickpocket or similar delinquent into its own hands, and duck the offender; except perhaps to rescue its victim from the police if they chanced in some moment of unwonted vigilance to lay hold of him, and, offended at the interference of the officers of regular justice with those of irregular justice, to allow him to escape.

Mobs and riots in a great city originate sometimes in the excessive good-humour of the populace, sometimes in their anger. The period now under review furnishes us with plentiful examples of both kinds. When a great crowd is drawn together by some festal occasion, merriment is contagious, and the spirits of the gay rise to a species of intoxication. Practical jokes, each striving to outdo its predecessor, succeed each other until the patience of some victim gives way, and, in the excited temper of the throng, sensitively alive to all impressions, produces a general fight; or some accident rendering a portion of the multitude uncomfortable produces a similar result. When incidents of this kind lead to serious tumults, it is a proof that the mass of the crowd are in that low stage of civilization in which coarseness of mind, and want of forethought and self-control, are the predominating characteristics. A tumult which commenced on Tower-hill on the 4th of June, 1763, is indicative of the state of the London populace in these respects at that time:—The people crowding through the postern gate to see the fire-works, the rails surrounding a well thirty feet deep gave way, and it was filled with the bodies of those falling in: six were taken up dead, fourteen or fifteen so mangled as

scarcely to be able to live, among them some women with child. "During the consternation occasioned by the accident a sailor had his pocket picked by a Jew, who, after undergoing the usual discipline of ducking, hopped out of the water, pretending to have his leg broke, and was carried off by some of his brethren. But the sailors, discovering the trick, and considering it as a cheat, pursued him to Duke's-place, where at first they were beaten off by the inhabitants, but presently returning with a fresh reinforcement they attacked the place, entered three houses, threw everything they met with out of the window, broke the glasses, tore the beds, and ripped up the wainscot, leaving the houses in the most ruinous condition. With the furniture three children sick of the small-pox were thrown out of the window, but happily received no damage."

In this disproportionate and misdirected ebullition of anger we recognise the sudden wayward transition from exuberant enjoyment to destructive anger which characterises children and imperfectly civilized communities. The riots of this period, which began as well as terminated in anger, are marked by the same features. The mob of London was as easily excited at this time as the faction-split Verona of the Capulets and Montagues. An attempt to commit a number of disorderly women of the town repeatedly occasioned serious riots among the sailors. The Spitalfields weavers whenever they were in distress made it known by means of a riot. "I mentioned the mob of weavers," said Horace Walpole, writing to Lord Hertford in 1765, "which had besieged the parliament and attacked the Duke of Bedford, and I thought no more of it; but, on Friday, a well-disciplined and, I fear, too well-conducted a multitude repaired again to Westminster, with red and black flags; the House of Lords, where not thirty were present, acted with no spirit,—examined Justice Fielding and the magistrates, and adjourned till to-day. At seven that evening a prodigious multitude assaulted Bedford-house and began to pull down the walls, and another party surrounded the garden, where there were but fifty men on guard, and would have forced their way if another party of guards that had been sent for had arrived five minutes later. . . . On Saturday all was quiet; the duchess was blooded, and everybody went to visit them. I hesitated, being afraid of an air of triumph; however, lest it should be construed the other way, I went last night at eight o'clock; in the square I found a great number, not of weavers, but seemingly of Sunday passengers. At the gate, guarded by grenadiers, I found so large a throng, that I not only had difficulty to make my way through in my chariot, but was hissed and pelted, and, in two minutes after, the glass of Lady Grosvenor's coach was broken, as those of Lady Cork's chair were demolished immediately afterwards. I found Bedford-house a perfect garrison sustaining a siege; the court full of horse-guards, constables, and gentlemen. I told the Duke that, however I might happen to differ with him in politics, this was a common cause, and that everybody must feel equal indignation at it. In the mean time the mob grew so riotous that they were forced to make both horse and foot parade the square before the tumult was dispersed." The riots of the sailors and coalheavers, as set on foot by ruder and more robust races of men, were more terrible, and, as directed against men more upon their own level, and obliged to resist them in some measure on equal terms, more frequently assumed the appearance of pitched battles. The political riots had this peculiarity—that they were generally commenced, or at least countenanced in the outset, by men of a somewhat better class, who, growing alarmed or disgusted at what themselves had set on foot, left it at the close to be worked out by all the rascality of the city. The Wilkes riots ushered in the present period, and the Lord George Gordon riots, like the grand crash in the finale of an opera, concluded it.

The favourite amusements of the lower orders received their character from the rudeness which they contributed to perpetuate and augment. Prize-fighting with swords rapidly declined, and may be considered extinct towards the close of the period; but the perhaps more brutal pleasure of standing and seeing men pound each other to jelly in boxing-matches was rapidly on the advance. Cock-fighting also continued to be in great vogue, and not confined to the lower orders. In June, 1761, we learn from the Annual Register, "Thomas Higginson was tried before his Majesty's justices of the peace for the city and liberty of Westminster on an indictment for a nuisance, *to wit*, for keeping a place in James's-street, near the Haymarket, to his lucre and gain, for boxing, cudgel-playing, cock-fighting, and other disorders, to the great nuisance of the neighbourhood; of which offence he being convicted, the court set a fine on him to his good behaviour for five years." Notwithstanding this and other efforts to abate this brutal practice, notices like the following are of frequent occurrence in the journals from 1760 to 1784:—"On the 13th instant (January, 1777), a match having been made to fight for five guineas a-side between James Cheanen, the noted bruiser of Lincoln, and Benjamin Wake, of Barnsly, in Yorkshire, in the first engagement Wake had the misfortune to break his arm; after which they fought for upwards of forty minutes, with various success, the odds being sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other; at last victory decided in favour of the Yorkshire-man. His second asking him why he did not use his other arm, he showed it to the company."

In attempting to sketch the manners of the wealthier classes we commenced with their household customs and proceeded to their public amusements. The necessity of the case obliges us to reverse the order of arrangement with regard to the lower classes. The poor man has scarcely any home, any domestic privacy. The public amusements of the rich derive their peculiarities in a great measure from the character which has been

stamped upon those who participate in them in their own domestic circles. The poor man carries into the brief time spent in his scarcely private home the character stamped upon him in the crowd of which he forms a part. Some fragmentary extracts from the early life of Lackington the bookseller, who was originally a shoemaker, will show what were the homes of even the best and most intelligent of the working classes at this time. In a month after his first arrival in London (August, 1774) he tells us—"I saved money sufficient to bring up my wife, and she had a pretty tolerable state of health; of my master I obtained some stuff shoes for her to bind, and nearly as much as she could do, and, as we had plenty of work and higher wages, we were tolerably easy in our circumstances, more so than we ever had been, so that we soon procured a few clothes. My wife had all her life before done very well with a superfine broadcloth cloak, but now I prevailed on her to have one of silk. Until this winter I had never found out that I wanted a *great-coat*, but now I made that important discovery, and my landlord showed me one, made of a coarse kind of Bath coating, which he had purchased new at a shop in Rosemary-lane for 10*s*., so that with the next half-guinea away I went to Rosemary-lane." A relation died about this time and left him 10*l*., a part of which he lost in bringing it from the country. "With the remainder of the money," he continues, "we purchased household goods, but, as we then had not sufficient to furnish a room, we worked hard and lived hard, so that in a short time we had a room furnished with our own goods, and I believe it is not possible for you to imagine with what pleasure and satisfaction we looked round the room and surveyed our property." In this state of prosperity, however, they were sometimes sore put to it for food. One Christmas they had only half-a-crown to purchase a dinner, and Lackington, going out to buy it, encountered Young's Night Thoughts at an old book-stall, and expended the whole sum upon it. Some time after this he ventured to rent a parlour and shop with a view to add a retail trade in old books to his shoemaking. "With this stock," he says (a bagful of old books, chiefly divinity, which he bought for a guinea), "and some odd scraps of leather, which, together with all my books, were worth about 5*l*., I opened shop on Midsummer-day, 1775, in Featherstone-street in the parish of St. Luke, and I was as well pleased in surveying my little shop with my name over it as was Nebuchadnezzar when he said, 'Is not this great Babylon that I have built?' and my good wife, after perceiving the pleasure that I took in my shop, piously cautioned me against setting my mind on the riches of this world, and assured me that it was all vanity. 'You are very right, my dear,' I sometimes replied; 'and, to keep our minds as spiritual as we can, we will always attend our class and board meetings, hear as many sermons, &c., at the Foundry on week-days as possible, and on sabbath-days we will mind nothing but the good of our souls: our small-beer shall be fetched in on Saturday nights, nor will we even dress a potato on the sabbath. We will still attend the preaching at five o'clock in the morning; at eight go to the prayer-meeting; at ten to the public worship at the Foundry; hear Mr. Perry at Cripplegate at two; be at the preaching at the Foundry at five; meet with the general society at six; meet in the united bands at seven; and again be at the prayer-meeting at eight; and then come home and read and pray by ourselves.'" Notwithstanding this alarming bill of performances, Lackington and his wife were neither morose nor ascetic. "I in the beginning," he says elsewhere, "opened and shut my own shop, welcomed a friend by a shake of the hand, at the same time beckoning across the way for a pot of good porter."

But on less happily constituted natures this constant standing on "poortith's brink" hardened the heart. The case of the Brownrigs, who by systematic cruelty murdered the girls apprenticed to them by parish workhouses, was by no means an isolated case. The sickening facts of domestic tyranny brought to light by the trial of the Metyards, mother and daughter, for the murder of an apprentice and the maltreatment of the rest, in 1762, were, if possible, even more revolting. These are extreme cases, but many of the same kind less aggravated are mentioned. A precarious state of existence awakens all the beast of prey in human nature: the cruelty perpetrated at first from callousness becomes a habit and a diseased source of pleasure. The accounts given in the course of the trials of the Brownrigs and Metyards of their domestic *ménage* prove to what extent a sluttish squalor might be visible in the houses of the lower classes, without leading people to suspect them of crime.

The manners of a great metropolitan city at any given period can only be imperfectly understood by becoming acquainted with the habits of the different classes of society it contains, unless the action and reaction of these classes upon each other be taken into account. In a great city, an immense multitude being crammed into a narrow space, the various classes are brought into a closeness of contact that renders it impossible for any one of them to remain unaffected by the peculiarities of others. The dependence of needy nobles upon the assistance and forbearance of moneyed men of low rank produces an intimacy unfavourable to both—engrafting meanness on the pride of the one, vanity on the vulgarity of the other. The denseness of the crowd furnishes concealment to the seekers of illicit enjoyment, and extreme poverty furnishes ministers to it. Literature, religion, and the arts provide more respectable occasions for bringing individuals of different classes into familiar intercourse. The manners of the British metropolis at the time we have in hand would be imperfectly appreciated without reference to those houses of equivocal character, the bagnios, which furnished places of rendezvous to persons of both sexes; and to the perverted taste, not yet obsolete, which carried a natu-

ral curiosity on the part of the more refined members of society to witness the ruder amusements of the poor to such a fantastic excess as to imbrute them with a passion for the ring and the cockpit. The necessity under which all classes were placed by the insufficiency of the police arrangements of being able in some degree to protect themselves contributed to keep alive a temper which gave a character to the quarrels of the class which acknowledges the code of honour as its chief guide different from what now prevails. Swords were still worn by the better class, and quarrels were often decided on the spot where they took place, which, now that the habit of carrying arms has become obsolete, is impossible. Among men accustomed to look to the use of arms as necessary to their security, even the formal duels, deliberately arranged beforehand, were more savage than those of the present day. They were more unsophisticated expressions of personal hatred and a desire to do harm than those of our days, in which two men, accustomed to leave to the police the labour of redressing more than half their injuries, meet less from personal animosity than because it is a custom they cannot well get over. So ferocious a duel as that between Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Mr. Matthews could scarcely occur at present. The custom, then not uncommon, of arming the combatants both with sword and pistol, and leaving them to the uncontrolled dictates of their animosity, as also the practice of meeting unattended by seconds, would now be regarded as savage. On the whole, the metropolitan manners, during the first quarter-century of the reign of George III., though decidedly more refined and animated by a purer morality than characterised the age that preceded it, were still tinged with considerable grossness and turbulence.

The manners of every nation are to a certain extent derived from its capital, but in proportion to its extent, the number of heterogeneous populations inhabiting it, and the greater or less degree of self-dependence developed by its institutions in the inhabitants of the provinces, will be the local varieties. The best method of conveying to the reader a notion of the more important diversities of provincial manners will be to trace, first, which was peculiar to each district, and then the degree to which this local tone was modified by intercourse with the metropolis. The local peculiarities will be most clearly stated by adhering to the arrangement adopted in sketching the manners of the metropolis: the modifications by adopting an arrangement suggested by a review of the leading channels of communication between the metropolitan and provincial populations.

The most important local differences in the provincial manners of England had their origin in the varied circumstances of a rural or town population. The town populations differed also according as the towns were the seats of commerce, or provincial capitals like York, or the universities. Here is the place for noticing the influence of the clergy upon manners. In London it was less felt amid a dense, excited, and ever-shifting crowd. Even the bishops seem to have felt the attractions of gay society too strong. Dr. Johnson has some pithy remarks on the subject, and George III. found or thought it necessary to remonstrate with Archbishop Cornwallis on his excessive gaiety. The literary history of the age is full of instances—sometimes ludicrous, sometimes painful—of the strange shifts to which the poorer clergy were sometimes reduced in London. In the provinces the influence of clerical manners was more felt, especially in and around Oxford and Cambridge, which were almost ecclesiastical establishments, the seats of clerical education, and the goals to which most of the ablest minds who there received their education steadily looked as the ultimate object of their highest ambition. In the universities the peculiarities of the Anglican clerical character were more sharply preserved than at the metropolitan palaces of Lambeth or York, for the clergymen in London sought to get rid of what was deemed the pedantry of the profession. In York something of the same kind took place to a less degree, that city having become a winter residence for those of the nobility and gentry who felt an annual journey to, and residence in, London too expensive. But "in the quadrangles of Oxford the churchman walked gowned," and the influence of the impressions received there remained indelible upon the clergyman even when lost among the multitudes of London, and to a still greater extent when his lot was cast in the country. The circumstance too that almost all the nobility and gentry were educated at the universities predisposed them to take a certain tone from their intercourse with the higher ranks of the clergy. Boswell's description of the establishment of Johnson's friend, Dr. Taylor, is a good sketch of the way of life of a wealthy well-beneficed clergyman: —"Dr. Taylor's large roomy post-chaise, drawn by four stout plump horses, and driven by two steady jolly postilions, conveyed us to Ashbourne, where I found my friend's schoolfellow living upon an establishment perfectly corresponding with his substantial creditable equipage: his house, pleasure-ground, in short everything good, and no scantiness appearing. . . . Dr. Taylor had a good estate of his own, and good preferment in the church, being a prebendary of Westminster and rector of Bosworth. He was a diligent justice of the peace, and presided over the town of Ashbourne, to the inhabitants of which I was told he was very liberal: and as a proof of this it was mentioned to me he had the preceding winter distributed 200*l.* among such of them as stood in need of his assistance. . . . . His size, figure, and countenance and manner were that of a hearty English squire with the parson superinduced: and I took particular notice of his upper-servant, Mr. Peters, a decent grave man in purple clothes, and a large white wig, like the butler or major-domo of a bishop." Cumberland's account of his own father's establishment, at a time a little anterior to that which we are at present treating of, corresponds in its leading features

with the sketch of Ashbourne:—"The parsonage-house of Stanwick was a handsome square of four equal fronts, built of stone, containing four rooms on a floor, with a gallery running through the centre; it was seated on the declivity of a gentle hill, with the village to the south among trees and pasture-grounds in view, and a small stream in the valley between: on the north, west, and south were gardens, on the east the church at some little distance, and in the intermediate space an excellent range of stables and coach-houses built by my father, and forming one side of a square court, laid out for the approach of carriages to the house. My father spared no expense to keep his church not only in that neatness and decorum which befits the house of prayer, but also in a perfect state of good and permanent repair. . . . . He was in the commission of the peace, and a very active magistrate in the reconcilement of parties rather than in the commitment of persons: in these quiet parts offences were in general trivial, and the differences merely such as an attorney could contrive to keep a suit upon, so that, with a very little legal knowledge, and a very hospitable generous disposition, my father rarely failed to put contentious spirits to peace by reference to the kitchen and the cellar. In the mean time his popularity rose in proportion as his beer-barrels sank, and as often as he made peace he made friends. . . . . He was light and elegant in his person, and had in his early youth kept horses and rode matches at Newmarket after the example of his elder brother; but, though his profession had now put a stop to those levities, he shared in a pack of harriers with a neighbouring gentleman and was a bold and excellent rider." All were not thus comfortable. Percival Stockdale incidentally mentions in his Memoirs that about 1750 the only servant in the house of his father, a clergyman, not in very opulent circumstances, was "the daughter of a deceased clergyman;" and most readers must have been struck with the frequency with which the boast of being a clergyman's daughter is put by Fielding in the mouths of his female servants. Mr. Wordsworth has at once furnished us with an explanation of this anomaly, and a beautiful picture of the domestic manners of a noble specimen of the poorer class of clergymen, in his notice of the Rev. Robert Walker, who held the chapelry of Seathwaite in Cumberland from 1736 to 1802. Previous to 1760 the annual income of his chapel was 17*l.* 10*s.*, with a free house and garden valued at 4*l.*, and surplice fees to the amount it might be of 3*l.* more. In that year it was augmented, land being purchased for that purpose with 800*l.* His household is thus described by an eye-witness:—"Going into his house I found him sitting at the head of a long square table, such as is commonly used in this country by the lower class of people, dressed in a coarse blue frock, trimmed with black horn buttons; a checked shirt, a leathern strap about his neck for a stock, a coarse apron, and a pair of great wooden-soled shoes, plated with iron to preserve them (what we call clogs in these parts), with a child upon his knee, eating his breakfast; his wife and the remainder of his children were some of them employed in waiting on each other, the rest in spinning and teasing wool, at which he is a great proficient; and moreover, when it is ready made, he will lay it, by sixteen or thirty-two pounds weight, upon his back, and on foot seven or eight miles will carry it to the market even in the depth of winter." Mr. Walker, while drawing only 17*l.* a-year from his curacy, declined to accept of another small benefice in addition, lest he should be suspected of cupidity; he gave his children a good education, and left 2000*l.* at his death; and yet "he was even munificent in hospitality as parish priest. Every Sunday were served upon the long table, at which he has been described sitting with a child upon his knee, messes of broth, for the refreshment of those of his congregation who came from a distance, and usually took their seats as part of his own household. A high price of self-denial was paid by the pastor and his family for this gratification; as the treat could only be provided by dressing at one time the whole perhaps of their allowance of fresh animal food; consequently for a succession of days the table was covered with cold victuals only." This is the Man of Ross and the Vicar of Wakefield united in one person. There were exceptions among the clergy, but in general the effects of an education calculated to refine the taste and sharpen the intellect, and the necessity of preserving a certain external decorum, kept them steady. The value of such a class scattered over the whole country in promoting the civilization of all classes with whom they were brought in contact is apparent.

The mansions of the nobility, who, as has been repeatedly observed, scarcely differ at this period from the country gentlemen except in their greater wealth, displayed a decided taste for elegant luxury. The apartments were numerous, symmetrically arranged, spacious, and well proportioned. On five noblemen's houses—Holkham, Houghton, Blenheim, Wilton, and Wanstead—which Arthur Young visited in 1767, he makes the following remarks, which throw some light upon the tastes and favourite amusements of their proprietors:—"Blenheim hall and library, Wilton saloon, and Holkham statue-gallery, are the finest rooms in these houses. . . . . A ball-room is found at Holkham alone. Holkham chapel is preferable to that at Blenheim. . . . . No house I have yet seen is perfect, by many degrees. Suppose one were to be formed out of all these: take the shell of Holkham, and imagine it to contain Blenheim hall and library, Wilton saloon, Wanstead ball-room and large dining-room, besides everything it has already; it would be infinitely finer than it is, but still it would want a music-room and a picture-gallery. The last is an infinite addition to a great house, but the former is indispensable." Only one of the houses mentioned had a music-room; but valuable collections of paintings by noblemen and

private gentlemen were at this time to be found in almost every county in England. Good libraries too were not uncommon. Much expense was bestowed upon the gardens and ornamental grounds in the vicinity of their mansions: the hermitage and grotto seem to have been held indispensable appendages. In the grounds at Hagley were an artificial ruin and a "temporary" cascade; at Chatsworth a waterwork with a concealed spring, which, upon touching, spouted out water from every bough of a willow-tree. The appearance of Sir John Throckmorton's grounds must be familiar to all from the writings of Cowper. Young, in the work we have just quoted, gives a pleasing account of ornamental grounds at Cobham in Surrey, and Persfield on the Wye, but too diffuse for quotation. What follows from the same author is a description of the plaything of a Norfolk lady:—"Mrs. Styleman has formed some exceeding pretty plantations. A stream is managed with true taste; naturally it is only a ditch, but where this lady has improved it it is a winding stream of clear water, and the greatest ornament to her plantations. On one part of its banks she has a very neat circular cottage for breakfasting, and near it a menagerie with a great variety of birds; in this part of the stream are all sorts of water-fowl. From her menagerie you cross the stream and pass along its winding banks to the grotto, which is very prettily contrived out of a boat by cutting it in halves and fixing it together with a little addition. It is stuck full of spar, shells, sea-weed, coral, glass, ore, &c.; all dispersed with taste and elegancy. The front is pretty, but too regular, and not rustic enough, composed of the same materials on a ground of powdered sea-shells stuck in cement. The situation is very pretty, by the side of a stream, close to a small cascade, and in the shade of several large weeping willows." A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Clifton seems to have thought the grotto alone insufficient:—"You enter the grotto underground through a dark arched passage, which has much of the air of a wine-vault: on opening the door, the first object which strikes you is a den, with the statue of a lion in it." The hermitage was a plaything of the same kind: that of a lady, a neighbour of Mrs. Styleman, we are told, "is a little cottage of two rooms situated in one of her plantations of shrubs and firs. The first room is walled with oyster-shells, the white side outwards, and the brown edges filed off; the pavement of clean small pebbles; the chimney-piece of grotto shell-work: the ceiling is papered, and at one end is the hermit's bed, a boarded one painted, with painted canvass curtains." These are not the tastes of *citizens*, time out of mind the satirist's stale jest, but of well-born ladies and gentlemen: they betoken the childishness of a backward civilization. Mrs. Robinson gives a lively picture of the *ménage* of her husband's father, one of the class of landowners whom trade had enriched in Wales:—"Mr. Harris was then building the family mansion, and resided in a pretty little decorated cottage, which was afterwards converted into domestic offices. Miss Robinson, my husband's sister, though not more than twenty years of age, was stiff in her deportment; she wore a gaudy-coloured chintz gown, a thrice-bordered cap with a profusion of ribbons, and her countenance was somewhat more ruddy than was consistent even with pure health. Mr. Harris looked like a venerable *Hawthorn*; a narrow fustian coat, a scarlet waistcoat edged with narrow gold, a pair of woollen spatter-dashes, and a gold-laced hat, formed the dress he generally wore. He always rode a Welsh pony, and was seldom in the house, except at eating-time, from sunrise to the close of the evening. There was yet another personage in the domestic establishment, who was by Mr. Harris regarded as of no small importance: this was a venerable housekeeper. She was the female Mentor of the family; she dined at the table with Mr. Harris; she was the governess of the family." The house, we are told, had marble chimney-pieces, but contained no books, and only an old gingling spinnet. "I was condemned either to drink ale with 'the squire,' for Mr. Harris was only spoken of by that title, or to visit the Methodistical seminary which Lady Huntingdon had established at Trevecca. Miss Robinson was of that sect: Mr. Harris was a constant church visitor on Sunday. His zeal was indefatigable; he would frequently fine the rustics (for he was a justice of the peace, and had been sheriff of the county) when he heard them swear, though every third sentence he uttered was attended by an oath that made his hearers shudder."

In the eastern and midland counties a new race of gentlemen, corresponding to the tradesmen with enormous capitals in the metropolis, was rising into notice. Young mentions that in Norfolk the annual rents of farms oscillated between 300*l.* and 900*l.*, the size of the farms from 1000 to 3000 acres; that the annual revenues of the farmers varied from 1300*l.* to 3000*l.*; "that a long lease of a Norfolk farm was infinitely preferable to the fee-simple of it; and that there was the greatest prospect of seeing this kingdom a land of yeomanry." The Essex farmers were men of whom many possessed lands to the value of 300*l.* or 400*l.* or 500*l.* a-year, besides what they rented of others. This class was intelligent and enterprising, and aspired to rank rather among the gentry than the yeomanry. Johnson and Boswell met one at Dr. Taylor's who played the fiddle for the entertainment of the company. A conversation which occurred between him and Johnson is illustrative of his class—spirited and independent, but deficient in polish. "The gentleman farmer," says Boswell, "attempted to dispute with Johnson in favour of Mungo Campbell, who shot Alexander Earl of Eglinton, upon his having fallen, when retreating from his lordship, who he believed was about to seize his gun as he had threatened to do. He said he would have done just as Campbell did. Johnson—'Whoever would do as Campbell did deserves to be hanged; not that I could, as a jury-

man, have found him legally guilty of murder; but I am glad they found means to convict him.' The farmer said, 'A poor man has as much honour as a rich man; and Campbell had *that* to defend.' Johnson exclaimed, 'A poor man has no honour.' The English yeoman, not dismayed, proceeded: 'Lord Eglinton was a damned fool to run in upon Campbell after being warned that Campbell would shoot him if he did.' Johnson, who could not bear anything like swearing, angrily replied, 'He was not a *damned* fool: he only thought too well of Campbell. He did not believe Campbell would be such a *damned* scoundrel as to do so *damned* a thing.' His emphasis on *damned*, accompanied with frowning looks, reproved his opponent's want of decorum in *his* presence." The majority of the farmers, however, lived in a less aspiring style. It appears, from the evidence in a trial for murder which occurred early in the reign of George III., that the murdered man, a farmer in comfortable but not opulent circumstances, lived in a two-story house, which had on the ground floor a kitchen and parlour, upstairs two bed-rooms, the entry to one of which was through the other; and that, in an addition built to the back of the house, there were two rooms on the upper story, one for the female servants, connected with the house, another for the hinds, entered by an outer stair. The farmer appears to have been in the habit of drinking brandy and water when making merry, and the servants to have lived nearly on a footing of equality with the family.

The labourers were in many parts of the country not entirely dependent upon agricultural industry. The factory system had not yet concentrated manufactures into crowded towns in the districts where minerals abound. In the midland counties of England, in the valley of the Severn, and the south-western counties, domestic manufactures were generally diffused, maintaining a mixed race of agricultural and manufacturing labourers. In Essex Young says he found, in 1767, the weaving of *calimancoes* and burying-crapes, and the preparatory step of wool-combing, chiefly for the London market, *giving* employment to whole families; women, and girls of seven or eight years of age, being thus enabled to contribute to the family expenses. In Oxfordshire he found them manufacturing kerseys, coarse bear-skins, and blankets for the American market; women, girls, and old women of sixty or seventy finding employment in various parts of the process. In manufactures of flannels and linseys around Salisbury and Romsey "children were employed when very young." All these processes were carried on in the weavers' houses by the united efforts of the families, and the individuals resided sometimes in small country towns, sometimes in the open country. At Gloucester and Bristol there were pin-manufactories, in which large numbers of men and women, employed in pin-making, were gathered together in large shops. At Neath, Swansea, and Bristol, large numbers of men were employed in the copper-works. In Birmingham Watt and Bolton had given a greater extension to works employing large numbers of men under one roof. In Lancashire the commencement of the factory system had been made. In the counties of Durham and Northumberland the rough but not unintelligent pitmen, in Cornwall the miners, gave the tone to the working classes. Wherever domestic manufactures were introduced the comparatively easy circumstances of the labouring classes had communicated to them a greater degree of softness and intelligence: the system of aggregated labour in factories had not been carried far enough to develop its peculiar influences: the miners and pitmen were a coarse and daring race, but intelligent from the nature of their pursuits, and accustomed to combine for a common purpose. In those parts of the country where no manufactures of any kind existed the peasantry were loutish and unintelligent. Along the sea-coast two circumstances contributed to harden and demoralise the lower classes—the universal practice of "wrecking," and the great prevalence of smuggling, aggravated at the commencement of this period by engrafting the privateer, or licensed pirate, upon the characters formed by addiction to these practices. The southern, eastern, and north-western coasts of the island were most haunted by smugglers. About 1760 Lackington describes the manner of living in a poor family in the West of England, of which the father was rather addicted to drinking, thus:—"Out of love to her family the mother totally abstained from every kind of liquor, water excepted; her food was chiefly broth (little better than water and oatmeal), turnips, potatoes, cabbage, and carrots. Her children fared something better, but not much." Of another family, in rather better circumstances, he tells us—"They carefully attended to their shop six days in the week, and on the seventh went to an Anabaptists' meeting, where little attention was paid to speculative doctrines, but where sound morality was constantly inculcated. . . . . My master's whole library consisted of a school-size Bible, Watts's Psalms and Hymns, Foot's tract on Baptism, Culpepper's Herbal, the History of the Gentle Craft, an old imperfect volume of Receipts in Physic, Surgery, &c., and the Ready Reckoner. . . . . Every morning, at all seasons of the year, my master rose about three o'clock, took a walk by the river's side, round Trenchmane-fields, stopped at some place or other to drink a pint of ale, came back before six o'clock, and called up his people to work, and went to bed again about seven." Lackington, however, elsewhere mentions that previous to the American war there were few books to be found among this class:—"The poorer sort of farmers, and even the poor country people in general, spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, and hobgoblins." These amusements produced the effect that might have been anticipated: many incidents during this period show the coarseness and superstition that pervaded the class of country labourers. The following is simply

ludicrous:—In February, 1759, we read in the Annual Register for that year—"One Susannah Hannokes, an elderly woman, of Wingrove, near Aylesbury, was accused by a neighbour for bewitching her spinning-wheel so that she could not make it go round, who offered to make oath of it before a magistrate; on which the husband of the party accused, in order to justify his wife, insisted that she should be tried by the church Bible, and that the accuser should be present. Accordingly she was conducted to the parish church, where she was stripped of all her clothes to her shift and undercoat, and weighed against the Bible; when, to the no small mortification of her accuser, she outweighed it, and was honourably acquitted of the charge." But the assaults upon the Leicestershire witches in the following year were atrocious:—"1760, June 22. They write from Glen, in Leicestershire, that on Wednesday se'nnight last a dispute arose between two old women of that town, one of whom called the other witch, and, she affirming that she was no more a witch than herself, a challenge ensued, and they both agreed to be dipped by way of trial. They accordingly stripped to their shifts, had their thumbs and great toes tied with a cart-rope across their middles, and suffered themselves to be thrown into a pool of water. One of them is said to have sunk, while the other continued struggling on the surface, which the mob called swimming, and deemed an infallible sign of her being a witch, insisting upon her impeaching her accomplices in the craft. She accordingly told them that in the neighbouring village of Burton there were several other old women as much witches as she was. These suspicions being confirmed by a *student in astrology*, or *white witch*, who was referred to on account of a young woman said to be afflicted with an uncommon disorder, and presumed to be bewitched, the mob repaired next day to Burton, and, after a little consultation, proceeded to the old woman's house upon whom they had fixed the strongest suspicion. The poor old creature, on their approach, locked the house-door, and went into a chamber, and from the window asked what they wanted. They informed her that she was charged with being guilty of witchcraft, which they were come to try her for by ducking; remonstrating at the same time upon the necessity there was of her giving proof whether she was a witch or no. Upon her persisting in a positive refusal to come down they broke open the house, went into the chamber, carried her down stairs, and by force took her to a deep gravel-pit full of water, tied her thumbs and toes as above, and then threw her in, where they kept her during pleasure. The same day the mob tried the experiment upon another poor old woman, and on Thursday a third underwent the same discipline. Several of the ringleaders in this riot have been apprehended and carried before a justice: two of them have been bound over to the sessions, and others ordained to pay small fines." Afterwards, under date of July 22nd, we read—"At the general quarter sessions for Leicester two persons concerned in ducking for witches the poor old women in Glen and Burton Avery were sentenced to stand in the pillory twice and lie in gaol one month. No longer ago than 1751, at Tring, in Hertfordshire, a mob of the same nature had murdered by ducking, to try whether they were witches, two poor harmless people, aged about 70, for which one of the offenders was soon after tried and hanged."

Amid this ignorance, however, gleams of higher aspirations from time to time broke forth. Biographies of the self-taught schoolmasters of this period would afford interesting illustrations under this head. The free-schools were generally sought after by the less fortunate *alumni* of the universities; and in secluded rural districts the offices of curate and schoolmaster were not unfrequently combined. But instances occur of individuals who without the advantages of a regular education contrived to acquire considerable stores of knowledge. These persons generally betook themselves to teaching as the only means by which they could render their acquirements available towards procuring them a livelihood; but even when they did not commence pedagogues their example stimulated the curiosity of their neighbours and proved a commencement of intellectual culture in the vicinity. The eminent mathematician, Thomas Simpson, was first led to the study of mathematics by the prediction of a pedlar, who was a professor of judicial astrology, or, as such a person is termed in the preceding extract, a "white witch," that the young man, if he would engage in that mystic study, would infallibly come to be even more learned and distinguished than himself. Simpson even practised the art for some time, but his native strength of mind emancipated him from the delusion even before he was brought into personal contact with more enlightened men. The two most extraordinary men of this class, both of whom survived till the accession of George III., though strictly speaking they belong to the preceding age, are Robert Hill, the learned tailor, a native of Hertfordshire, and during great part of his life a resident in Buckinghamshire, and the notorious Eugene Aram. Both were characterised by an intense craving for intellectual exertion; both stored up an amount of knowledge which, considering their circumstances, is astonishing. The better-balanced mind of Hill preserved him from crime, though his knowledge did not emancipate him from the prejudices of his age. Aram's guilt is in some degree indicative of the state of feeling among his contemporaries. It is not uncommon to find the consciousness of superior knowledge prompting to its abuse, and this might account for his swindling propensities; callous he must have been by nature, or he could not have carried his purposes into effect and lived so untouched by remorse as he seems to have done; but this callousness was confirmed by that general disregard of human suffering which characterises all communities in a low stage of civilization, and that strongly marked the lower orders in

Great Britain about the time of the death of George II.

Amid the comparative torpor of rural society, the large manufacturing towns, some of the episcopal sees, and the fashionable watering-places were centres of a greater activity calculated to promote a higher civilization. In the large manufacturing towns the cultivation not merely of manual dexterity but of the observation and reflection required by the processes he is engaged in, as well as a taste for small luxuries engendered by higher wages, raises the artisan above the country clown. Wealth, and pride in its being self-acquired, together with the *development* of intellectual powers, in like manner raise the successful manufacturer above the class to which he originally belongs. Much narrow-mindedness and coarseness are compatible with these advantages, but among the middle classes in the large manufacturing towns of England these deficiencies were remedied by the influence of dissent. When a rural district became on a sudden a populous town under the influence of manufactures, the parish clergyman was lost in the crowd; but those who had been trained in the inquiring habits and strict moral observance of the dissenters were generally most successful in life, and with them their sect and their clergymen rose into consequence in the new society. "I have always loved," says Boswell, "the simplicity of manners and the spiritual-mindedness of the Quakers;" and the remark was elicited by the family picture he witnessed in the house of Mr. Lloyd of Birmingham. Price and Priestley are examples of the class of cultivated intellects to be found among the dissenting clergy: and their pastoral intercourse with their congregations has always been on a very intimate footing. A short anecdote in Boswell presents a pleasing picture of the Birmingham of his day:—"I shall never forget Mr. Bolton's expression to me when I visited his great works at Soho; 'I sell here, sir, what all the world desires to have—POWER.' He had about seven hundred people at work. I contemplated him as an *iron chieftain*, and he seemed to be a father to his tribe. One of them came to him, complaining grievously of his landlord for having distrained his goods. 'Your landlord is in the right, Smith' (said Bolton); 'but I'll tell you what: find you a friend who will lay down half your rent, and I'll lay down the other half, and you shall have your goods again.'" The influence of the dissenting clergy was confined however to the middle classes and the better conditioned class of artisans. The spirit of proselytism, characteristic chiefly of new sects, had ceased; some men were born dissenters, as others were born churchmen. The growing wealth of the dissenting congregations accelerated this growing passiveness. The dissenters were becoming merely a secondary establishment, and, like the principal one, were leaving the classes below the skilled artisan to grow up in a state of nature—a neglect the result of which began to be felt at a later period.

In Boswell's narrative of the tour in which he visited Birmingham we find a nicely contrasted picture of the clerical residence in Lichfield, which may serve as a specimen both of that class of towns and of the mere country towns. "Very little business appeared to be going forward in Lichfield. . . . 'Surely, sir,' said I, 'you are an idle set of people.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'we are a city of philosophers; we work with our heads, and make the boobies of Birmingham work with their hands.'" This answer is one of Johnson's felicitous half-sincere half-playful expressions of a natural prejudice: the feeling it implies still predominates in every old county capital which feels itself eclipsed by the vanity of some upstart flourishing seat of manufacture. Lichfield had its courtly circle, composed of such persons as the literary Mr. Seward, who "was canon residentiary and inhabited the bishop's palace;" Mrs. Lucy Porter, with her fortune of 10,000*l.* and her fine house; Mrs. Aston, a maiden lady of an old country family; Peter Garrick, the brother of David, who "verified Johnson's saying, that, if he had cultivated gaiety as much as his brother David, he might have equally excelled in it;" and who was "quite a London narrator, telling us a variety of anecdotes with that earnestness and attempt at mimicry which we usually find in the wits of the metropolis." Among this circle the dinner-hour was two o'clock, and tea and coffee parties were frequent in the evening. The picture would be incomplete if "Mr. Richard Green, apothecary," were omitted, with his museum in which "he had all the articles accurately arranged, with their names upon the labels, printed at his own little press, and on the staircase leading to it a board with the names of contributors marked in gold letters." Mr. Jackson, an old schoolfellow of Dr. Johnson, is a specimen of the plebeians. "He seemed a low man, dull and untaught: he had a coarse grey coat, black waistcoat, greasy leather breeches, and a yellow uncurled wig, and his countenance had the ruddiness which betokens one who is in no haste to 'leave his can.' He drank only ale; he had tried to be a cutter at Birmingham, but had not succeeded, and now he lived poorly at home and had some scheme of dressing leather in a better manner than common."

The fashionable watering-places, but especially Bath and Tunbridge, were chapels of ease for the metropolis. They were the summer retreats of the fashionable world, and of singers, musicians—all who ministered to fashionable luxury. On the other hand, many to whom the expense of metropolitan gaiety was too great flocked thither to mingle with the gay throng on less extravagant terms. The two resorts that have been named, together with Scarborough and others of lesser note, were missionary stations where the manners of the court were studied and imitated with more or less success by those who were to carry them into all the rural and commercial districts of England. Of invalids there was a sufficient store, and attention to their condition contributed to give a peculiar

tone to the society of the places. Many, for whom the country was too dull and the bustle of the metropolis too stimulating, took up their permanent abode at Bath or Tunbridge. The close approximation of mercantile wealth, and the still more uncouth possessors of large fortunes sprung from the western colonies or returned from the buccaneering wars of India, induced the "people of quality" about the year 1770 to seclude themselves in some measure from the herd. At Bath an attempt was made by the nobility to get up subscription balls from which commoners were almost entirely excluded, and some of their number affected to avoid frequenting the public rooms. The effort was in vain, and indeed had been rendered unnecessary by the fantastic but not useless royalty of Nash, Derrick, and their successors. It is but justice to these mimic monarchs to admit that their authority at Bath and Tunbridge contributed to introduce a greater amount of decorum into general society than had existed before them. Rather indecorous episodes did however happen at times, quite equalling the breakfast scene in Humphry Clinker. A scene of this kind which occurred at the opening of the New Assembly-rooms, Bath, in 1771, with a *ridotto* (which is defined by a writer of that day "an entertainment of music and dancing, *where* the company are regaled with all kinds of sweetmeats, macarons, choice wines, fruit, &c.), has been described in verse not altogether unworthy of the subject, in the character of one of the waiters:—

"But—silence, ye hautboys! ye fiddles, be dumb!
Ye dancers, stop instant—*the hour* is come;
The great—the all-wonderful hour of *eating!*
That hour for which ye all know you've been waiting.
Well, the doors were unbolted, and in they all rush'd;
They crowded, they jockied, they jostled, and push'd:
Thus at a mayor's feast a disorderly mob
Breaks in after dinner to plunder and rob.
I mean not by this to reflect on the gentry,
I'd only illustrate the *mode* of their *entry;*
For certain I am they meant no such foul play,
But only were wishing to help us away;
I believe too their hurry in clearing the platters
Was all in compassion to us the poor waiters.
In London I'm sure I've been kept many hours
In dangling attendance with sweetmeats and flowers;
But *here*, as if studious to ease us of trouble,
Each guest play'd his part as if he'd paid double;
In files they march'd up to the sideboards, while each
Laid hands upon all the good things in his reach:
There stuck to his part, cramm'd while he was able,
And then carried off all he could from the table;
Our outworks they storm'd with prowess most manful,
And jellies and cakes carried off by the handful;
While some our lines enter'd with courage undaunted,
Nor quitted the breach till they got what they wanted.
* * * * * *
However the viands went off at such rate,
A lady's toupee often knock'd down a plate,
And many confess'd a fat citizen's belly
A terrible stop to the progress of jelly;
While salvers of biscuits around their ears flew,
O'erturn'd by the whisk of an officer's queue;
And thus in ten minutes one half of the treat
Made a pretty check carpet squash'd under their feet.
Oh, 'twas pleasing to see a collection of beaux
Parading with large macarons on their toes;
Or a delicate nymph give a languishing reel
On a marmalade kissing her little French heel.
So, you see, my dear Hal, they bore all things before 'em,
And trampled on sweetmeats as well as decorum."

The manner of life of the visitors of Bath has been smartly sketched by Lord Chesterfield:—"October 27.—Little company appeared at the pump; those that were there drank the waters of affliction for the departure of Lady Suffolk and Mrs. Blount. . . . . Amoretto (the Hon. William Herbert) went upon Lansdowne to evaporate his grief for the loss of his Parthenissa (Mrs. Blount), in memory of whom, and the wind being cold into the bargain, he tied his handkerchief over his hat and looked very sadly. In the evenings the usual tea-table met at Lindsey's. Amoretto's main action was at our table, but episodically he took pieces of bread and butter and cups of tea at about ten others. He laughed his way through the girls out of the long room into the little one, where he *tallied* till he swore, and swore till he went home,—and probably some time afterwards. . . . . October 30.—Nash gave a ball at Lindsey's, where Mr. Foster appeared for the first time, and was noticed by Mr. Herbert; he wore his gold-laced clothes on the occasion, and looked so fine, that, standing by chance in the middle of the dancers, he was taken by many at a distance for a gilt garland. He (Herbert) concluded his evening as usual with basset and blasphemy. . . . . October 31.—The Countess of Burlington bespoke the play, as you may see by the enclosed original bill; the audience consisted of seventeen souls, of whom I made one. . . . . November 2.—Mrs. Hamilton bespoke the play at night, which we all interested ourselves so much to fill, that there were as many people turned back as let in: it was so hot that the Countess of Burlington could not stay it out, &c." In addition to the pleasures of plays, dancing, eating, and drinking, the frequenters of Bath at this time had the poetical contests at Mrs. Millar's Parnassus of Bath Easton, and genteel Methodism. Horace Walpole's account of the splendid chapel in which Wesley attended but did not officiate—the raised platform in a recess for the arm-chair of the patriarch—the mahogany, brass, gilding, and all other adornments—forms a strange contrast with Lackington's account of the missionaries of Moorfields, and affords a curious illustration of the capacity of Methodism for becoming all things to all men. The same lively writer has a delightful mock heroic account of Mrs. Millar's literary festivals; but Tickell's picture of them is less generally known:—

"On a spruce pedestal of Wedgwood ware,
Where motley forms and tawdry emblems glare,
Behold, she consecrates to cold applause
A petrifaction work'd into a vase—
The vase of sentiment! . . . .
In just degree, the goddess hails their toils,
Bows for a distich, for a stanza smiles;
Familiar nods an epigram attend,
An ode will almost rank you as a friend:
A softer name fond elegy bestows,
But nearest to her heart a sonnet flows."

One of the heroes of this minikin *Académie* is drawn in a manner to immortalise both himself and the amusements of his associates,—"the little scholiast of the female wits:"—

"Tired of conjecture and perplex'd with doubt,
To him they fly—to make a riddle out;
To pierce a paragraph's mysterious veil,
And eke out scandal's hesitating tale.
With conscious pride the flippant witling shares
His motley task of miscellaneous cares;
Expands *charades*, through close detraction pries,
Construes *initials*, and the *blanks* supplies.
And oft, with varied art, his thoughts digress
On deeper themes—the documents of dress;

> With nice discernment, to each style of face
> Adapt a ribbon, or suggest a lace;
> O'er Granby's cap bid loftier feathers float,
> And add new bows to Devon's petticoat."

The races were another link of communication between the gay world of the metropolis and the residents in the provinces. "People separate," says Horace Walpole, speaking of the close of the season, "some to Tunbridge, and some to all the horse-races in England." And—"The beginning of October one is certain that everybody will be at Newmarket, and the Duke of Cumberland lose, and Shafto win, 2000*l.* or 3000*l.*" An incident noticed in the Annual Register for 1756 bespeaks *the* deep interest taken in the turf by the fair-sex about the beginning of this period: "May 3.—A young lady, who at Newmarket had laid a considerable wager that she would ride 1000 miles in 1000 hours, finished her match in two-thirds of the time. At her coming in the country people strewed flowers in her way."

Assize balls and elections helped to keep open a communication between the metropolis and the provinces, aiding in the diffusion of a general similarity of manners and customs throughout England. The intercourse of mercantile business had less influence in this way. It remains only, before passing on to the next division of the subject—the state of manners in Scotland—to notice the influence of the military profession. The organisation of the militia, and the practice of assembling the contingent for each county in a camp for a certain number of days every year, kept alive a military spirit in the body of the people. Cowper has a dismal version of the influence of this practice upon popular morals; but, while it is extremely questionable whether it rendered the clowns less moral, it certainly rendered them more intelligent. There are one or two scenes of camp life in Boswell's Johnson, and Gibbon's reminiscence of his campaigns in the Hampshire militia is familiar to everybody. The tone of society in the army does not seem to have been so elevated or refined about the commencement of George III.'s reign as what now prevails. This is not astonishing, considering that noblemen not unfrequently contrived to promote their menials to the rank of subaltern officers, and that the pay was quite inadequate to support that class in the style of gentlemen. The high-grade officer belonged to a different *caste* from the subalterns. Perceval Stockdale has some anecdotes illustrative of the privations this class had frequently to endure—among others, his own pedestrian journeys when not on a march, the consequence of sheer inability to meet the expense of any other mode of travelling. His narrative explains a startling incident narrated in an early volume of the Annual Register:—"A farmer passing along Budgley Common on the 18th of January, between Southampton and Redbridge, seeing a man with a blue coat, red waistcoat, and red plush breeches, very ragged, lying on the ground in a very weak condition, took him into his waggon, carried him to his house, and gave him victuals and drink; but, being full of vermin, made him up a bed of straw in the waggon, under the waggon-house, and covered him with sacks. He had an ensign's commission in his pocket, dated in March last, appointing him an ensign to an independent company of invalids at Plymouth, but no money in his pocket except one halfpenny." Indeed no inconsiderable proportion of the officers of that day scarcely ranked above their favourite associates in country quarters, the strolling players; several of whom, notwithstanding the stigma attached to their name, were even at this period men of respectable characters and some substance. Mr. Wilkinson went the northern circuit with universal esteem. An accident noticed in the Annual Register for 1758 indicates the amount of property invested at that time in the Bath theatre:—"A waggon was burnt on Salisbury Plain, laden with the whole wardrobe, scenery, and apparatus of the Bath theatre, besides the entire property of each performer belonging to it. Some miles before the waggon reached Salisbury, a servant of the theatre told the driver that the wheel would take fire, entreating him to stop and unload; but the fellow still persisted in keeping on his way, and gave for reason that he had driven twelve miles with his wheels smoking. About three miles from the city the flames burnt out, and before ten boxes could be preserved the whole waggon was consumed. The damage is said to amount to 2000*l.*" The manager of the company which Boswell and Johnson found at Lichfield in 1776 is described as "a plain, decent, well-behaved man." The visits of players to towns remote from metropolitan refinement have ever been a powerful engine in awakening that rude taste for art and literature which must precede more substantial and elegant acquirements. In proportion as the actor's *status* in society is raised, this influence must be strengthened. At that time too, when the communication with the metropolis was more tardy and less frequent, and reading a less universal taste, the unsettled player, who was bandied about from the London to the provincial boards, was often the only medium through which a large portion of the rural community derived any knowledge of metropolitan adventures and customs.

Various circumstances had co-operated to impress a decidedly provincial character upon Scottish society at the time George III. ascended the throne. The arrangement in virtue of which only sixteen representatives, elected by the Scottish peers from among their own number previous to the opening of each new parliament, were admitted to sit in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom, had necessarily rendered them, with the exception of those who had been created British peers, a mere secondary or provincial peerage. The abolition of the office of secretary of state for Scotland, at the suggestion of Walpole, on the occasion of the malt riots, had thrown the old constitution of Scotland still more decidedly into the shade.

The kingdom retained an internal organization entirely distinct from that of England, but the most important officials were all of an inferior rank; none of them were ministers of state; their position in society was in fact somewhat approaching to that of county or municipal dignitaries. The high-born, wealthy, and ambitious sought London as the only field adequate to their aspirations, and Edinburgh sank into a mere provincial capital, in which the tone was given to society by the influential members of the Senate and College of Justice (*Anglicè* the Bench and Bar of Scotland); the nobility and gentry who found Edinburgh a winter resort better adapted to the state of their finances than the metropolis; and the university with the leading members of the clerical and medical professions. The commerce of Edinburgh was and always has continued trifling. The mercantile body has in consequence always continued a strictly subordinate, a mere shop-keeping class, with the exception of the bankers. The Scottish system of banking, having been developed previous to any decided advance of Scottish manufactures or commerce, was engrafted upon the landed wealth of the country, and the close connexion which the system of registration of the title-deeds of land in Scotland has established between the members of the college of justice and the landowners naturally made Edinburgh the centre of the banking business of Scotland. The occupation of banker was of a less mechanical complexion than any branch of trade previously pursued in Scotland, and bankers were in consequence regarded as belonging to the class of gentry. Edinburgh, as the place of rendezvous for the annual meetings of the General Assembly, exercised considerable influence in church politics, an influence strengthened and increased by its being the seat of a university, and of the law officers of the crown, who had come to be dispensers of the portion of church patronage held by government. All these circumstances tended to make Edinburgh a place of frequent resort from all parts of Scotland, the centre of Scottish business in matters of law, money transactions, and theological controversies. It was there mainly that the distinctive characteristics of Scotsmen were formed and strengthened.

The country over which the influence of this provincial capital extended consisted of two portions differing in almost every respect from each other. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, including the eastern coast of Scotland from the Moray Frith southward to the Frith of Forth, the counties lying between the Forth and the English border, the valley of the Clyde, and the counties of Ayr and Dumfries, differed more from the Highlanders than from their southern neighbours of England. The lowlands were intersected by roads, none of the best it is true, but still practicable for wheel-carriages; considerable attention had begun to be paid to the improvement of agriculture by the landed proprietors; the efforts of Duncan Forbes had at least excited a desire to have manufactures established in the country, and in Glasgow and some other districts they had struck firm root. A lucrative trade had been established between Glasgow and the plantations of Virginia and Maryland. The universities of Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Aberdeen, were each of them the centre of a considerable amount of literary activity. In short, two great elements of civilization—productive industry and intellectual culture—were actively at work among the lowland population. The circumstances which principally contributed to lend to the lowland Scottish civilization a character entirely distinct from that of England were three in number:—the much greater advance of scholastic than industrial civilization; the peculiar and popular organization of the church and the parochial schools of Scotland; and the want, when compared with England, of popular institutions. To the first of these causes is to be attributed the inferiority of the Scotch in the matter of taste for domestic neatness, comfort, and decorum, which was almost as marked as their superiority in scholastic attainments. If the Cottagers of Glenburnie be an exaggerated picture of the manners of Scotch families by no means in indigent circumstances, it is not because the sluttishness is exaggerated, but because the loutish shrewdness which accompanied it is scarcely made sufficiently prominent. To the same cause must be attributed the fact, that, while the Scotch as a nation were behind England in well-calculated and remunerating industrial enterprise, individual Scotchmen were among the most successful adventurers in England, its colonies, and dependencies. The Scotsman effected little at home, because it required no great effort to make him as comfortable as his neighbours, but when stimulated by emulation in the more stirring world of England his mental training came to his aid. The parochial schools rendered elementary education attainable by all; and the prevailing form of worship was better calculated to educate the reasoning faculties than the devotional feelings. The Sunday public worship was a weekly recurring exercise in logic. The form of church government, too, by a council of elders attached to every clergyman, identified the church with the people, and encouraged among them a taste for conversance with metaphysical divinity. This cultivation of the intellect, to the neglect of the feelings and *imagination*, gave a sternness to the character of the people; while the absence of the softening influence of wealth, and the stoical turn of mind inculcated by their teachers, leading them to confound all indulgence with licence, rendered the popular songs sufficiently libertine, and the lighter prose reading of the peasantry absolutely revolting. It was during this period that a class of narratives, printed on coarse paper, found a wide circulation in Scotland, to which the name of "chapbooks" has been given, from the "chapmen," the itinerant pedlers, who were the chief instruments of their distribution. The greater part of them were composed and printed (not written) by an eccentric character who had been in arms for the Pretender in

1745, and, after various turns of fortune, came to be town-bellman of Glasgow. Amid much filth and grossness they contain a vein of strong humour, and are tolerably accurate pictures of the manners of the rural labouring population of Scotland at that time. The absence of the popular institutions of England lent a servility of tone to all classes of Scotsmen contrasting rather unfavourably with the bluff independence of Englishmen. It was not by any means dishonesty or want of principle; it was a habit contracted in early youth of regarding the organization of society as a succession of grades in which the lower must yield implicit obedience to the higher, a habit calculated to develop great powers of endurance strangely combined with an imperious overbearing disposition. Smollett's Lesmahago; at one time ostentatiously defending his superiors who had neglected to reward his services, and at another kicking the valet, who by his master's orders had insulted him, in the face while he is making his apology, is a slightly caricatured likeness of this feature of the Scotch character.

The inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands differed from the lowlanders quite as much in other respects as in race and language. "The kirk" had not taken the same abiding hold on their imaginations and affections. There were at this time scarcely any practicable roads in the Highlands. The intercourse of the scanty population, kept up by means of deep-indenting arms of the sea, or rough bridle-roads through an all but impracticable country, was often interrupted. The country, endowed with an indifferent soil, bad climate, and no minerals, had no resource but its fisheries, of which its inhabitants either wanted intelligence or industry to avail themselves. The great mass of the population were barely able to procure the means of subsistence. The extinction of the race of pretenders to the throne had broken off the connexion of the chiefs with France: the Catholic clergy were repressed and discountenanced, and the majority of the presbyterian clergy were apt to become dull and lethargic in their isolation from a more intellectual society. The penal acts against wearing the Highland dress pressed upon the minds of the people with a dull continuous sense of slavery. The spirit of the people was broken. Their character was a compound of the dulness resulting from poverty, and the want of any intellectual stimulus, with the stolid helpless pride in which tribes are accustomed to wrap themselves up from the sense of their unimportance. The recruiting for the army, the cattle-trade, annual visits of the poorer Highlanders to the lowlands in search of harvest-work, and the part taken by the larger proprietors in the public business of the country, kept up, however, an amount of intercourse between the Highlands and Lowlands, sufficient to render the Celtic ingredient in the formation of national manners of more importance than to allow of its being passed over in total silence.

Among the best sources for supplying graphic portraitures of the manners of society in Scotland at this time are Smollett's Roderick Random and Humphry Clinker, Boswell's account of Johnson's Scottish tour, and the earlier poems of Burns. These and a host of subsidiary authorities are calculated to leave a strong impression of the peculiarities of the upper classes—their high intellectual polish strongly tinged with professional pedantry—their practical puritanism contrasting with the coarseness of their conversation. The custom then almost universal in Edinburgh of each family occupying only one story or "land" of a house was totally incompatible with English feelings of domestic seclusion and *retenue*. To this we should be inclined to attribute in some measure the relish for the *grossièretés* of popular wit which even elegant women are said at that time to have displayed. The education of females of the better classes was severe and fastidious. Sir Walter Scott reports of the ladies educated along with his mother under a Mrs. Euphemia Sinclair, who educated many of the female nobility and gentry of Scotland, that they "had well-cultivated minds, were fond of reading, wrote and spelled admirably, were well acquainted with history and with the *belles lettres*, without neglecting the more homely duties of the needle and accompt-book, and were all of them perfectly well bred in society." Sir Walter has added that "many of Mrs. Sinclair's pupils were sent, according to a fashion then prevalent in good society, to be finished off by the Honourable Mrs. Ogilvie, a lady who trained her young friends to a style of manners which would now be considered intolerably stiff. For instance, no young lady in sitting was ever permited to touch the back of her chair. Such was the effect of this early training upon the mind of Mrs. Scott, that even when she approached her eightieth year she took as much care to avoid touching her chair with her back as if she had been still under the stern eye of Mrs. Ogilvie." Yet the freedom of language in which many of these stiff ladies indulged is attested in the broad witticisms attributed to them in the traditional conversation of their native city. In his Pleydel Sir Walter Scott has preserved an accurate likeness of the alternating somewhat precise elegance and bacchanalian indulgencies of the eminent lawyer. Smollett, in his account of the visit of Matthew Bramble's family to Edinburgh, has given a pleasing picture of the provincial dash of the younger and gayer members of society. Lord Monboddo's supper in imitation of the ancients, and the affected coarseness in conversation of so elegant a mind as Lord Kames, together with many anecdotes still current of grave divines overtaken in their cups, attest the incessant struggle between buoyant spirits and national puritanism. Clubs were as much a passion with the gentlemen of Edinburgh as with those of the metropolis, and were even more exuberant in their freaks, more frequently established for the express purpose of bringing different grades of society into familiar

contact. In the "Crochallan Fencibles" the judge and the shopkeeper met on a footing of equality: and the test exacted from the candidate for admission was his ability to preserve for a whole evening his good humour unruffled by the insulting assaults of an officer entitled the *hangman* of the club. The clergy had considerably relaxed in the sternness of their Calvinistic presbyterianism. The secession had carried off much of the extreme severity which at an earlier period characterised the church. The Robertsons and Carlisles were in the ascendant in the church-courts, and the upper and wealthier portions of the middle classes adhered to them, while the Erskines and other founders of the secession had infused a double portion of puritanism into the lower classes and the portion of the middle classes immediately above them. Avowed scepticism was far from unfashionable among the upper ranks, while the opposite extreme of society adhered doggedly to the rigid manners of their forefathers. A biographer of Sir Walter Scott, in his description of the domestic economy of the poet's father, has given not an inaccurate picture of the habits of the intermediate class, which was under the necessity of trying to stand well with both:—"His father, methodical in everything, insisted upon the most punctual observance of family hours. Their food was wholesome and plentiful, but plain; and, with the ascetic affectation of a certain class of citizens of the old school, any expression of preference for dainties even of the simplest nature was prohibited as a kind of crime. It was esteemed a virtue to appear ignorant of whether the food was palatable or not. One day a quantity of soot had fallen accidentally into the broth, and some wry faces were made at the black and bitter mess. 'Gentlemen,' said the father, eating away with the most persevering equanimity, 'I eat them, and you must eat them too.' In matters of religious discipline, if possible, greater strictness was observed, as beseemed the house of one who was a confidential friend of Dr. Erskine, and an elder of his session, and who is still remembered, propped upon his gold-headed cane, and wrapped in his red cloak, earnestly watching the *cairn* of eleemosynary *bawbees* heaped upon the pewter plate at the door of the Greyfriars' Church. The theatre was a forbidden place. It was then customary for the High School boys to desire a play once a-year: attendance on the occasion was not compulsory, but payment of the ticket was. Old Scott duly paid the ticket for each of his boys, but refused to permit them to enter the unholy precincts, winding up the whole transaction by the remark that he would 'rather give it to a charity sermon.' But Sunday was the day on which the unbending strictness of the elder's discipline was exhibited in all its terrors. Beyond enforcing the punctual attendance of the whole household, with the exception of one housemaid left at home to attend the necessary culinary operations, on divine service duly forenoon and afternoon, he took no active part in the duties of the day, although he watchfully superintended their observance. . . . A young probationer of the church of Scotland, residing in the family in the capacity of tutor, performed family worship daily in his own room, at which such members of the household as chose to attend were present. On the mornings and evenings of Sabbath attendance was imperative. Immediately before evening prayer Mrs. Scott examined the whole family at great length on religious subjects, with the exception of her husband, who remained below. . . . Concomitant upon this strict sanctification of the Sabbath was seclusion from the visits of friends on that day. The oldest surviving servant of the family only remembers one gentleman admitted to partake of sheep-head broth on the Sabbath."

The abhorrence of the theatre spoken of in the above extract was widely spread. Lord Somerville informed Mr. Jackson, when he joined the Edinburgh company of actors in 1762, "that, in order to protect the performers from the violent measures adopted against them by the clergy and municipal authorities, some of the nobility were under the necessity of nominally announcing them as their menial servants; that a principal one had been received into his house as butler; where, after performing King Richard upon the stage, he disdained not to enact the part of Scrub by drawing a cork at his lordship's side-table." Charity and party-spirit were the influences which first encouraged the citizens of Edinburgh to enter a theatre. In 1747 the printer of The Gentle Shepherd was banished for a year from the city "for printing and publishing a false, scandalous, and defamatory libel;" his printing-office shut up, and his journeymen and apprentices thrown idle. "An edition of The Gentle Shepherd had been printed by their master a short time previous to his confinement; one of the copies of that work fell into their hands. They studied some of its detached scenes, and, at length, associating with others of their own class in life, they formed themselves into a company, got perfect in the whole opera, and, having obtained the manager's leave to perform it upon the theatre then in the Canongate, for the benefit of their master, they acquitted themselves so well as to procure permission to repeat it. The punishment of the printer being upon party principles, and at that period rather an unpopular measure, the object of the charity had a strong and favourable claim to the attention of the populace. On the first night's performance of the opera the house was crowded in every part; and it was repeated successive nights to such numerous audiences, that tiers of benches were erected on the stage for the accommodation of the spectators. . . The first stroke at the rooted prejudices that had so long prevailed against stage representations in Scotland was thus given by the production of a native bard and the intervention of accident."* The tragedy of Douglas, first performed in 1756,

* Jackson's History of the Scottish Stage

notwithstanding the denunciations of the presbyteries of Edinburgh and Glasgow, gave a second and more powerful blow to prejudice; but still the hostility to actors and acting continued strong in Scotland during the whole of this period. A theatre, erected in Glasgow in 1762, was set on fire by the zealots, and the wardrobe and scenery destroyed. When the foundation of the present theatre in that city was laid in 1781, the clergy attempted to prevent its erection.

Similar prejudices were entertained against many other innocent recreations, the consequence of which was, that the pleasure-seeking portion of the community were driven to have recourse to private amusements. Deep drinking in taverns and private gambling, cock-fighting and other demoralizing and brutalizing pursuits, flourished the more in consequence of the repression of public amusements. Public meetings intended to promote traffic, and even those occasioned by the great solemnities of religion, were converted into haunts of amusement. The picture of the sacramental festivities given in Burns's 'Holy Fair' is no exaggeration.

The home daily life of the Scottish peasant is graphically portrayed in these lines of Burns:—

"The thresher's weary flingin-tree
The lee-lang day had tired me;
And whan the day had closed his ee,
Far i' the west,
Ben i' the spence, right pensivelie,
I gaed to rest.

There, lanely, by the ingle-cheek,
I sat and ee'd the spreyin reek,
That fill'd wi' hoast-provokin smeek
The auld clay biggin;
An' heard the restless rattons squeak
About the riggin."

'The Cotter's Saturday Night' presents him to us surrounded by his family at the close of his weekly labour, when—

"The toil-worn Cotter frae his labour goes,
This night his weekly moil is at an end,
Collects his spades, his mattocks, and his hoes,
Hoping the morn in ease and rest to spend,
And weary, o'er the muir, his course does hameward bend.
At length his lonely cot appears in view,
Beneath the shelter of an aged tree:
Th' expectant wee things, toddlin, stacher through
To meet their dad, wi' flichterin noise an' glee.
His wee-bit ingle, blinkin bonnilie,
His clean hearthstane, his thriftie wifie's smile,
The lisping infant prattling on his knee,
Does a' his weary carking cares beguile,
An' makes him quite forget his labour an' his toil."

Then follows a description how his "elder bairns," who are "at service out among the farmers roun," come "drapping in;" a visit from the sweetheart of the eldest daughter, and the simple conversation of the friendly circle, the supper, and lastly—

"The cheerfu' supper done, wi' serious face,
They, round the ingle, form a circle wide;
The sire turns o'er, wi' patriarchal grace,
The big ha' Bible, ance his father's pride:
His bonnet rev'rently is laid aside,
His lyart haffets wearing thin an' bare;
Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide
He wales a portion with judicious care;
And 'Let us worship God!' he says, with solemn air."

The new year's festivals of the peasants are thus described by the sympathising Luath, in 'The Twa Dogs; a Tale:'—

"That merry day the year begins
They bar the door on frosty win's;
The nappy reeks wi' mantling ream,
An' sheds a heart-inspiring steam;
The luntin pipe, and sneeshin mill,
Are handed round wi' right guid will:
The cantie auld folk crackin crouse,
The young anes rantin through the house—
My heart has been sae fain to see them,
That I for joy hae barkit wi' them."

In 'Halloween' we have a more detailed account of the pranks of a Scottish harvest-home. The poet more than once dwells with affectionate delight on the dispersion of a country fair. The old farmer, addressing his superannuated mare, reminds her—

"When thou an' I were young and skeigh,
An' stable-meals at fairs were dreigh,
How thou wad prance, an' snore, an' skreigh,
An' tak the road!
Town's bodies ran, and stood abeigh,
An ca't thee mad.

When thou was corn't, an' I was mellow,
We took the road aye like a swallow:
At brooses thou had ne'er a fellow
For pith an' speed;
But every tail thou pay't them hollow,
Whare'er thou gaed.'

And again in 'Tam o' Shanter:'—

"When chapman billies leave the street,
And drouthy neebors neebors meet,
As market-days are wearin late,
An' folk begin to tak the gate;
While we sit bousin at the nappy,
An' getting fou and unco happy,
We thinkna on the lang Scots miles,
The mosses, waters, slaps, and stiles,
That lie between us and our hame,
Whare sits our sulky sullen dame,
Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
Nursing her wrath to keep it warm."

Equally true to nature is the gay sunny picture of the rural population flocking to the 'Holy Fair:'—

"Upon a simmer Sunday morn,
When Nature's face was fair,
I walked forth to view the corn,
An' snuff the caller air.

* * * * * * * *

Then I gaed hame, at crowdie-time,
An' soon I made me ready,
For roads were clad frae side to side
Wi' mony a wearie bodie,
In droves that day.

Here farmers gash in ridin graith,
Gaed hoddin by their cottars;
There swankies young, in braw braid claith,
Are springin' o'er the gutters.
The lasses, skelpin' barefit, thrang,
In silks and scarlets glitter;
Wi' sweet-milk cheese, in monie a whang,
And farls baked wi' butter,
Fu' crump that day."

The scenes in the church in this poem, and the adventures in the others from which we have quoted above, all concur to leave a lively impression of rural manners in Scotland at the time of Burns's boyhood:—"He was passionately fond," said Dugald Stewart in a letter to Dr. Currie, "of the beauties of nature; and I recollect once he told me, when I was admiring a distant prospect in one of our morning walks, that the sight of so many smoking cottages gave a pleasure to his mind which none could understand who had not witnessed, like himself, the happiness and the worth which they contained." There was little difference at that time, at least in many parts of the country, between the farmer and the cottier: the extensive farmers of a later day had scarcely yet started into existence; and only in rare instances had any capital been invested in agriculture. The gentry much resembled the gentry of Edinburgh. The inhabitants of

the larger towns resembled the inhabitants of that city, those of the smaller towns the rural population. Glasgow was to a certain extent an exception. The wealthy Virginia merchants there formed a civic aristocracy which exacted a degrading submission from the tradesmen; and all classes were imbued with the sternness of Calvinistic presbyterianism to an extent unknown in Edinburgh. The inmates of the college were a class apart, who had little intercourse with the rest of the citizens.

Three extracts from Boswell's account of Dr. Johnson's Hebridean Tour will show the strong contrast between Celtic and Saxon Scotland at that time. The first is a village scene:—"We soon afterwards came to Auchnasheal, a kind of rural village, a number of cottages being built together, as we saw all along in the Highlands. . . . . We sat down on a green turf seat at the end of a house; they brought us out two wooden dishes of milk, which we tasted. One of them was frothed like a syllabub. I saw a woman preparing it with such a stick as is used for chocolate, and in the same manner. We had a considerable circle about us, men, women, and children, all M'Craas, Lord Seaforth's people; not one of them could speak English. I observed to Dr. Johnson, it was much the same as being with a tribe of Indians. Johnson—'Yes, sir, but not so terrifying.' I gave all who chose it snuff and tobacco. Governor Trapaud had made us buy a quantity at Fort Augustus and put them up in small parcels. I also gave each person a piece of wheat bread, which they had never tasted before. I then gave a penny apiece to each child. I told Dr. Johnson of this: upon which he called to Joseph and our guides for change for a shilling, and declared he would distribute it among the children. Upon this being announced in Erse there was a great stir: not only did some children come running down from neighbouring huts, but I observed one black-haired man, who had been with us all along, had gone off and returned, bringing a very young child. My fellow-traveller then ordered the children to be drawn up in a row, and he dealt about his copper and made them and their parents all happy. We asked the old woman, the mistress of the house where we had the milk, what we should pay. She said what we pleased. One of our guides asked her, in Erse, if a shilling was enough. She said, 'Yes;' but some of the men bade her ask more. She however persisted honestly in her first price; so I gave her half-a-crown. *The people were very much pleased, gave us many blessings, and said they had not had such a day since the old Laird of Macleod's time.*"

The second extract affords a peep into the interior of the establishment of a "tacksman," or principal tenant of a chief:—"We rode for some time along the district of Slate near the shore. The houses in general are made of turf, covered with grass. . . . . About a mile beyond Broadford is Corrichatachin, a farm of Sir Alexander Macdonald's, possessed by Mr. M'Kinnon, who received us with a hearty welcome, as did his wife, who was what we call in Scotland a lady-like woman. . . . We here enjoyed the comfort of a table plentifully furnished, the satisfaction of which was heightened by a numerous and cheerful company; and we for the first time had a specimen of the joyous social manners of the inhabitants of the Highlands. They talked in their own ancient language, with fluent vivacity, and sung many Erse songs with such spirit, that, though Dr. Johnson was treated with the greatest respect and attention, there were moments in which he seemed to be forgotten. For myself, though but a Lowlander, having picked up a few words of the language, I presumed to mingle in their mirth, and joined in the choruses with as much glee as any of the company."

In the third extract we are introduced to the family of a chief:—"There is neither justice of peace nor constable in Rasay. Sky has Mr. Macleod of Ulinish, who is the sheriff-substitute, and no other justice of the peace. The want of the execution of justice is much felt among the islanders. Macleod observed that taking away the heritable jurisdictions had not been of such service in the islands as was imagined. They had not authority enough in lieu of them. What could formerly have been settled at once must now either take much time and trouble or be neglected. . . . . Last night Lady Rasay showed him (Dr. Johnson) the operation of *wauking* cloth, that is, thickening it, in the same manner as is done by a mill. Here it is performed by women who kneel upon the ground and rub it with both their hands, singing an Erse song all the time. He was asking questions while they were performing their operation, and amidst their loud and wild howl his voice was heard even in the room above. They dance here every night. The queen of our ball was the eldest Miss Macleod, an elegant well-bred woman and celebrated for her beauty over all these regions."

The mainland at a still later period was even in a more lawless condition than the islands. Sir Walter Scott's account of his first excursion into the interior of the Highlands illustrates this point:—"There were very considerable debts due by Stewart of Appin (chiefly to the author's family) which were likely to be lost to the creditors if they could not be made available out of the farm of Invernenty, the scene of the murder done upon Maclaren [by the son of Rob Roy]. His family, consisting of several strapping deer-stalkers, still possessed the farm, by virtue of a long lease, for a trifling rent: there was no chance of any one buying it with such an encumbrance, and a transaction was entered into by the Maclarens, who, being desirous to emigrate to America, agreed to sell their lease to the creditors for 500*l.*, and to remove at the next term of Whitsunday. But whether they repented their bargain, or whether from a mere point of honour, the Maclarens declared they would not permit a summons of removal to be executed against them, which was necessary for the legal completion of the bargain. And such was

the general impression that they were men capable of resisting the legal execution of warning by very effectual means, no king's messenger would execute the summons without the support of a military force. An escort of a sergeant and six men was obtained from a Highland regiment lying in Stirling, and the author, then a writer's apprentice, equivalent to the honourable situation of a writer's clerk, was invested with the superintendence of the expedition, with directions to see that the messenger discharged *his duty fully*, and that the gallant sergeant did not exceed his part of it by committing violence and plunder. The sergeant was absolutely a Highland Sergeant Kite, full of stories of Rob Roy and himself, and a very good companion. We experienced no interruption whatever, and when we came to Invernenty found the house deserted."

The nobility who had estates and retainers in the Highlands, Argyle, Breadalbane, or Gordon, when they visited their seats carried with them the manners and luxuries of England. If they affected at all to conform to Highland customs, it was the frolic of a few days. Here and there an enterprising gentleman might be found who had served abroad and acquired some knowledge of the world; some ferment had been excited among the people by the growing practice of emigrating to America; but on the whole there was a dead torpor on Highland society. The Highland gentleman, though frequently loved for his native good qualities, was on the whole a standing jest with the lowlanders. His limited range of thought, his awkward mode of expressing himself, and his enormous share of family pride, rendered him a sort of living caricature.

These were the ingredients of which Scottish society was at this time principally composed. The gentry, brought into closer contact with the wider and more varied ranges of English society, were getting rid of some narrow views, not unfrequently at the expense of losing at the same time much of the homely virtue that attached to them; as those who have been accustomed to be strictly controlled are most apt to exceed when suddenly made their own masters. There was a considerable admixture of truth in Cæsar's reply to Luath's conjecture that an absentee landlord was—

> "—— aiblins, thrang a-parliamentin',
> For Britain's guid *his saul indentin.*—
>
> CÆSAR.
>
> "Haith, lad, ye little ken about it;
> For Britain's guid!—guid faith, I doubt it!
> Say, rather, gaun as Premiers lead him,
> An' saying ay or no's they bid him!
> At operas an' plays parading,
> Mortgaging, gambling, masquerading:
> Or maybe, in a frolic daft,
> To Hague or Calais takes a waft,
> To mak a tour, an' tak a whirl,
> To learn *bon ton*, an' see the warl'.
>
> "There, at Vienna or Versailles,
> He rives his father's auld entails;
> Or by Madrid he takes the route,
> To thrum guitars, and fecht wi' nowt;
> Or down Italian vista startles," &c. &c.

Several circumstances contribute to impress us with a strong feeling of the inferior grade of general civilization which Scotland when compared with England had attained at this period. The Scottish *literati* could not find publishers in their own country, but were obliged to seek them in London. Lackington, speaking of the difficulty of meeting with good books out of London about the close of this period, says—"It is true, at York and Leeds there were a few (and but very few) good books; but in all the other towns between London and Edinburgh nothing but trash was to be found: in the latter city, indeed, a few capital articles are kept, but in no other parts of Scotland." Lastly, the attempt of the brothers Foulis to establish an academy of art in Glasgow met with no encouragement, and, when under the necessity of selling their collection of paintings, they were obliged to send them to London.

The materials for an account of the manners of Ireland, which are rich in excess for the remainder of the eighteenth century, are meagre enough during the present period. They are sufficient however to indicate a marked difference between the manners of Dublin and the country originally "within the pale," Ulster, or "the black north," as the "real Irish" called and still call it, and the rest of Ireland.

"I found the state of society in Dublin," says Cumberland, referring to a date which did not long precede the accession of George III., "very different from what I had observed in London; the professions were intermixed, and ranks were blended; in the great houses I met a promiscuous assembly of politicians, lawyers, soldiers, and divines. The profusion of their tables struck me with surprise: nothing that I had seen in England could rival the Polish magnificence of Primate Stone, or the Parisian luxury of Mr. Clements. The style of Doddington (Lord Melcombe) was stately, but there was a watchful and well-regulated economy over all that here seemed out of sight and out of mind. The professional gravity of character maintained by our English dignitaries was here laid aside, and in several prelatical houses the mitre was so mingled with the cockade, and the glass circulated so freely, that I perceived the spirit of conviviality was by no means excluded from the pale of the church of Ireland." In short, Dublin manners reminded a stranger of the high volatile spirits of an Irishwoman tempered with the training of an English boarding-school. An incident like the following, which is related in the Annual Register to have occurred in Dublin in March, 1760, could scarcely have taken place in any other part of the British empire: it is full of Irish good humour and effrontery:—"Not long ago a lady of considerable rank in this city, having appointed a drum and card-assembly for a Sunday evening, received a billet on the Friday before, subscribed THE MOB, in which they acquainted her ladyship with their intending themselves the honour of being of the party. In consequence of which promise, an assembly of these gentlemen appeared before the door of the house on the evening mentioned, about the time that the company might be reasonably expected to arrive,

but without seeming by their behaviour to intend any kind of outrage. On the approach, however, of a sedan which contained a certain lady, distinguished for taking the lead in all these kinds of meetings, they surrounded the chair, and, ordering the chairmen to set it down, they with great civility, but at the same time with an apparent firmness and resolution, insisted on her quitting it, which, after some remonstrance, being complied with, one of them, who was spokesman for the rest, acquainted her that 'she had been a very wicked woman, had been frequently known to play at cards on a Sunday, and was, as they well knew, at that time going on the very same business; but that for her own sake they had determined on a thorough reformation of her conduct; for which reason she must immediately engage herself by oath (for which purpose they tendered her a bible they had brought with them) never to pursue that practice for the future.' This was for a long time refused, but, being peremptorily insisted on, the oath was administered, the words dictated, the repetition clearly pronounced, and the book kissed. On this her ladyship, thinking herself now at liberty, was returning to her chair, when she was informed that, as humility was one branch of religion, her designed reformation must commence with an act of such humility, for which reason she must walk to her own house (which was upwards of half a mile), whilst it should be their charge to conduct her safe, and secure her from insult; which she upon compulsion acquiescing with, and they performing their promise, she was escorted by them in great parade to her own door, when, civilly taking their leave of her, they all quietly returned to their own habitations." Of the strangely mixed society which he met with in Dublin, Cumberland has furnished us with a striking example in his account of a dinner at George Faulkner's, an eminent bookseller and correspondent of Lord Chesterfield and Richardson: —"He gave good meat and excellent claret in abundance; I sate at his table once from dinner till two in the morning, whilst George swallowed immense potations with one solitary sodden strawberry at the bottom of the glass, which he said was recommended to him by his doctor for its cooling properties. He never lost his recollection or equilibrium the whole time, and was in excellent foolery; it was a singular coincidence that there was a person in company who had received his reprieve at the gallows, and the very judge who had passed sentence of death upon him. This did not in the least disturb the harmony of the society, nor embarrass any human creature present." In an anecdote which refers to a few years later than the close of our present period Barrington throws some light upon the domestic habits of the junior members of the Bar:—"At this time twenty young barristers including myself had formed a dinner-club in Dublin. We had taken large apartments for the purpose; and, as we were not yet troubled with *too much* business, were in the habit of faring luxuriously every day and taking a bottle of the best claret that could be obtained. One of us, having a pleasure cutter of his own in the harbour of Dublin, used to send her to smuggle claret for us from the Isle of Man. He made a friend of one of the tide-waiters, and we consequently had the very best wines on the very cheapest terms." The public entertainments occasionally given by the gentlemen of Dublin were on the most extravagant scale. Music and theatrical amusements were liberally patronised. The professors of the latter art had not the puritanical persecution to dread which awaited them in Scotland, nor even the rudeness with which many persons in England still conducted themselves towards them. The headlong tempers of the Irish make them eager partisans, and theatrical riots were frequent and fierce, but the individual actor who conducted himself like a gentleman was sure to be treated as such.

The scene of Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village' is generally understood to be in the North of Ireland: indeed Goldsmith had seen little of rural life in his own country, except in his native district. The "village preacher" is an Ulster clergyman. The schoolmaster is Irish:—

"The village all declared how much he knew,
'T was certain he could write and cipher too;
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And even the story ran that he could gauge:
In arguing too the parson own'd his skill,
For even though vanquish'd he could argue still;
While words of learned length and thundering sound
Amaz'd the gazing rustics ranged around,
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew."

In the villages of the North of Ireland were to be found the modest inns with

"The white-wash'd wall, the newly sanded floor,
The varnish'd clock that click'd behind the door;"

in which

"The village statesmen talk'd with looks profound,
And news much older than their ale went round;"

and, reverting to the past merriment of which, the poet repiningly exclaims—

"Thither no more the peasant shall repair
To sweet oblivion of his daily care;
No more the farmer's news, the barber's tale,
No more the woodman's ballad shall prevail;
No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear,
Relax his ponderous strength, and lean to hear;
The host himself no longer shall be found
Careful to see the mantling bliss go round;
Nor the coy maid, half willing to be press'd,
Shall kiss the cup and pass it to the rest."

All, however, was not thus tranquil: those agrarian disturbances which have darkened Ireland for such a long tract of time had before this broken out in the South, and were now finding their way into Ulster. A journal of the day published in September, 1763, this statement:—"It was thought, and with great reason, that the wise measures taken by the government of Ireland to suppress the riotous proceedings of the people called Whiteboys or Levellers in the South would have had a salutary influence over the other parts of the kingdom; when, to the surprise of every one, fresh disturbances broke out in the North, where it was expected the people were both less ignorant of their duty and better disposed to practise it; and where the labour of the common people, as being chiefly employed in the linen manufacture, is of such import-

ance to the welfare of the whole nation. The inhabitants of a certain tract, conceiving themselves injured by some new roads made there, assembled in order to compel the gentlemen of the county to promise them redress in that particular; and, from the facility with which they were gratified in these instances, declared against the clergy's small tithes and church-dues, and opposed the payment of them by force. They called themselves Hearts of Oak, carrying sprigs of that tree in their hats. But the Lords Justices having sent some troops against them, and at the same time issued a proclamation promising indemnity to such as should return to their duty, except those against whom bills of indictment had been already found, and a reward for taking those who should not, they were speedily dispersed, though not without some skirmishes in which some of them were killed and wounded. Many associations were entered into upon this occasion all over the kingdom, particularly in those counties which were or lay near the scene of disturbance." The allusion to the linen manufacture indicates the growth of an industrious middle class: it was not however strong enough to make the gentry feel the check of public opinion; their wills were their only acknowledged law, even in the prosecution of their family feuds, of which the trial of John M'Naughten, Esq., of the county of Meath, in 1762, for murder, and his execution, afford a terrible example. The dignitaries of the established church kept up considerable state. Of Primate Robinson, Cumberland says—"He supported the first station in the Irish hierarchy with the magnificence of a Prince Palatine. He built a granite palace from the ground, with all its offices, gardens, farm, and demesne: he repaired and beautified his cathedral, built houses for his vicars choral, erected and endowed a very noble public school, and built several parish churches in the neighbourhood of Armagh." His stately deportment corresponded with the residence he prepared for himself:—"The cathedral church of Armagh," says Cumberland, "stands in full view from the windows of the palace and at a short distance from it. Whilst I was passing some days with the primate on my return to England from Kilmore, I accompanied him on the Sunday forenoon to the cathedral; we went in his chariot with six horses, attended by three footmen behind, whilst my wife and daughters with Sir William Robinson followed in my father's coach, which he lent me for the journey. At our approach the great western door was thrown open, and my friend, in person one of the finest men that could be seen, entered like another archbishop Laud, in high prelatical state, preceded by his officers and ministers of the church, conducting him in files to the robing chamber and back again to the throne. After divine service the officiating clergy presented themselves in the hall of his palace to pay their court. I asked him how many were to dine with us; he answered 'Not one.' He did them kindnesses, but he gave them no entertainments: they were in excellent discipline."

Dublin and the pale were English; Ulster had a strong admixture of Scotch; it was in the south and west of Ireland that the genuine Irish character was found. Between the Irish peasant and the established clergyman there lay a gulf which neither could cross. The hunted priests of the old faith were not left to teach and watch over their flocks undisturbed. The lower orders were almost in a state of nature; the better born sought service abroad, and acquired continental manners; the priests were gentlemen educated at Salamanca or Douay, with peculiarities contracted from living isolated from intellectual and polished society. The law was not loved—how could it?—and imperfectly enforced. "Though I strove," we quote again from Cumberland, "to present the Irish character in its fairest and best light upon the stage, truth obliges me to confess there was another side of the picture which could not have been contemplated without affright and horror. Atrocities and violences, which set all law and justice at defiance, were occasionally committed in this savage and licentious quarter (Clonfert), and suffered to pass over with impunity. In the neighbouring town of Eyre Court they had by long usage assumed to themselves certain local and self-constituted privileges and exemptions, which rendered it unapproachable by the civil power, who were universally denounced as mad dogs, and subjected to be treated as such, and even put to death with as little ceremony or remorse. I speak of what actually occurred within my own immediate knowledge, whilst I resided with my father, in more instances than one, and those instances would be too shocking to relate. . . . . To suppose they were a race of beings stupidly vicious, devoid of sensibility, and delivered over by their natural inertness to barbarism and ignorance, would be the very falsest character that could be conceived of them: it is, on the contrary, to the quickness of their apprehensive faculties, to the precipitancy and unrestrained vivacity of their talents and passions, that we must look for the causes, and in some degree for the excuse, of their excesses: together with their ferocious propensities there are blended and compounded humours so truly comic, eccentricities so peculiar, and attachments and affections at times so inconceivably ardent, that it is not possible to contemplate them in their natural characters without being diverted by extravagancies which we cannot seriously approve, and captivated by professions which we cannot implicitly give credit to." Some anecdotes scattered through the Memoirs of this author amply substantiate these sweeping assertions:—"When my father came down to Clonfert from Dublin, it was announced to O'Rourke that the bishop was arrived. The poor fellow was then in the act of lopping a tree in the garden: transported at the tidings, he exclaimed, 'Is my lord come? Then I'll throw myself out of this same tree for joy.' He exactly fulfilled his word, and laid himself up for some months." This O'Rourke was a real Irish Callum

Beg:—"When I accompanied my mother from Clonfert to Dublin we passed a night at Kilbeggan. A certain Mr. Geoghegan was extremely drunk, noisy, and brutally troublesome to the hostess. Thomas O'Rourke was with us, and, being much scandalised with the behaviour of Geoghegan, took me aside, and, in a whisper, said, 'Squire, will I quiet this same Mr. Geoghegan?' When I replied, By all means; but how was it to be done? Tom produced a knife of formidable length, and demanded—'Have n't I got this? and won't this do the job? and has n't he wounded the woman of the inn with a chopping-knife? and what is this but a knife? and would n't it be a good deed to put him to death like a mad dog? Therefore, squire, do you see, if it will pleasure you and my lady above stairs, who is ill enough, God he knows, I 'll put this knife into the same Mr. Geoghegan's ribs, and be off the next moment on the grey mare; and is n't she in the stable? Therefore only say the word, and I 'll do it.'" Among such a population agrarian disturbances were to be looked for. "These rioters," says The London Gazette of 1st May, 1762, "were called Levellers, from their levelling such hedges, &c., as they thought encroached upon commons, the chief support of the poor in the country of Ireland, where there is not tillage or manufacture enough as there is in England to employ them; and the land besides comes to them through three or four hands, all of whom must have a profit out of it. They were likewise called Whiteboys, from their wearing shirts over their other clothes, the better to distinguish each other by night, the time when they generally assembled." We conclude this part of our subject with a scene from high life in this primitive country. Lord Eyre, of Eyre Court, seems to have been a happy compound of Donald Bean-Lean and the laird of Balmawhapple. His den is thus described by Cumberland:—"Proprietor of a vast extent of soil not very productive, and inhabiting a mansion not in the best repair, he lived, according to the style of the country, with more hospitality than elegance: whilst his table groaned with abundance, the order and good taste of its arrangement were little thought of. The slaughtered ox was hung up whole, and the hungry servitor supplied himself with his dole of flesh sliced off from the carcase. His lordship's day was so apportioned as to give the afternoon by much the largest share of it, during which, from an early dinner to the hour of rest, he never left his chair, nor did the claret ever quit his table. This did not produce inebriety, for it was sipping rather than drinking that filled up his time; and this mechanical process of gradually moistening the human clay was carried on with very little aid from conversation, for his lordship's companions were not very communicative, and fortunately he was not very curious. Not one of the windows of his castle was made to open, but luckily he had no liking for fresh air, and the consequence may be better conceived than described." A morning sail on the Shannon with his lordship, in which Cumberland nearly got involved in a duel, and a main of cocks fought at Eyre Court, are then described, and introduce the following adventure:—"I quitted my seat by Lord Eyre and went to the gentleman who was presiding at the second table, and, seating myself familiarly on the arm of his chair, proposed to him to adjourn our party and assemble them in another house for the sake of harmony and good fellowship. With the best grace in life he instantly assented, and when I added that I should put them under his care, and expect from him, as a man of honour and my friend, that every mother's son of them should be found forthcoming and alive the next morning, 'Then, by the soul of me!' he replied, 'and they shall; provided only that no man in company shall dare to give *The glorious and immortal Memory* for his toast, which no gentleman who feels as I do will put up with.' To this I pledged myself, and we removed to a whisky-house, attended by half-a-score of pipers playing different tunes. . . . . When the punch began to circulate with great rapidity I took my departure, having first cautioned a friend who sat by me (and the only Protestant in the company) to keep his head cool, and beware of the *glorious memory*. This gallant young officer, son to a man who held lands of my father, promised faithfully to be sober and discreet, as well knowing the company he was in; but my friend, having forgot the first part of his promise, and getting very tipsy, let the second part slip out of his memory, and became very mad; for, stepping aside for his pistols, he re-entered the room, and, laying them on the table, took the cockade from his hat and dashed it into the punch-bowl, demanding of the company to drink *The glorious and immortal Memory of King William* in a bumper, or abide the consequences. I was not there, and if I had been present could neither have stayed the tumult nor described it. I only know he turned out the next morning, merely for honour's sake; but, as it was one against a host, the magnanimity of his opponents let him off with a shot or two, that did no execution." With such a peasantry and gentry it is no ways surprising to learn that towards the close of this period a private gentleman claiming to descend from the old kings of Ireland asserted an independent sovereignty in Connaught, and for some time kept the government officers at bay.

To these minute details of the general and local peculiarities of manners during the first twenty-four years of the reign of George III. little requires to be added in the way of remark. The facts speak for themselves. Much rudeness and violence was to be found in the nation, but also a high degree of refinement extending over a wider circle than at any previous era. In point of elegant wit the Walpoles and Selwyns of that age may bear a comparison with any of their French contemporaries; whilst the part taken by the British aristocracy in politics, their subjection to the public opinion of a powerful middle class,

and the necessity under which they lay of encountering in public business men of independent condition and minds trained by the discipline of commercial enterprise, lent a more robust and healthy tone to their society than characterised the fashionable circles of Paris. In Britain, too, the court and the capital were not, as in France, all in all. The unprivileged citizens and most remote provinces felt themselves of some consequence in the social league, and replied to the occasional sneers of the gay world by a broader ostentation of the very peculiarities which excited ridicule. The busy and stirring spirit which animated the land brought all ranks and the inhabitants of all districts into frequent collision, and, "as steel sharpens steel, so the wit of man sharpens the wit of man." If the novelists and dramatists of the period have left few works of worth, it was not for the want of numerous and strong-featured originals.

Two years after the accession of George III. the London Chronicle furnishes us with a "History of Male Fashions," the more material parts of which we transcribe:—

"*First Chapter; upon Hats.*—Hats are now worn, upon an average, six inches and three-fifths broad in the brim, and cocked between quaker and kevenhuller. Some have their hats open before like a church spout, or the tin scale they weigh flour in: some wear them rather sharper, like the nose of a greyhound, and we can distinguish by the taste of the hat the mode of the wearer's mind. There is the military cock and the mercantile cock; and, while the beaux of St. James's wear their hat under their arms, the beaux of Moorfields-mall wear theirs diagonally over their left or right eye. Sailors wear the side of their hats uniformly tacked down to the crown, and look as if they carried a triangular apple-pasty upon their heads. I hope no person will think us disaffected; but when we meet any of the new-raised infantry wearing the buttons of their hats bluff before, and the trefoil white worsted shaking as they step, we cannot help thinking of French figure-dancers. With the quakers, it is a point of their faith not to wear a button, or loop tight up; their hats spread over their heads like a pent-house, and darken the outward men, to signify they have the inward light. Some wear their hats (with the corner that should come over their foreheads in a direct line) pointed into the air; these are the gawkies. Others do not above half cover their heads, which is indeed owing to the shallowness of their crowns; but between beaver and eyebrows expose a piece of blank forehead, which looks like a sandy road on a surveyor's plan. . . . . A gold button and loop to a plain hat distinguishes a person to be a little lunatic; a gold band round it shows the owner to be very dangerously infected; and, if a tassel is added, the patient is incurable. . . . . Hats edged round with a gold binding belong to brothers of the turf.

"*Second Chapter; upon Wigs.*—Imprimis, the prentice minor-bob or hair-cap: this is always short in the neck, to show the stone stock-buckle, and nicely stroked from the face, to discover seven-eighths of the ears; and every smart we meet so headed seems, like Tristram Shandy, to have been skating against the wind, and his hair, by the sharpness of the motion, shorn from his face. Next, the citizen's Sunday buckle, or bob-major; this is a first rate, bearing several tiers of curls, disposed in upper, middle, and lower orders. Then the apothecary's bush, in which the hat seems sinking like a stone into a snow-heap. The physical and chirurgical ties carry much consequence in their foretops; and the depending knots fall fore and aft the shoulders with '*secundum artem*' dignity. The scratch, or the blood's skull-covering, is combed over the forehead, untoupeed, to imitate a head of hair, because those gentlemen love to have everything natural about them. The Jehu's Jemmy, or white and all white, in little curls, like a fleece on a lamb's back, we should say something upon, were it not for fear of offending some gentlemen of great riches, who love to look like coachmen.

"*Third Chapter; Frocks, Coats, Surtouts, and Walking-sticks.*—Every gentleman now, by the length of his skirts, seems Dutch waisted, or like a Bridewell boy, with a garment down to mid-leg;

From a Print by J. Bickham. 1762.

and they are so much splashed sometimes behind that I have, when following in a dirty day one of these very fashionable frock-wearers, been tempted to call out, 'Pray, dear sir, pin up your petticoats.' Then their cuffs cover entirely their wrists, and only the edge of the ruffles is to be seen; as if they lived in the slovenly days of Lycurgus, when every one was ashamed to show clean linen. The mode-makers of the age have taken an antipathy to the leg; for by their high-topped shoes and long trousers-like breeches, with a broad knee-band like a compress for the rotula, a leg in high taste is not longer than a common-councilman's tobacco-stopper.

"Fine scarlet shag frocks were becoming while no person appeared in them but real gentlemen; but since tumblers, strolling players, and French figure-dancers dress themselves in such martial outsides, it is to be presumed every one else will quit this very lasting habiliment unless he has a mind to pass for one of those exotics above mentioned.

"Blue Manchester velvets, with gold cords or rich button-holes, are generally the uniform of bum-bailiffs, sleight-of-hand men, and money-droppers. But plain suits of those cottons of grave colours are the dress of shop-riders and country traders. Walking-sticks are now almost reduced to a useful size. . . . . Do not some of us strut about with walking-sticks as long as leaping-poles, as if we were pioneers to the troop of hickry-cutters; or else with a yard of varnished cane scraped taper, and bound at one end with wax thread, and the other tipped with a neat-turned ivory head, as big as a silver penny, which switch we hug under our arms so jemmy? . . . . . Surtouts now have four laps on each side, which are called dog's ears; when these pieces are unbuttoned they flap backwards and forwards like so many supernumerary patches, just tacked on at one end; and the wearer seems to have been playing many bouts at backsword till his coat is cut to pieces. When they are buttoned up they appear like comb-cases or pacquets for a penny postman to sort his letters in. Very spruce smarts have no buttons nor holes upon the breast of these their surtouts save what are upon the ears; and their garments only wrap over their breasts, like a morning gown—a proof that dress may be made too fashionable to be useful."

The rational change, adopted soon after, of wearing the natural hair instead of wigs, Malcolm tells us, produced a petition from "the master peruke-makers of the cities of London and West-

A Macaroni. From a Print published by Bowles. 1773.

minster to the king's most excellent majesty," which is printed in the London Chronicle of February 14, 1763; but, notwithstanding his majesty's gracious answer, that he should at all times use his endeavours to promote the real welfare of his people, and of the wig-makers of course amongst them, (and which by the way he did as far as example went by wearing a wig himself* to the time of his last melancholy seclusion), false heads of hair gradually lost ground with the gentlemen. In 1772 a toupee and tail distinguished a *maccaroni*. In 1775 gold-laced hats became again general, and in 1778 were adopted by many to give them a military air, and so escape the pressgangs that were remarkably busy in that year. Round hats began to be worn in the morning shortly after that date.

Stockings ceased to be drawn up over the knees of the breeches from the close of the reign of George II. Shoes were worn with longer quarters and larger buckles. In 1777 the buttons of the

From a Print dated 1777.

coat and the buckles on the shoes were worn of an enormous size, and formed the subjects of a caricature of that day, as did also the fashion of wearing steel buttons.

With regard to the ladies, to begin, as in duty bound, with the sovereign, her majesty Queen Charlotte landed in England in 1761, wearing "a gold brocaded" dress with "a white ground," a "stomacher ornamented with diamonds," and "a fly cap with richly laced lappets;" which we are told was then the female British dress, and adopted by her majesty in compliment to her royal consort's subjects. In the "London Chronicle," to which we are indebted for our account of the male fashions of 1762, we find the following detail of the habits of the ladies:—

"*The French Nightcap.*—Our fine women have, by covering their cheeks with this fashion, put their faces into eclipse. Each lady when dressed in this mode can only peep under the lace border; perhaps they are intended, like blinds to

* The unpowdered wig which his majesty wore with a round hat is still known by the name of "a brown George."

a horse's head-harness, to teach ladies to look forward. . . . . *The Ranelagh Mob; or the Hood from low-life.*—This is a piece of gauze mignonett, catgut, or Leicester web, &c. &c., which

WALKING DRESS. From a Print of Ranelagh, 1764.

is clouted about the head, then crossed under the chin, and brought back to fasten behind, the two ends hanging down like a pair of pigeon's tails. This fashion was copied from the silk handkerchiefs which market-women tie over their ears, roll about their throats, and then pin up to the nape of their necks. They were first worn in the inner square of Covent Garden Market, among the greenstalls; it was from thence introduced into the outward square or piazzas amongst the stalls there. *The Mary Queen of Scots Cap,* edged down the face with French beads, was very becoming to some complexions,; but, as the cap was made of black gauze, and saved washing, it has too much good housewifery in it ever to be immense taste. *The Fly Cap.*—This is fixed upon the forehead, forming the figure of an overgrown butterfly, resting upon its head, with outstretched wings; it is much worn at present, not that it either adds to the colour or outline of the face; but, as these caps are edged with garnets, topazes, or brilliants, they are very sparkling; and a side-box appearance is not now altogether the consultation of elegance, but ornament. . . . . It is become a very interesting dispute among the connoisseurs in general whether the present turban-roll, which is now worn round the Mecklenburgh caps, was taken from the Egyptian fillet, the Persian tiara, or the wreath round the eldest Faustina's temples? By way of postscript we may add that the ladies, as to their shoe-heels, go just as they did—no fixed manner—some as broad as a teacup's brim, some as narrow as the china circle the cup stands upon. Bell-hoops, blond-laces, pompoons, necklaces as usual. Modesty bits (a sort of tucker) out of fashion, and hats are trimmed as every person pleases." We also copy from Malcolm the following advertisement of the clothes of which the Countess Dowager of Effingham was robbed at the same period:—"Coronation robes with a silver tissue petticoat, the gold trimmings to the petticoat, and the tassels, &c., to the robes, taken off and put into papers; a scarlet-flowered damask mantua petticoat very richly embroidered with silver; an uncut red-flowered velvet mantua petticoat trimmed with silver flounces of net with silver tassels; a very rich blue and silver mantua petticoat with a figured

From the Print of the Duke of Cumberland's Marriage, Nov. 1771.

ground; a mantua petticoat, white and gold, with figured ground; a white satin gown and petticoat; a brown satin sack richly brocaded with silver; a new

LADIES' POWDERED HEAD-DRESSES. From a Print published by Bowles in 1776.

satin sack and petticoat, white satin ground, brocaded with yellow; a scarlet unwatered tabby sack

and petticoat; a white and silver sack; a red satin fly petticoat, with a broad silver orrice at the bottom; a quilted red silk petticoat; and a blue and gold Turkey silk sack and petticoat." Another advertisement ran as follows:—"A brocaded lustring sack with a ruby-coloured ground and white *tobine* stripes, trimmed with *floss;* a black satin sack, flowered with red and white flowers, trimmed with white *floss;* a pink and white striped *tobine*, sack, and petticoat, trimmed with white floss; and a garnet-coloured lustring nightgown with a tobine stripe of green and white, trimmed with floss of the same colour and lined with straw-coloured lustring."

In 1772 the head-dress "à la maccaroni," mentioned in our notice of male fashions, was also worn by the ladies. This was followed by the very high powdered head-dress which lasted from about 1776 till 1783, when a change seems to have taken place; and, from being combed up in front to an enormous height, it became frizzed out on each side with three immense curls upon the shoulders.

With regard to the Military Costume of this period, the following information may be sufficient for the general reader. On the 1st of July, 1751, a warrant bearing the sign manual of George II. was issued regulating the uniform colours and standards of the regiments of the line. The breeches and waistcoats appear to have been ordered to be of the colour of the facings of the coats, and the officers were commanded to wear a crimson silk sash over the left shoulder. Quartermasters alone were to wear the sash round the waist. Three-cornered cocked hats were general, and all were ordered to wear a black cockade with a metal loop corresponding with the lace of the uniform. The cavalry all wore the heavy boot of jacked leather and gauntlets of buff. Shortly after the accession of George III. the heavy boots were exchanged for some of lighter construction (1764-1765); and in 1769 cavalry officers were directed to wear their sashes with the fringe upon the right side, and the infantry officers upon the left; and the officers of the regiments of horse were directed to wear sword-belts across the right shoulder, over the waistcoat and under the coat; alterations were also made in the colours of the breeches and waistcoats, and they now frequently varied from that of the facings.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE preceding chapter has placed before the reader what may be called the outside life of the various classes of the English people during the first quarter of a century of the reign of George III., in other words, so much of their way of living as might be supposed to show itself for the most part to a mere observer or looker-on; but there are various particulars of another description, more properly constituting or entering into the economical condition of the mass of the population, which still remain to be stated. These particulars, not being obvious to view, or to be arrived at without considerable inquiry, and sometimes an elaborate comparison of many different statements, have always been the most imperfectly recorded, and indeed have rarely been collected or preserved in a satisfactory manner.

A considerable body of this kind of information, however, in relation to the earlier portion of the present period, is to be found in the two works by Arthur Young to which we have been frequently indebted in preceding chapters:—his Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales, published, in one volume, in 1768; and his Six Months' Tour through the North of England, published, in four volumes, in 1770.

His Southern Tour extended over a circuit of about 600 miles, through the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Buckingham, Oxford, Gloucester, Monmouth, Glamorgan, Somerset, Wilts, and Hants; and wherever he found himself in the course of his journey he directed his attention, not only to the state of agriculture, but to the prices of provisions and the wages of labour—the two elements that may be almost said to make up the physical condition of the mass of the community. Wheaten bread was by no means, even at this late date, the only sort used in the parts of the kingdom which he visited;* but he takes notice, as far as we can find, of no other; and the price of this he found to be, both in the metropolis and the country generally, 2*d.* per lb.; except in Essex, where it was but 1¼*d.*, and in one place rather less; in Hampshire, where it was no more than 1½*d.*; and in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, where it rather exceeded 2*d.* "I was not surprised," he says, "to find this article upon a general level; for wheat, being a commodity easily transported, will certainly be eat at London as cheap as in the extremities of the kingdom. Indeed I know not how to reconcile the accounts I met with in newspapers, of wheat selling so much dearer in the western markets than the eastern ones, and at places where the measure was only nine gallons; for I have often observed 10*s.*, 15*s.*, and even 20*s.* a-quarter difference between the Norfolk and the West of England prices, whereas bread is of the same price everywhere. There must be some unknown cirumstances, or mistakes, to occasion such a seeming variation." But in fact the difference in the prices of bread which his own accounts show, amounting to a halfpenny or more per pound, is quite sufficient to bear out any of the newspaper statements to which he refers; a difference of a halfpenny on the pound of bread is very nearly equivalent to a difference of 20*s.* on the price of a quarter of wheat, that grain being taken to weigh about 58 lbs. per bushel. That the price of corn at this time varied considerably in different parts of the kingdom there can be no doubt; the system of transport was as yet far from being such as to permit the plenty of one district always to flow freely for the supply of the scarcity of another; indeed, even in the present day, with our vastly improved roads, canals, and river navigation, and all our other facilities for the transference of heavy goods from almost any one locality to any other, neither the price of corn nor that of bread is perfectly equalized over the whole country. It may have been, however, as Young asserts, that the price of bread did not vary, like that of some other articles, according to the distances of places from the great market of the metropolis. He attributes this to the circumstance of wheat being "a commodity that may be moved with the greatest ease:" with butter, on the other hand, he observes, this is not the case; that article he describes, somewhat strangely, as "the only commodity which cannot be transported from a distance to London;" "and consequently," he adds, "it shows the proportional influence of that capital better than any other article." At London, and for twenty miles round, he found the mean price of butter to be 8*d.* per lb.; at the distance of from

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iv. 850.

twenty to sixty miles from London, 6¾*d.*; from sixty to a hundred and ten miles, 6*d.*; from a hundred and ten miles to a hundred and seventy, 5½*d.*; and he mentions some places, such as Newport in Monmouthshire, and Cowbridge in Glamorganshire, where it was only 5*d.* No doubt the circumstance that certain articles are difficult of transport, or cannot be brought from a great distance, may have the effect of making a considerable difference between their price in the immediate vicinity of the capital and in the more remote parts of the country: the demand of the capital will operate to enhance it in the former, and will have no effect at all in the latter. If the article, again, is one that may be conveniently brought from any distance, all the markets of the kingdom may feel the influence of that of the metropolis, and the price be more or less elevated everywhere by the demand there. But in such cases various other circumstances always come into action besides the single one to which Young confines himself. The quarter from which the capital draws its supplies of any particular commodity is not determined only by the consideration of the facility or cost of transport, but often by other considerations as well and as much as by that—by the natural advantages which enable certain districts to produce the article of better quality than others, by the lower rate of wages in one place than in another, sometimes by the mere superiority of skill the people have acquired, or are supposed to have acquired, from having been long engaged in its production. Thus, for one or other of these reasons, the people of London are in part supplied with shoes from Northamptonshire, and with butchers' meat from the Highlands of Scotland. Then there is a distinction, in reference to this matter, between the case of an article of first necessity and universal consumption, such as wheat, and other articles, among which butter may be reckoned, that belong more or less to the class of luxuries. It is only the price of articles of luxury that can in ordinary times be affected by the influence of the capital upon the country round about it. An article for which there is a regular and certain demand by the general body of the people—of which the poor man requires as much as the rich, and the rich man can consume no more than the poor—is not subject, except in case of a scarcity, to have its price enhanced by that competition among the rich which takes place in regard to luxuries. Articles of luxury are produced only in limited quantities, and with a view to this competition; the market for which they are provided is no other than the market which such competition creates; they never can be purchased till after the demand for articles of necessity has been satisfied; and they will only be purchased by those whose means that prior demand has not exhausted. The price of such articles, therefore, is essentially dependent upon what we may call the market of the rich; and will feel the influence of any such market, and especially of that of the metropolis, as far as their transmissibility, and the existing facilities of conveyance, permit its influence to extend. But the market price of the price of a necessary of life depends on the common market of the rich and the poor. In other words, that steady, general demand which is not greater in the metropolis, or any considerable town, than in a rural district, or most insignificant village.

The average price of cheese Young found in the parts of the country he visited in this year 3½*d.* per lb.; mutton and beef ranged from 3¼*d.* to 3¾*d.* per lb; veal from 4¾*d.* to 3½*d.*; the variation of price in this last article being, according to our author, in proportion to the distance of the place from London, as in the case of beef; and for a similar reason,—"the not being able to drive calves from a great distance to market." We would rather attribute the fact, if such it be, to the circumstance of veal partaking more of the character of a luxury, or being an article of less general consumption, than beef or mutton.

The only other articles of which the prices noted are candles and coals. Candles appear to have been in most places 7*d.* per lb.; but in parts of Essex the price was so high as 7½*d.*, on the other hand, in Wales it was as low as 6*d.* and at Gloucester as low as 6*d.* The price of coals, consisting in so large a proportion as the cost of carriage, of course varied greatly; in London it was as high as 1*s.* per bushel, in Essex and Hampshire 9*d.*, in Norfolk 7*d.*, at Gloucester 3*d.*, while in Wales as much coal as six horses could draw cost only 3*s.*

The notices of the rates of wages, or the price of labour, are more minute and complete. In calculating the rates of agricultural labour in this part of England, Young takes the year to comprehend on an average the 20 weeks from the beginning of October to the end of March; the spring, or summer, the 21 weeks from the beginning of April to the end of the second week in August; the harvest, the 5 remaining weeks of the year. In some places board of victuals and drink, and even board, given in addition to money-wages, especially at harvest-time. Ale and beer in many places were regularly measured at 2*d.* in the shilling; in some places, however, the labourer was commonly allowed only cider or small beer, which he estimates at half the cost of strong beer or ale. A dinner for a labourer he values at 6*d.*, and a day's complete board at 10*d.*, beside drink. "I am sensible," he says, "it is in many places a large allowance for victuals; but I likewise know several others where half a head would not pay the harvest ones; so that the whole 6*d.* cannot be far from the general medium." The highest winter rate of wages which he mentions is in Middlesex and Kent, at a distance of ten or twelve miles from London, where he found it to amount to 10*s.* 6*d.* a-week; lowest in Gloucestershire, where it ranged from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 6*s.* In most other parts of the country it was 6*s.* or 7*s.* The summer rate of wages

the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis was as high as 11*s.* 6*d.* or 12*s.* for the whole 21 weeks, rising during the few weeks of hay-time to 14*s.*; in some parts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, and elsewhere, it was no more than 6*s.*; generally it was about 7*s.* or 7*s.* 6*d.* The harvest wages ranged from 19*s.* at Bexley in Kent, 18*s.* about Kingston in Surrey, 17*s.* 10*d.* in the improved parts of Norfolk, 17*s.* 6*d.* in Middlesex and Essex, to 9*s.* in Oxfordshire, 8*s.* 6*d.* in Wiltshire, and 6*s.* in Glamorganshire. The average rates of agricultural wages for the whole year round Young sums up as being, for twenty miles around London, 10*s.* 9*d.*; at the distance of from twenty to sixty miles from London, 7*s.* 8*d.*; at from sixty to a hundred and ten miles, 6*s.* 4*d.*; at from a hundred and ten to a hundred and seventy miles, 6*s.* 3*d.*; the general medium, 7*s.* 9*d.* per week. As much work, however, was everywhere done by the piece, which, according to the best information he could obtain, made a difference of a full fourth in favour of the labourer, he conceives that the real average of wages, for the whole year, throughout the parts of the country which he visited, was not less than 7*s.* 9*d.* or 8*s.*

Almost the only manufactures established in this quarter of England were the woollen; and Young found the workmen earning at Lanham, in Suffolk, in the production of says and calimancoes, 5*s.* 9*d.* per week, on the average of the whole year; at Sudbury, in making says and burying-crape, 7*s.* 6*d.*; at Hedingham, in Essex, in making bays and says, 7*s.*; at Braintree, in making says and druggets, 6*s.*; at Witney, in Oxfordshire, in making piece-goods and blankets, 11*s.*; at Wilton, in Wiltshire, in making carpets, 11*s.*; at Salisbury, in making flannels and linseys, 8*s.*; at Rumsey, in Hampshire, in making ratinets, 9*s.* The average earnings of woolcombers everywhere were 13*s.* per week. At Gloucester 11*s.* were the average weekly earnings of workmen in the pin-manufacture. On the whole the medium earnings of manufacturing labour are estimated at 6*s.* 6*d.* in the east of England, at 9*s.* 4*d.* in the south, and at 11*s.* in the west. From this estimate, however, is excluded a manufacture of polished steel established at Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, at which the journeymen earned from 15*s.* to two guineas a-week, but which did not employ above twenty or thirty hands.

The medium rate of agricultural wages, on the other hand, was 8*s.* in the eastern counties, 6*s.* in the southern, and 5*s.* 10*d.* in the western; being thus highest where that of manufacturing wages was lowest, and *vice versâ*. The rate in both cases was no doubt determined by the rate of the profits of capital, according as it was invested in agriculture or in manufactures—the former yielding the greatest returns in the eastern, the latter in the western counties.

Young builds another speculation upon this fact of the superiority of the wages of agricultural labour in one part of the kingdom and of manufacturing labour in another. The year before he made his journey the high prices of provisions had occasioned great riots over nearly the whole of the country traversed by him; and he contends that these disturbances were originally excited and principally carried on in each district by that one of the two descriptions of labourers which was previously in the enjoyment of the higher rate of wages. The riots were most violent and formidable in the west of England; and our author tells us that as he passed through those parts he made many inquiries concerning the rioters, "and found that they in general consisted of manufacturers; that the labourers among them were instigated by the manufacturers, who were not only infinitely the most numerous but were those who began." In the south of England, likewise, there was much rioting in the neighbourhood of the towns where manufactures were established; and here, too, he found that the rioters had been chiefly manufacturers. In the east, on the contrary, where there was also some rioting, particularly in the part of the country between Sudbury and Lanham, the mob was chiefly composed of agricultural labourers. "They gathered," we are informed, "like a snowball at almost every farm-yard they came to." We do not doubt that the fact may have been as Young states it; and it would be in great part accounted for on the principle that the natural leaders of the movement were in each case the higher-paid class of working-men, as, in virtue of their better wages, occupying the most influential position in the general body of the labouring population. If circumstances were such as to call for a rising of that body, it properly belonged to them both to be the first to discern the necessity and give the signal, and the most active and conspicuous in carrying on the business. At the same time there is no doubt that a certain measure of comfort may make men more ready for rioting: the class of working-men most likely to take to that course under the pressure of either dearth or want of employment are not those whom the rise in the price of provisions or the lowering of wages throws or would otherwise throw upon the poor-rates, but those who find themselves suddenly deprived or threatened with the deprivation of a social position which had hitherto kept them above that chance. Not only have the latter something more worth contending for than the former—for what generally in the first instance drives men to rise against the law is the dread of losing what they have or the feeling of having lost what they once had, not the hope of acquiring what they have never before possessed—but their spirit is also higher and more easily inflamed. It is true that, after the movement has been once fairly begun, the others also are commonly drawn into it; and indeed it now changes its character in many respects—in almost all cases very speedily becoming an affair of mere outrage and plunder, in which the most desperate and worst characters are sure to obtain the lead.

The riots of 1766 began about the end of July, and continued during the greater part of the next

three months. The first notice we find of them in the Annual Register for that year is in a paragraph under date of the 30th of July, which mentions that the mob had risen on account of the high in various parts of Devonshire. ad "seized on the bags of corn rs in the public-houses, brought et, and sold the corn at 5*s.* 6*d.* the money and returning the ;" but even at this early stage as a section of the mob that did o such comparatively moderate f several hundreds of them, it ed and pulled down the bunting- on, and Sidbury, doing damage, the amount of 1000*l.* Another ce at Crediton; and great dis- happened at Exeter and the neigh- od, the mob having there burnt down or ise destroyed several flour-mills; so that ntlemen had bought large quantities of flour, ere selling it to them at 3½*d.* per pound, in to keep them quiet. Even this was nearly the ordinary price of flour; so that the dis- which provoked these disorders must have severe in the extreme. At Uffeolm and Lem- also, the corn-mills were destroyed, and the in the granaries of the farmers seized and ht to market, and sold openly at from 4*s.* to 5*s.* ushel, the money, together with the empty being returned to the owners. In the be- ng of August, in Berkshire, a mob assembled market-place of Newbury, during the time market, "when they ripped open the sacks, attered all the corn about; took butter, meat, , and bacon out of the shops, and threw it the streets;" and so intimidated the bakers hey immediately let down their bread 2*d.* in eck loaf, and promised next week to lower it more. "From Newbury they proceeded to -mill, where they threw the flour into the broke the windows of the house, and did considerable damage there, as well as at al other mills, to the amount of near 1000*l.*" hey went on, we see the spirit of mischief be- ng wilder, and gaining more and more ascend- y, the measures that were necessarily taken by government to put them down having at first urse the effect of still farther infuriating them, making their proceedings more reckless and uctive. At Bath, Malmesbury, and Bradley, Troubridge, they seized and sold the corn at r own price, as at Honiton, and pulled down or burned the mills. The following are a few more paragraphs selected from many to the same pur- port in the Chronicle of the Annual Register:— "At Leicester and the neighbourhood they seized three waggon-loads of cheese, and divided them among them.—At Lechdale they seized a waggon- load of cheese designed for London, and carried it all off; and, not content with that, broke open the warehouses of the owner, and robbed them of five or six tons more.—At Oxford the mob went to the adjacent mills, and brought off all the flour t found, and in the market-place divided it." this time they seem to have dropped altogether ceremony of affecting to pay for what they to "At Dunnington" (probably in Leicestershir says another notice, "the mob rose, and plunder a warehouse of cheese, which was defended eighteen men with fire-arms: they were afterwa pursued by the owner and a party of his frien but to no purpose; the mob defended themsel by stones, drove back their pursuers, and then came pursuers in their turn. They attacked a b upon the Darwent, from whence they took che to a considerable amount. The owner offered th 50*l.* to save his cheese, and to erect a pair of sca and sell the whole cargo at 2*d.* a pound; but ringleaders cried out, *D—n his charity! we'll h the cheese for nought.*" Plunder and destruct of property, as soon as resistance came to be offe to the lawless domination of the mob, rose to cesses of a darker hue, and in many towns villages the streets flowed with blood. "At Be ington, near Bath, a miller and his son got fi arms to oppose the mob, and actually fired killed a man and a boy, and desperately woun others; which so exasperated the rest that th set fire to the mills and burned them to the ground. In the neighbourhood of Stroud, in Gloucestersh a huckster's shop was levelled to the ground, a the occupier had killed one of the mob.—At Gr Colton, in Warwickshire, they rose, traversed country, and did considerable damage, till, be met by the military, they were encountered dispersed, eight of them having been shot d before they reached Kidderminster." In ot cases, even where no actual loss of life occurred the moment, the reign of devastation and anar was only put an end to by many victims being c ried away to the sure fate of expiating their cri at no distant day on the scaffold. "At Norwich we are told, "a general insurrection began in market-place, where provisions of all sorts were sc tered about by the rioters in heaps; the new m a spacious building, which supplies the city w water, was attacked and pulled down; the flour the number of 150 sacks, thrown, sack after sa into the river; and the proprietor's books of count, furniture, plate, and money, carried off destroyed; the bakers' shops plundered and s tered; a large malthouse set fire to and bur houses and warehouses pulled down; and the wh city thrown into the greatest consternation. Dur this scene of confusion the magistrates issued summonses to the housekeepers in their respect districts to assemble with staves to oppose the riote the conflict was long and bloody, but in the end rioters were overpowered, and thirty of the ri leaders secured and committed to prison." Ma of the rioters were afterwards tried and executed. strange proceeding that the government adopted

Edward VI. against the forestalling, regrating, and engrossing of corn,—a piece of barbarous legislation which had long been regarded as to all intents and purposes obsolete and defunct. The offences in question, in fact, so far from being detrimental to the public interest, are, in the case of a bad harvest, in the highest degree serviceable in averting the miseries of absolute famine by making the insufficient supply go as far as possible; and upon this principle the statute of Edward VI. was repealed in 1772, although, unfortunately, forestalling, regrating, and engrossing were still suffered to remain offences at common law, and have, we believe, even in recent times, been punished with fine and imprisonment.

The information which Young collected on the subject of wages and prices in his Northern Tour is considerably more detailed than what he has given in his Tour through the Southern Counties. In this second agricultural expedition, upon which he set out in the summer of 1768, he visited the counties of Hertford, Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Nottingham, Lincoln, Derby, York, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, Warwick, and Buckingham. He has noted the price of bread, butter, cheese, mutton, beef, veal, and pork, in almost every town through which he passed in the course of his extensive circuit. Wheaten bread was the kind generally consumed; but he notes that at Leeds, and other places in Yorkshire, much oat bread was also used; that at Kendal, and other places in Westmoreland, they lived chiefly or exclusively upon oats; that at Warrington, in Cheshire, they used a mixture of oats and barley; that at Alnwick, and other places in Northumberland, the common food of the people consisted of barley and pease; that at Penrith, in Cumberland, it was barley, or barley and rye; that at Newcastle, it was chiefly rye; that at Morpeth, it was rye, or wheat and pease, or barley and pease; that at Raby, in Durham, and also at Shenstone, in Staffordshire, it was mazlin (maize-bread); that at Cambo, in Cumberland, it was rye, or a mixture of mazlin and barley; that at Glenwelt, in the same county, it was barley and pease, or beans and oatmeal; that at Altringham, in Cheshire, it was a mixture of wheat and barley; that at Keswick, in Cumberland, it was a mixture of oats and barley. The number of these varieties, about a dozen in all, is curious. On the whole, and taking all the different kinds of bread together, Young calculates that the average price at this time was not more than 1½*d.* per lb. within a hundred miles of London, 1¼*d.* within two hundred, and 1*d.* within three hundred miles. Butter he estimates to cost on an average 6¾*d.* per lb. within fifty miles of the capital, 6*d.* within three hundred miles, and 5*d.* at a greater distance; cheese 4*d.* per lb. within fifty miles, 3¾*d.* within a hundred, 3½*d.* within two hundred, 2*d.* within three hundred miles of London, 2½*d.* at a greater distance; butchers' meat, one kind with another, 3¾*d.* per lb. within the fifty miles, 3½*d.* within the hundred, 3*d.* within the two hundred, 2¾*d.* within the three hundred, 2½*d.* at a greater distance. "The influence of the capital," he observes, "appears very strongly in this table. It is apparent even in the article bread, which one would suppose, in reason, not to be much affected. The equality of the price of butter surprises me; but even that is dearest near London, and cheapest the farthest from it; but the sameness from fifty to three hundred miles contradicts so far the general tenor of the table. Cheese near the capital is double the price it is at a distance from it; but this circumstance requires some explanation. Scarce any cheese is made around London: it answers so much better to make butter, and to suckle, that the quantity of cheese made is very trifling; but the cheese of the western counties is to be had through all England nearly as cheap as at London; but the poor do not eat it, as their brethren do around London; they consume only their own country cheese, of a much poorer sort. The variations in the prices of butchers' meat are so regular, the fall so unbroken, in proportion to the distance from the capital, that one cannot but attribute it to the distance. The fall of price is regular, even in circumstances that one would apprehend sufficient totally to destroy it. The populous manufacturing counties of Lancaster and the West Riding of Yorkshire I expected to find as dear as London; but, on the contrary, the fall of price is regular throughout them." There can of course be no magic in the mere name of the capital; whatever influence the London market has in raising prices must arise from the more active competition there than elsewhere among the wealthier classes; but that is a force which, as already explained, will in ordinary times be principally felt in the case of such commodities as partake more or less of the nature of luxuries. In regard to butchers' meat there is to be taken into consideration the comparative costs of transport from the breeding districts to London, and to other parts of the kingdom where the price of that article is lower. But butchers' meat, too, it is to be remembered, is to a considerable extent a luxury. Even in times of the greatest plenty the mass of the people never have as much of it as they could consume, nor anything approaching to as much. Bread, or whatever may be the usual substitute for bread in any particular district, is the only article of consumption of which the labouring population generally ever have a sufficiency, even in the most favourable seasons.

Of the other articles entering into the housekeeping of the poorer classes, Young tells us he found milk, candles, and soap nearly of a uniform price everywhere. We have not been able to find the price of milk noted; it was no doubt much dearer in London and the immediate neighbourhood than in the country; but the price of soap, and also that of candles, appears to have varied from 6*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. The average of a working man's house-rent Young estimates at 1*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; the cost of firing at

1*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*; and the rent of cots at 7*s.* 11*d.* per annum. But these items, especially the two last, must evidently have varied greatly according to circumstances. At Leeds, for instance, house-rent on an average amounted to 2*l.*; at Wakefield to 2*l.* 5*s.*; at Newcastle to 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; at Hatfield to 2*l.* 15*s.*; at Hagley to the same; at North Mims, in Middlesex, to 3*l.* 10*s.*; at Kensington, still nearer the metropolis, to 5*l.*; while, on the other hand, it was as low as 10*s.* at Morpeth, 5*s.* at Rokeby, and at Aychurch, which appears to be in the county of Rutland, no more than 3*s.* 9*d.* The expense of firing is set down as ranging from 2*l.* 10*s.* at Houghton, and other places in Norfolk, Rokeby, and Maidenhead, to 10*s.* at Kirby and Glenwelt, in Cumberland: it was 1*l.* at Wakefield, 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* at [illegible]dal, 16*s.* at Warrington, and 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* at [illegible]tle — all localities where the prices of the [illegible]ries of life might be supposed to be more or [illegible]fected by the existence of manufactures. The [illegible]tools is set down in some cases at as much [illegible]*s.*; in others at only 2*s.* 6*d.*, or nothing

[illegible] not very easy to present within narrow [illegible] satisfactory view of the various particulars [illegible] by our author in regard to the rates of [illegible]hroughout the extensive range of country [illegible] surveyed in his northern tour; but we [illegible]deavour to state shortly the most important [illegible]cts and deductions.

[illegible]egins, as before, with the subject of agri[illegible]labour; but he now divides the year into [illegible] and spring weeks, 6 weeks of hay-time, [illegible]eks of harvest; the rate of wages in most [illegible]tricts he visited being the same all the [illegible]d, except only during the two last-men[illegible]ort periods. The rate of wages per week [illegible]me is set down as varying from 14*s.* to [illegible] average being 9*s.* 5*d.*; in harvest from [illegible]., the average being 10*s.* 8*d.*; for the rest [illegible]ar from 9*s.* to 4*s.*, the average being 6*s.* 5*d.* [illegible] one week with another, the rate of wages [illegible]hole year was found to range from 9*s.* 9*d.* [illegible]*d.*, the average being 7*s.* 1*d.* This was [illegible]verage for fifty miles around London; at [illegible]nce of from 50 to 100 miles it was 6*s.* 9*d.*; [illegible]hat of from 100 to 200 it rose to 7*s.* 2*d.*; [illegible]as still 7*s.* at the distance of from 200 to [illegible]miles; although beyond that distance it fell to [illegible]. The places in which the wages of agricul[illegible]labour throughout the year are stated to have [illegible]ighest are Fossen, Cromwell, Drayton, Cantler, Stillingfleet, Holderness, Yeddingham, Newton, Rokeby, Kensington; those at which they were lowest were Astwick, Biddenham, Catworth, Woolley, Wilberfort, Kirkleatham, Craikhill, Sleningford, Danby, Alnwick, Belford, Hetton, Berwick, Ormskirk, and Shenstone. Wherever food was given along with money, its value is included in the above sums.

The wages of servants, male and female, are next stated. First men-servants had from 13*l.* 10*s.* to 7*l.* per annum, on an average 10*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; second men from 12*l.* to 4*l.*, on an average 6*l.* 11*s.*; la[illegible] from 7*l.* to 1*l.*, on an average 3*l.* 2*s.*; dairy-mai[illegible] from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 2*l.* 10*s.*, on an average 3*l.* 10[illegible] other maid-servants from 4*l.* 15*s.* to 1*l.* 17*s.* 6[illegible] on an average 3*l.* 5*s.* These rates, we must su[illegible] pose, were exclusive of meat and drink, althou[illegible] it is not so explained. The wages paid to wom[illegible] per week, again, which are stated to have been, [illegible] an average, 6*s.* 3*d.* in harvest, 4*s.* 4*d.*, in hay-tin[illegible] and 3*s.* for the rest of the year, probably include t[illegible] value of whatever was given to them in the sha[illegible] of food, beer, or milk.

A comparison is afterwards instituted between t[illegible] rates of wages or earnings and the prices of the pri[illegible] cipal necessaries of life in different places. "I su[illegible] pose a labourer," says our author, "to earn t[illegible] average of the three seasons; his wife to work h[illegible] harvest and hay-time as long as the husband, a[illegible] to be employed six weeks every winter at the pr[illegible] of the neighbourhood; one of his sons to be a fi[illegible] man, another a second, and a third a lad in servic[illegible] a daughter a dairy-maid, and another a comm[illegible] maid; all at the respective prices, but exclusive [illegible] the board of all servants. Now this is by no me[illegible] a representation of real families, because proba[illegible] but few are so disposed of; but it will unite in [illegible] view the earnings of all kinds, and show in a sin[illegible] sum the total of each kind of labour in a just p[illegible] portion to the quantity of each." It appears t[illegible] the total earnings of a man, his wife, his three so[illegible] and his two daughters, thus situated, would h[illegible] been 66*l.* 6*s.* at Stillingfleet, in the East Riding [illegible] Yorkshire, where the general rate of wages [illegible] highest, and 34*l.* 9*s.* at Ormskirk, in Lancash[illegible] where wages on the whole were lowest. Yet [illegible] Stillingfleet the average price of bread, butt[illegible] cheese, and meat, taking one with another, [illegible] only 2¾*d.* per lb.; whereas at Ormskirk it [illegible] 3¼*d.*; bread being at the former place 1*d.*, at [illegible] latter ¾*d.*; butter at the former 5½*d.*, at the la[illegible] 7*d.*; cheese at the former 2*d.*, at the latter 3[illegible] butchers' meat at the former 3½*d.*, at the latter [illegible] From further statements it appears that, am[illegible] seventy-six places which are brought under rev[illegible] in five the average price of provisions was 2½*d.* [illegible] lb., the average annual earnings of such a famil[illegible] has been described 51*l.* 8*s.*, and the average [illegible] of wages per week 6*s.* 8½*d.*; that in eighteen [illegible] price of provisions was 2¾*d.*, the annual earni[illegible] 51*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*, the weekly wages 7*s.*; that in se[illegible] the price of provisions was 3*d.* the annual *earni*[illegible] 53*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*, the weekly wages 6*s.* 6¾*d.*; that [illegible] nine the price of provisions was 3¼*d.*, the ann[illegible] earnings 47*l.* 16*s.*, the weekly wages 6*s.* 5½*d*[illegible] that in sixteen the price of provisions was 3½*d.*, t[illegible] annual earnings 50*l.* 11*d.*, the weekly wag[illegible] [illegible]; that in seven the price of provisions wa[illegible] 3¾*d.*, the annual earnings [illegible] 17*s.* 11*d.*, the weekly [illegible] wages 7*s.* 1*d.*; and that in thirteen the price [illegible] provisions was 4*d.*, the annual earnings 50*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* [illegible] the weekly wages 6*s.* 10*d.* These tables prove, [illegible] observe our author, "that the dependence of the [illegible] price of labour on that of provisions is extremely

uncertain, if anything at all; and in numerous instances the former seems palpably in contradiction to that of the latter. The labouring poor who pay the aggregate price of 4*d.* per lb. for provisions earn 3*l.* a-year less than others who are supplied at 3*d.* per lb. Those who feed at 3½*d.* earn less by near 6*l.* than others at 3*d.* . . . . . In bread the same contradictions are found. The man who pays 1*d.* a *pound* earns as much, within a few shillings, as he *who* pays 2*d.*; and he who eats it at 1½*d.*, more. Whatever kinds of provisions are taken, the same contradictions will appear. In no state of the case will there be found any the least reason for supposing that the price of provisions determines that of labour. . . . . The rates of labour admit of prodigious variations that are totally unaccountable. I apprehend that chance has been the mother of three-fourths. Famine, before the exportation of corn was encouraged, and extreme high prices, locally heightened the prices of labour, as the richer inhabitants were more or less willing to assist the poor; the rates so raised in some places continued after the occasion, in others were reduced: hence undoubtedly arose a part of those variations which we are so much puzzled to account for; and such accidents could scarcely fail of throwing a great variety over the whole kingdom."

In regard to this matter, we may remark that the facts as stated show that there was not as yet any free communication from one district of the kingdom to another, either of labour or of provisions, and that therefore the inferences which are drawn do not apply to the supposition of such free communication being fully established. It is evident that the people of Ormskirk would not have remained there paying two-fifths more for the necessaries of life, and at the same time earning only half as much wages, as the people of Stillingfleet, if they had not been, by whatever causes, nearly as strongly bound to the soil as the trees that grew out of it, or the ancient *ascripti glebæ*. The obstacles that stood in the way of their removal may have been legal obstacles or natural obstacles; they may have been detained in the place where they were born by the law of settlement, or by the want of roads and facilities of transport, or by their poverty, or their ignorance, or their indolence, or their love of their native soil, or the mere want of the habit of emigration; and it may be that these causes, or some of them, will always act with a certain degree of force in impressing a stationary character upon the population of a country. But still the principle remains true, that both the prices of provisions and the prices of labour tend everywhere to a level, and will find such level except in so far as they are prevented by such natural or artificial obstacles as have been enumerated; and it seems also to be evident enough that the price of provisions in any particular place must always form an element in the real value of wages there, and that consequently the general equality which wages have a disposition to assume will exhibit a diversity in the money-rates corresponding to the diversity in the prices of provisions; in other words, that wages as represented in money will, in so far as these regulating principles are permitted to operate, be greater or less according as the price of provisions in the local market is high or low. Practically, however, the question is always one of great complexity, and there are peculiarities in every case that interfere with the action of the general principle; supposing all the above-mentioned difficulties in the way of the free transference of labour from one locality to another to be ever so much reduced, or altogether removed, there would still remain the real advantages, apart from the current rate of wages, which one place or occupation often possesses over another, and which might more than compensate for the rate of wages being lower than elsewhere or in other occupations; and, above all, there would be the difficulty always to be encountered by the working man in transferring himself from one species of labour to another, a difficulty which in many cases is altogether insuperable, and which would alone suffice to maintain distinct classes of workmen and distinct rates of wages in the same country, even if all other impediments to the free diffusion of labour were to be destroyed, or to become wholly inoperative. Further, it is to be remembered that this question as to the effect of the price of provisions upon the rate of wages in any particular locality is altogether distinct from the question as to the effect of a general rise or fall in the price of provisions upon the general rate of wages. In the latter question the principle of the tendency of wages to find a level does not come into consideration at all.

The wages of manufacturing labour Young found upon this tour to be everywhere higher on a medium than those of agricultural labour. In the lace-manufacture at Bedford women earned 4*s.* 6*d.* and girls 4*s.* a-week; men in the iron-works at Rotherham 10*s.*, boys in the potteries there 3*s.*; in the plating and cutlery trades at Sheffield, men 13*s.* 6*d.*, women 4*s.*, girls 3*s.*; in the cloth manufacture at Wakefield, men 10*s.*, boys 1*s.* 9*d.*; the colliers in that neighbourhood 11*s.*; in the manufacture of cloth at Leeds, men 8*s.* 3*d.*, boys 5*s.*, women 3*s.* 6*d.*, girls 1*s.* 8*d.*; in the alum-works at Ayton, in Cheshire, men 7*s.* 6*d.*; in the lead-mines at Fremington in Yorkshire, men 7*s.* 6*d.*, women 6*s.*, boys and girls 3*s.* 3*d.*; in the making of huckabacks at Darlington, men 8*s.* 6*d.*; the colliers at Newcastle 15*s.*; in the manufacture of cottons and checks at Carlisle, men 9*s.*; in the manufactures of stockings, cottons, and linsey-woolseys, and in the tanning works, at Kendal, men 9*s.* 5*d.*, women 3*s.* 3*d.*, children 2*s.*; in the sail-cloth and sacking manufactures, and in the making of pins and of shoes, at Warrington, men 8*s.* 7*d.*, women 4*s.* 6*d.*, children 2*s.* 6*d.*; in the manufacture of stockings, and in the porcelain and glass works, at Liverpool, men 8*s.* 11*d.*; in the manufactures of fustians, checks, hats, and small wares at Manchester, men 7*s.* 1*d.*, women 5*s.* 4*d.*, children 3*s.* 5*d.*; in the potteries at Burslem, in Stafford-

shire, men 9*s*. 6*d*., women 6*s*. 6*d*.; in the making of shoes and hats at Newcastle, men 8*s*. 6*d*., women 4*s*. 6*d*., children 1*s*.; in the porcelain and glove manufactures at Worcester, men 9*s*., women 4*s*. 6*d*., children 2*s*. 3*d*. The account presents a tolerably complete view of the manufactures of the northern and midland counties, as well as of the circumstances of the population employed in them, at this date. Young calculates that the average rates of manufacturing wages were for men 9*s*. 6*d*.; for women 4*s*. 7*d*., and for children 2*s*. 8*d*.

The general administration of the Poor Laws throughout England at the commencement of the present period is described by Dr. Burn, in his History of the Poor-Laws, published in 1764, in the following passage:—"The office of an overseer of the poor seems to be understood to be this: to keep an extraordinary look-out to prevent persons coming to inhabit without certificates, and to fly to the justices to remove them; and, if a man brings a certificate, then to caution the inhabitants not to let him a farm of 10*l*. a-year, and to take care to keep him out of all parish offices; to warn them, if they will hire servants, to hire them half-yearly, or by the month, or by the week, or by the day, rather than by any way that shall give them a settlement; or, if they do hire them for a year, then to endeavour to pick a quarrel with them before the year's end, and so to get rid of them; to maintain their poor as cheap as they can at all events; not to lay out twopence in prospect of any future good, but only to serve the present necessity; to bargain with some steady person to take them by the lump, who yet is not intended to take them, but to hang over them *in terrorem* if they shall complain to the justices for want of maintenance; to send them out into the country a-begging (for why cannot they go as well as others they will mention? and, the feebler they are, the more profitable will be their peregrinations); to bind out poor children apprentices, no matter to whom, or to what trade, but to take special care that the master live in another parish; to move heaven and earth if any dispute happens about a settlement, and in that particular to invert the general rule, and stick at no expense; to pull down cottages; to drive out as many inhabitants and admit as few as possibly they can, that is, to depopulate the parish in order to lessen the poor's rate; to be generous, indeed, sometimes, in giving a portion with the mother of a bastard child to the reputed father on condition that he will marry her, or with a poor widow (for why should she be deprived of the comforts of matrimony?)—always provided that the husband is settled elsewhere; or, if a poor man with a large family appears to be industrious, they will charitably assist him in taking a farm in some neighbouring parish, and give him 10*l*. to pay his first year's rent with; and, if any of their poor has a mercantile genius, they will purchase for him a box, with pins, needles, laces, buckles, and such-like wares, and send him abroad in quality of a petty chapman; with the profits whereof, and a moderate knack at stealing, he can decently support himself, and educate his children in the same industrious way." Sir Frederick Eden calls this a "somewhat too highly-coloured picture;" but, although its tone is sarcastic, the statement appears, in regard to the facts embodied in it, to be substantially correct. Indeed, some of the most revolting features in the management of pauperism at this time are not here noticed. In the year 1767, principally by the exertions of the philanthropic Jonas Hanway, the House of Commons was induced to appoint a select committee to inquire into the state of poor parish children under the age of fourteen years within the bills of mortality; and this committee reported, that, according to the parish registers, "taking the children born in workhouses or parish-houses, or received of and under twelve months old, in the year 1763, and following the same into 1764 and 1765, *only seven in one hundred* appeared to have survived this short period: that, having called for the registers of the years 1754, 1755, 1761, 1762, of the children placed out apprentices by the parishes within the bills of mortality, it appears that there have been apprenticed out the number of 1419; but, upon examining the ages at which the said children so placed out were received in the seven years from 1741 till they grew up to be placed out, it appears that only 19 of those born in the workhouses, or received into them under twelve months old, compose any part of the 1419; and, even of those received as far as three years old, only thirty-six appear to have survived in the hands of the said parishes to be placed out apprentices." "It appears," adds the report, "*that* the children are kept in the *several* workhouses in town, or in the hands of parish nurses in town, only a small portion of them being sent into the country to be nursed, and the price of 3*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*. per week, first paid, is often reduced so low as 1*s*. 6*d*. and 1*s*. per week." The committee were satisfied from evidence laid before them that 2*s*. 6*d*. a-week was as small a sum as a child could be nursed for, "to have justice done it." In consequence of the recommendation of this committee an act was passed that same session obliging all parishes within the bills of mortality to send all parish children, under six years of age, within a fortnight after they were born or received into the workhouses, to the distance of three miles at the least from London, to be there nursed and taken care of till they were six years of age; and directing that not less than 2*s*. 6*d*. a-week should be paid for each during all that time, and not less than 2*s*. a-week for so long afterwards as the child should be left in the country. It was reckoned that the number of burials in London was diminished 2100 annually by the operation of this act. The effect of it may be seen by a return inserted in the Journals of the House of Commons for 1778, from which it appears that, of 9727 children under six years of age received in the several workhouses of

the metropolitan parishes during the preceding eleven years, there had only died 2042, or about twenty-two in the hundred, instead of ninety-three in the hundred in two years as before. By the same act parish officers were prohibited from binding out boys and girls apprentices for a longer term than seven years, or till they should attain the age of twenty-one. A previous act of the year 1762 had established a registry of all parish children under four years of age within the bills of mortality.

Philanthropists and speculators continued throughout this period to propose their schemes for the improvement of the poor-laws and the prevention of the further increase of the rates, as they had been doing for the preceding century.* Of the various plans of this kind laid before the public, the most remarkable was one announced by Baron Maseres in 1772, "for establishing life annuities in parishes for the benefit of the poor;" a bill to carry which into effect was brought into parliament the following year, but was, after it had passed the Commons, thrown out in the Lords. The amount of actual legislation, however, on the subject of pauperism during this first quarter of a century of the reign of George III. was *not* considerable.

In 1775 an act was passed repealing an old act of the time of Elizabeth, which forbade the erecting of cottages without having at least four acres of land attached to each. As Sir Frederick Eden observes, in modern times there could not well be supposed to be much danger of cottages becoming too numerous. "I know several parishes," says this writer, "in which the greatest difficulty the poor labour under is the impossibility of procuring habitations. . . . I am acquainted with one parish in the neighbourhood of a populous city, in which, from the difficulty of procuring tenements or small plots of land to build on, poor people have, more than once, availed themselves of a long night to rear a hovel on the road-side or on the common." †

Between 1760 and 1780 several acts were passed incorporating parishes and districts in different parts of the kingdom, and vesting them with power to borrow money, to erect houses of industry, and to frame local regulations for the government of their poor. And an act passed in 1780 declared that all persons to whom any children should be appointed to be bound apprentices under such local acts of incorporation, or any other act for the relief of the poor in any particular district of England, should be obliged to receive them under a penalty of ten pounds, provided they were inhabitants and occupiers of lands in the parish to which the apprenticed child belonged. This act also directed that bastards born in houses of industry should be regarded as belonging to the mother's parish.

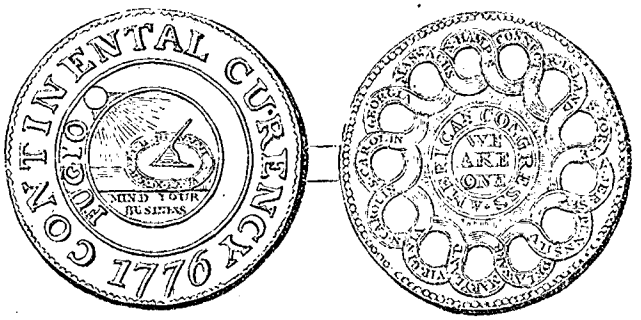
In 1781, Mr. Thomas Gilbert, member for Lichfield, whose exertions had been employed on the reform of the laws regarding pauperism ever since the year 1765, succeeded in procuring the passing of an act "for the better relief and employment of the poor," which, among other regulations, made provision for enabling any two or more parishes or other districts that chose to unite for the erection of a common workhouse, and the general administration of their poor-rates by a board of guardians composed of persons nominated by the owners and occupiers of lands and tenements of the annual value of five pounds or upwards in the several parishes, under the sanction of two justices of the peace. Very few incorporations of parishes, however, took place under this act; the powers granted by which were considered to be so defective that in several instances parishes that wished to be incorporated after it had been placed on the statute-book, instead of availing themselves of its provisions, preferred undergoing the expense of obtaining special acts for themselves.

From returns made upon oath by the overseers of the poor in conformity with an act passed in 1776, it appears that in that year the total money raised by assessment for the relief of the poor in England and Wales was 1,720,316*l.*; and that there was expended on the poor 1,556,804*l.*, besides 80,296*l.* for the rent of workhouses, or of habitations for the poor, and 35,072*l.* in litigation. There was also a sum of 137,656*l.* expended in the payment of county-rates. Subsequent returns obtained under the same act showed that the amount raised was 2,132,486*l.* in 1783; 2,185,889*l.* in 1784; and 2,184,904*l.* in 1785. The increase of the rates, therefore, had been fully a fourth in the nine years that had elapsed since 1776. Comparing, indeed, the net expenditure upon the poor for that year with the medium expenditure for the other three years, it appeared that the increase had been not far from a third in that brief space of time.

Arthur Young concludes his Northern Tour with an elaborate speculation on what he designates "the State of the Nation" at that date (1770); and we may wind up the present chapter with a short abstract of the conclusions at which he arrives. The number of persons employed in agriculture he considers to be 2,800,000; the landlords, with their families and dependents, 800,000; the manufacturing population 3,000,000; the persons employed in commerce 700,000; clergy, lawyers, physicians, professors of the arts, literary men, &c., 200,000; the army, navy, and other persons maintained out of the public revenue, 500,000; the non-industrious poor, 500,000; making the entire population of England and Wales 8,500,000. The income derived from the soil he estimates at 66,000,000*l.*; that from manufactures at 27,000,000*l.*; that from commerce at 10,000,000*l.*; that from the practice of law, physic, the fine arts, literature, &c., at 5,000,000*l.*; that from money lent at interest at 5,000,000*l.*; and the public revenue at 9,000,000*l.*; making what he calls the total income of the country 122,000,000*l.* Of

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng. iii. 907, and iv. 843.
† State of the Poor, i. 261.

course we must understand him to mean that such was the distribution of the entire annual income of the country among the different classes of the population. It is needless, however, to remark how very little dependence is to be placed upon such calculations, even regarded as mere general approximations to the truth. They are in fact for the most part but guesses, the correctness or incorrectness of which we have seldom any means of testing.



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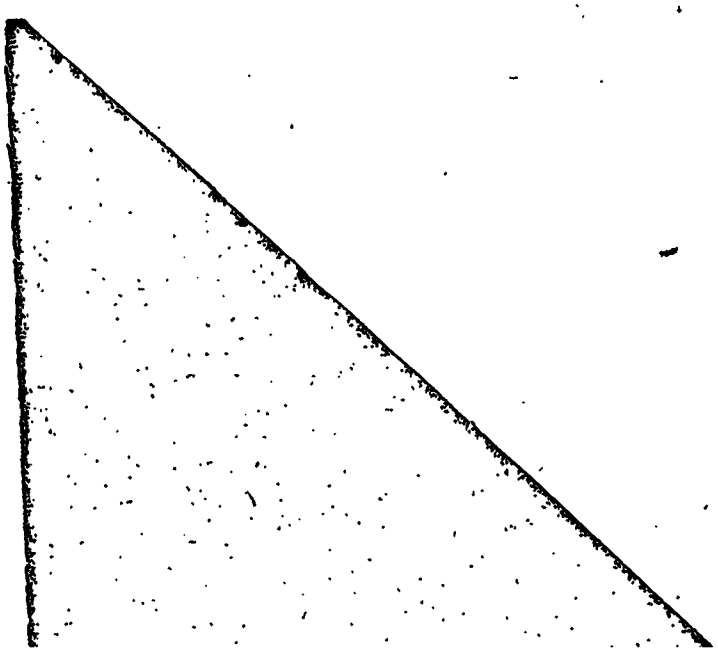

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